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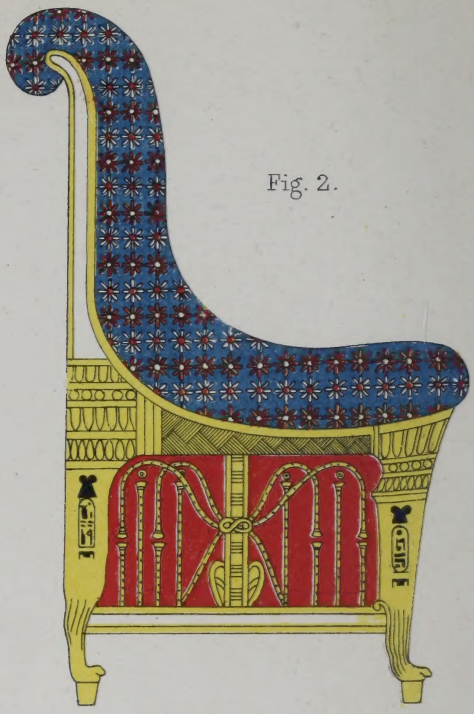
Fig. 1.



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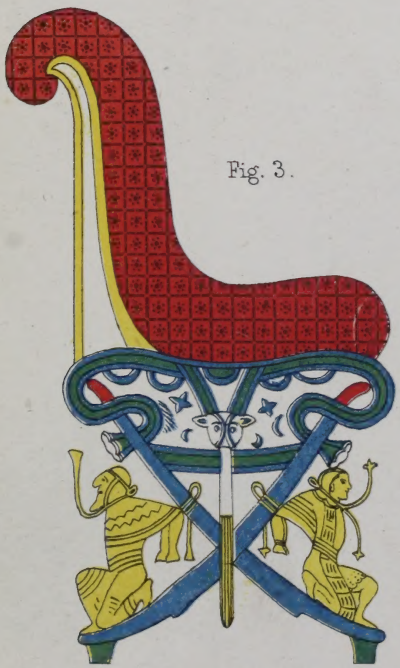

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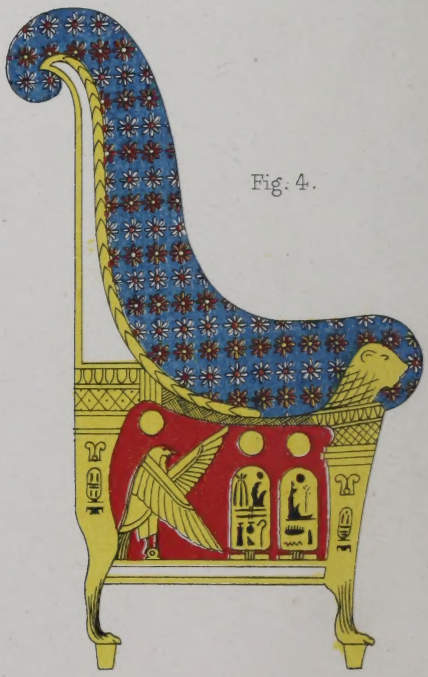

Fig. 4.

FAUTEUILS, from the Tombs of the Kings — Thebes.

THE

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

OF

THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

BY SIR J. GARDNER WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.R.G.S.,

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A NEW EDITION, REVISED AND CORRECTED

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IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1878.

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LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

TO

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD

This Edition

OF THE

'MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS'

IS, BY HIS PERMISSION, DEDICATED,

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF RESPECT SHOWN TO THE

MEMORY OF THE AUTHOR,

AND OF KINDNESS TO HIS WIDOW.

FEBRUARY 2ND, 1878.

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PREFACE.

In order to form an accurate opinion of the manners of an ancient people, it is of paramount importance to inquire into their origin and history, and to trace the progress of those steps which gradually led to their improvement and civilisation. To judge impartially of their character, we must examine the comparative state of other neighbouring and contemporary nations, and measure it by the standard of the era in which they lived. We should also bear in mind the general habits of that portion of the globe whence they derived their origin, or which they inhabited, and, in contemplating the customs of an Eastern people, avoid as much as possible the invidious comparison of European and Oriental manners. Many of those laws or customs which are wise and beneficial to society in one part of the world are deemed superfluous, and even injurious, in another; and the same system which by some is looked upon as indispensable for their welfare and happiness, would be rejected by others as incompatible with the feelings of an independent spirit.

The necessity of discrimination on this point must, therefore, be evident to every one who considers the subject with a view to truth and impartiality; and, in order to enable the reader to form a just opinion of the character of the Egyptians, I commence the present work with a brief account of the general history and early advancement of that ancient state. But if, as must necessarily be the case, this account is deficient and unsatisfactory, I plead as my excuse the scanty means of information afforded either by the writers of antiquity or by monumental record; and trust that the reader will indulgently consider the difficulties which present themselves in so intricate a question.

If, too, in the date assigned for the accession of Menes, and the era of the 18th Dynasty, as well as some other points of chronology, I differ from the learned Professor Rosellini, it should be remembered that many doubts and discrepancies occur both in chronology and the details of events, even in what is considered the *known* history of other nations.

It would doubtless be satisfactory both to the reader and themselves, if all writers on the subject of hieroglyphics and of ancient Egypt were agreed, and if all their investigations were attended with the same results; but, since a diversity of opinion on a difficult question has a tendency to elicit truth, and finally to establish accurate and impartial evidence, we may cease to regret that it prevails at the commencement of these inquiries. And, indeed, it is highly satisfactory to find that the researches of Dr. Young, Champollion, Rosellini, Major Felix, and my own, have, in most instances, led to similar conclusions.

Professor Rosellini is a man of erudition and a gentleman, and one whose enthusiastic endeavours, stimulated by great perseverance, are tempered by judgment, and that modesty which is the characteristic of real merit. To be engaged in the same pursuits with him must, therefore, be highly satisfactory, from the persuasion that, however we may differ on some questions, our opposite opinions will be maintained with those feelings which ought to actuate men who labour in the same field and for the same object.

Egyptian history, and the manners of one of the most ancient nations, cannot but be interesting to every one; and so intimately connected are they with the Scriptural accounts of the Israelites, and the events of succeeding ages relative to Judæa, that the name of Egypt need only be mentioned to recall the early impressions we have received from the study of the Bible.

Another striking result derived from the examination of Egyptian history is the conviction that, at the most remote period into which we have been able to penetrate, civilised communities already existed, and society possessed all the features of later ages. We have been enabled, with a sufficient degree of precision, to fix the bondage of the Israelites and the arrival

of Joseph; and though these events took place at an age when nations are generally supposed to have been in their infancy and in a state of barbarism, yet we perceive that the Egyptians had then arrived at as perfect a degree of civilisation as at any subsequent period of their history. They had the same arts, the same manners and customs, the same style of architecture, and were in the same advanced state of refinement as in the reign of Rameses II.; and no very remarkable changes took place, even in ever-varying taste, between the accession of the first Usertesen and the death of that conqueror, who was the last monarch of the 18th Dynasty. What high antiquity does this assign to civilisation! The most remote point, to which we can see, opens with a nation possessing all the arts of civilised life already matured; and though penetrating so far into the early history of the world, we find that the infancy of the Egyptian state is placed considerably beyond our reach. And if Egypt presents no other attractions, the certainty of its being the oldest state of which we have any positive and tangible records, must awaken feelings of interest to which no contemplative mind can remain indifferent.

It is to be regretted that the partial details relating to the reigns of the early Pharaohs, given by Herodotus and Diodorus, do not sufficiently agree with the more authentic information derived from the monuments, so as to be embodied with this last as a continuous history: but, in order not to omit the accounts of those two writers, I have introduced them separately; which, though in some measure it breaks in upon the thread of the history, does not perplex the reader by the examination of controverted points, and he is enabled to form his own opinion respecting their statements, and the information derived from other sources.

Finding the materials accumulate much beyond my expectations will, I trust, plead my excuse for omitting many subjects and details that could not have been comprised within the limits of this work, unless treated in an imperfect and brief manner, which their importance would not sanction.

It may also occur to the reader that I have repeated some

remarks already introduced; but this I have sometimes thought preferable to a too frequent reference to the preceding part of the work, especially when they were directly connected with the present subjects.

The first chapter contains remarks on the early state of Egypt, with the lists of kings given by Manetho, Herodotus, Diodorus, and other authors; and a conjecture is offered on the origin of the Shepherd Kings. I suppose them to have come from Assyria, and to have invaded and taken possession of Lower Egypt, and suggest that this event happened about the period of Semiramis. Some objection, however, may be offered to this conjecture, especially on the plea of the invaders having been a pastoral people, while the Assyrians were an agricultural nation, with all the institutions and customs of a civilisation already far advanced, in the time even of Semiramis. We might, therefore, look for them among the wandering hordes of Asia; and rather suppose them to have been a Scythian tribe, who, at that early epoch, already commenced the casual inroads which they are known to have made in the same direction at subsequent periods. The notion of their having been the founders of the Pyramids is devoid of every shadow of probability.

The fourth chapter treats of the husbandmen, with other members of the second caste; the laws and government of Egypt in early times, and under the Romans. In the next, the houses, villas, gardens, vineyards, and the processes of making wine and beer, are described. The sixth contains an account of the furniture of their rooms, the entertainment of guests, their musical instruments, and dances; and afterwards their vases, the preparation and serving of dinner, their games, exercises, and amusements, in the house and out of doors, are described.

The eighth chapter contains the chase of wild animals, fowling, and fishing.

The ninth treats of the arts of the Egyptians; the early use of glass, and those manufactures in which the sculptures and ancient writers show them to have excelled; the mode of engraving and sculpturing hard stones; their fine linen and other stuffs; the papyrus, and manufacture of paper; potteries;

boats and ships employed in war and on the Nile; and the use of tin and other metals.

In chapter the tenth, the style of art at various epochs, the early use of the arch, the mechanical skill of the Egyptians, some inventions of an early period, their dresses, the study of medicine, and numerous customs are introduced.

I cannot conclude without expressing the obligations I owe to the valuable assistance afforded me by Lord Prudhoe, Mr. W. Hamilton, and Sir William Gell, as well as to Mr. Burton (to whom I am indebted for two plates which are copied from his drawings in the tombs of Thebes) and to Mr. Pettigrew. But, while it is a pleasure to offer my acknowledgments for their kindness, it is melancholy to be obliged to accompany them with feelings of deep regret at the death of so excellent a friend as Sir W. Gell. In him the literary world has sustained a great loss: but friendship and gratitude combine to increase my sorrow; and I can never forget that, for all the satisfaction I have derived from the prosecution of researches to which he first directed my attention—however unimportant their results—I am indebted to his kindness and instruction. To many has he lent his powerful assistance in those studies, the advancement of which his 'classic' talents so ably promoted: no distinction of nation ever prevented his generous mind from aiding others in investigating subjects of which he possessed such an extensive knowledge, and no deficiency of good feeling and liberality checked his exertions, or damped his zeal, in furthering the object of those who followed the same pursuits.

'Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit.'

NOTE.—Into this Preface to the First Edition some portions of those appended to the Second Edition, and the Second Series, have been interwoven.

This Preface was written in 1836, when Sir Gardner Wilkinson's sorrow for the friend of his youth was very fresh in his heart. It was Sir William Gell who, perceiving his enthusiasm for antiquities, the accuracy (even at that early date) of his pencil, and the advantage he possessed in his hereditary love for classical learning, determined the fate of his life by persuading him to abandon his intention of entering the army, and to devote his life to the study of Egyptian and other archæology.

Sir William Gell was one of the first of that devoted band of friends, all older than himself, and all men of honoured names, whom Sir Gardner Wilkinson won in his early life—men whose names have ever been associated with his, and whose deaths were the ever-present sorrow of his manhood and his age.

PREFACE

TO

SECOND PART OF FIRST EDITION.

In the previous portion of this work, I was under the necessity of omitting certain subjects, which, though intimately connected with the manners and customs of the Ancient Egyptians, could not have been introduced without increasing it to a disproportionate size. But in order to fulfil my original intention of giving a new summary view of the most striking usages of the people, I have now put together those which were omitted in the previous volumes; and if there be any want of connection in the agriculture and religion, it will be explained by the reason already stated.

In offering any remarks on so abstruse and mysterious a subject as the religion of the Egyptians, I must observe that my view has been rather to present the results of observations derived from the monuments, than to suggest my own opinion respecting it: feeling persuaded that the progress of discovery in hieroglyphical literature will at length explain the doctrines of that people, without the necessity of unsatisfactory and doubtful conjecture. Whatever statements I have ventured to make are open to correction, and await the sentence of more matured opinions derived from the experience of future discoveries.

Many interesting comparisons might be brought forward of the religious notions of the Greeks, Hindoos, and others, with those of the Egyptians; but a minute examination of them would lead to a lengthened disquisition, which neither the limits of this

work, nor the taste of the generality of readers, would permit. Those who are interested in the subject will find their curiosity amply repaid by a reference to the work of Dr. Prichard, and to the various publications which treat of the religions of other nations. They will find some striking analogies in most of them, which appear to connect them in a greater or less degree with each other, and which, by proclaiming a common origin at a most remote period, tend, like discoveries in language and other modern investigations, to point out the important truths of the Mosaical history of the world.

LONDON, *July* 1840.

Statue of Rui, a priest, from Thebes. *British Museum.*

PREFACE TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

The present edition of the 'Manners and Customs' has been prepared from the notes and manuscript which the late Sir Gardner Wilkinson left behind, with the addition of fresh matter contributed by the Editor. In order to distinguish the respective contributions, the initials G. W. have been placed after the new notes and text of the Author, and S. B. after insertions into the original text and notes appended by the present Editor, so as to enable the reader to discriminate between the two new portions. Very little of the original text has been omitted, and only those statements and opinions which the progress of science no longer regards as useful or correct; while new views and facts acquired by the progress of Egyptian research have been embodied in notes or inserted in the text.*

With the progress of research and the frequent publication of fresh monuments and inscriptions—for which students are mainly indebted to the labours in this country of the late C. W. Goodwin, P. Le Page Renouf, Canon Cooke, and Professor Lushington; in Germany to those of Professors Lepsius, Brugsch-Bey, Duemichen, Eisenlohr, and L. Stern; and in France to those

* The Appendix to vol. iii. of the old edition has been omitted, as the information there afforded will be found in the 'Handbook for Travellers in Egypt,' by the same Author. It was also desirable to bring the contents of the five original volumes into the more convenient form of the three of the present edition.

of M. Chabas, Revillout, Maspero, and Pierret, besides those of M. Naville of Geneva and M. Golenischeff of St. Petersburg—the materials have increased in some branches: for example, those derived from the numerous writers upon Egypt, and translators of hieroglyphical texts. The information derived from the classical authorities of Greece and Rome has become, by the light of the learning of the last half-century, of secondary value. Egyptian ideas deduced from Egyptian sources, having far more importance to the student and reader than those transmitted from classical writers, have been given wherever practicable.

The great merit of the acute observation of the Author, and the exhaustive illustrations of Egyptian manners and customs as depicted by the monuments, have made the present work a text-book on the subject, both for the general public and individual students; its chief excellence consists in the great trouble which the author took in explaining and comparing Egyptian and Greek notions.

It has been necessary to make alterations in the orthography of a few of the leading names, in order to bring the work up to the standard adopted by Egyptologists at the present day. The system of transliteration of Egyptian words and names is still in a transitional state; but in the interest of comparative philology and general science, it is hoped that some final settlement, such as was proposed at the Congress of Orientalists held in London in 1874, will soon be universally adopted. This system has been followed wherever the Egyptian words are cited in the native form, but not when they are mentioned by classical authors.

The work thus reappears in the present edition in the form most acceptable to the general reader, and as best calculated to diffuse a knowledge of the manners and customs of one of the most remarkable peoples of ancient civilisation.

The Editor must express his deep obligation to Lady Wilkinson for notes and additions supplied from the manuscripts of her late husband, who continued to the last his Egyptian studies and researches; he has also to thank Mr. William Chappell for some

observations on Egyptian music; and his son, Mr. Walter de Gray Birch, for general assistance throughout the progress of the work, and for the preparation of an index of a more comprehensive character than those of the previous editions.

S. Birch.

London, *February 9th*, 1878.

Propylæon. (Mystically the door represents Osiris, the towers Isis and Nephthys.—S. B.

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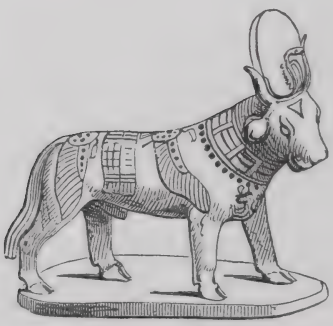

Bronze figure of Apis.

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Harper.

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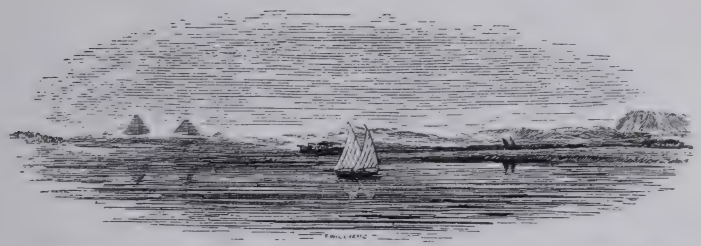

VIGNETTE A.—The Pyramids, during the inundation, from near the fork of the Delta.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of the Egyptians—Slow Increase of the Delta—The Ægyptus of Homer—Ethiopia sometimes put for the Thebaïd—Early State of Society—The Hunter, Shepherd, and Agriculturist—Hierarchy of Egypt—Menes the first King—Neither Osiris nor any other Deity ever supposed by the Egyptians to have lived on Earth—Period elapsed from Menes to the Persian Invasion—Oldest Monuments of Egypt—The Pyramids—Usertesen contemporary of Joseph—The Pastor Kings not the Jews—Early Advancement of Egypt, from the Monuments and Scripture History—Nothing certain before Usertesen I.

THE oldest and most authentic record of the primeval state of the world is unquestionably the Scripture history; and, though the origin of its early inhabitants is only traced in a general and comprehensive manner, we have sufficient data for conjecture on some interesting points.

[The Egyptian tradition of the origin of mankind referred at a later age the creation of man to the demiurgos Chnoumis, who was supposed to have made man out of clay upon a potter's wheel. Another legend, also of comparatively recent growth, attributed the dispersion of mankind to the god Harmachis,[1] one of the forms of Ra, when he triumphed over his enemies in the Apollonopolite nome. Those who escaped the massacre of the war fled to the south and became the inhabitants of Kush, the fugitives of the north were turned into the Amu, those who sought the west the

[1] Chabas, 'Études,' p. 1. Naville, 'Mythe d'Horus.'

Tamahu or Libyans, and the others who escaped to the east the Shasu. Such were the Egyptian notions of the four great races of the family of mankind which inhabited the earth. Other demiurgic legends called Tum the creator of existences and assigner of the colour of the different types: yellow to the Semetic; pink, or white, to the Aryan; and black, and copper-colour, to the Nigritic races.[1] The first period of national existence was supposed to be a kind of golden age, in which the different deities of Egypt reigned in succession, and were succeeded by a race of primitive inhabitants called the *Shasu en Har*, or 'Followers of Horus,'[2] who immediately preceded the first monarchs of the dynasties of mortals. There is apparently some indication that the Egyptians considered themselves autochthonous inhabitants of the Nile; but the general idea is that they entered Egypt from the East by the Isthmus of Suez, repulsed the primitive Nigritic inhabitants, and established themselves in the Valley of the Nile.]

Every one who considers the features, the language, and other peculiarities of the ancient Egyptians, will feel convinced that they are not of African extraction, but that, like the Abyssinians and many inhabitants of the known valley of the Nile,[3] they bear the evident stamp of an Asiatic origin; and Juba, according to Pliny,[4] affirms that 'the people of the banks of the Nile, from Syene to Meroë, were not Ethiopians,[5] but Arabs.' And if feature and other external appearances are insufficient to establish this fact, the formation of the skull, which is decidedly of the Caucasian variety,[6] must remove all doubt of their valley having been peopled from the East: and some may even consider it directly alluded to in the Book of Genesis,[7] where Ham, the son of Noah, and his immediate descendants, are said to have inhabited the lands of Ethiopia, Egypt,[8] Libya, and Canaan. The name of

[1] Grebaut, 'Hymne à Ammon,' p. 11.

[2] Maspero, 'Histoire Ancienne,' p. 18.

[3] That is, the Neel-el-Azrek, 'the Blue,' or more properly 'the Black Nile,' in contradistinction to the Neel-el-Abiad, 'the White (River) Nile.' Azrek is commonly used to signify black as well as blue.

[4] Plin. lib. vi. 34.

[5] That is, *Blacks*.

[6] The Caucasian type of the Egyptians, as deduced from the monuments, is generally admitted (Maspero, 'Histoire Ancienne,' p. 15; Morton, 'Crania Ægyptia;' 'Intern. Congress of Orientalists,' Professor Owen, 8vo. London, 1876, p. 355), although they have been supposed by Professor Huxley to have descended from the primeval inhabitants of an ancient continent, and to resemble the Australians.—S. B.

[7] Gen. x. 1–6.

[8] Mizraim, or Mizrim, a plural word applied to Egypt (Gen. i. 11, *et passim*), is the Hebrew mode of expressing the 'two regions of Egypt' so commonly met with in the hieroglyphics, or the 'two Misr,' a name still used by the Arabs, who call all Egypt, as well as Cairo, Musr or Misr. Thummim or Thmim is in like manner 'the *two* truths.'

Ham[1] is, in fact, the same as that of Egypt, Khem, or Cham; and Moses may have pointed out the eastern origin of the Egyptians by introducing him as a son of Noah. But it is more reasonable to suppose that a colony of Asiatics settled in Egypt at a subsequent period, and that to this cause we ought to attribute the marked distinction between the head of the Egyptians and that of the Negroes.

There has always been a striking resemblance between the Egyptians and Asiatics, both as to their manners, customs, language, and religion; and some authors have considered the valley they inhabited to belong to Asia rather than to Africa:[2] others, again, have divided the country into two parts, the east and west banks of the Nile,[3] assigning the former to Asia, the latter to Africa, and taking the river as the boundary line of the two continents. In manner, language, and many other respects, Egypt was certainly more Asiatic than African.

There is no appearance of the Hindoo and Egyptian religions having been borrowed from one another, which many might be induced to conclude from their great analogy in some points, yet it is not improbable that those two nations may have proceeded from the same original stock, and have migrated southwards from their parent country in Central Asia.[4]

It has been the opinion of many that colonisation and civilisation descended the Nile from Ethiopia, and that the parents of Egyptian science came from the land of Cush. But this notion appears from modern investigation to be totally at variance with fact; and the specimens of art that remain in Ethiopia are not only inferior in conception to those of the Egyptian school, but are deficient in that character which evinces originality.[5] Indeed, I question if the name Ethiopians was exclusively applied to the inhabitants of the country lying beyond Syene; and there is abundant reason to believe, as I shall presently show, that Ethiopia, when mentioned in the sacred history and by many profane authors, in conjunction with Egypt, frequently signified the Thebaïd, the school of learning and the parent of Egyptian science.

Ethiopia, though a vague name, was applied to that country, lying beyond the cataracts, which in the Scriptures, and in the

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[1] Ham is also put for Egypt, as in Psalm lxxviii. 51; and other parts of Scripture.

[2] Plin. v. 9.

[3] [Pliny, vi. 29, who founded Heliopolis near Memphis.—G. W.]

[4] [There are peculiarities in the form of the Egyptian head, which is very prominent at the back.—G. W.]

[5] Also later in point of time.—S. B.

Egyptian language, is called Cush; and black people,[1] designated as natives of 'the foreign land of Cush,' are generally represented on the Egyptian monuments, either as captives, or as the bearers of tribute to the Pharaohs.

But the period at which this civilisation commenced is not within the limits of history;[2] and neither this nor its gradual descent northwards are subjects on which we can speculate with certainty or satisfaction. And, indeed, if we listen to Herodotus, and other writers who maintain that the Delta is of recent date, we are led to the necessity of allowing an immeasurable time for the total formation of that space, which to judge from the very little accumulation of its soil, and the small distance it has encroached on the sea, since the erection of the ancient cities within it, would require numerous ages, and throw back its origin far beyond the Deluge, or even the Mosaic era of the Creation.

Tanis, now San, and in Hebrew Zan, or Tzan, Zoan, at a very remote period of Egyptian history was already founded upon a plain or 'field,'[3] at some distance from the sea-shore; and the vestiges of its ruins are still traced within a few miles of the coast.[4] The lapse of 3190 years, from the days of the great Rameses, has neither made any sensible alteration in the circumjacent levels, nor protruded the land to any distance beyond it into the sea; and if in such a length of time the alluvial deposit of the Nile has been unable to work a sensible change, how can it for a moment be supposed that a period of a thousand years, which

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[1] Plutarch says Egypt was called Chēmi from the blackness (chame) of its soil. May not Ethiopia, 'the *black* country,' have been a translation of Chemi?

[2] Traces of a so-called stone period, of a rude population using palæolithic stone implements, are said to have been recently discovered in the neighbourhood of Thebes (Sir J. Lubbock, 'Journal of the Anthropological Institute,' vol. iv.), disputed, however, by M. Chabas, 'Études,' p. 328; and Lepsius, 'Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache,' 1870, p. 113 *et seq.* Professor Hayter Lewis found a beautiful stone saw near the Pyramid of Zowaryet el Arrian.—S. B.

[3] Psalm lxxviii. 12 and 43: 'In the field of Zoan,' בִּשְׂדֵה־צֹ֣עַן. The Targum has טָנֵס *Tanes.* [The city of Tanis is the Zoan of sacred Scripture, and the modern San or Zan,—the Gami (or Djami) or Athennes, of the Copts. It has extensive mounds, and remains of a small temple of the time of Rameses the Great, remarkable from its having at least ten, if not twelve obelisks. The name of Osirtasen III. found there (Burton's 'Excerpta,' pl. 38, 39, 40) shows that an older temple once stood at Tanis; and the great antiquity of Tanis is also shown by its existing in the time of Abraham, and being founded seven years after Hebron, where Sarah died (Gen. xxiii. 2; Num. xiii. 22). In 'the field of Zoan' the miracles of Moses are said to have been performed (Ps. lxxviii. 12); and its present desolation shows how completely the prophecies against it have been fulfilled (Ezek. xxx. 14; Isa. xix. 11, xxx. 4).—G. W.]

[4] That is, of the Lake Menzaleh. Thenesus (Thenessi) stood *in* that lake or marsh, and consequently much nearer the sea. Again, Canopus, and many other towns and buildings of which vestiges remain, were, as at present, immediately on the sea-shore, in the time of the Ptolemies and Pharaohs, upwards of 2000 years ago.

elapsed between the Deluge and the early part of that king's reign, would suffice for the formation of the *whole* Delta? Remarks which apply with still greater force to Pelusium, Taposiris, and Canopus, which actually stood upon the sea-shore: for, as the learned Bochart justly observes, since the Egyptians themselves reputed the Tanitic Mouth, and the towns of Busiris, Taposiris, Butus, and Pelusium, to have existed even in the early time of Osiris and Horus, they must have known them not to be of recent date; and Homer allows Menelaus to have come to Canopus.[1] And that Tanis[2] was already built in the age of Rameses the Great, we have evidence from the sculptured monuments now existing in its ruins, in addition to the positive authority of Scripture, Moses himself assuring us that it was founded long before the Exodus, seven years after the town of Hebron.[3]

It is, then, evident that neither was the period elapsed between the Deluge and the building of Tanis sufficient to form the Delta, nor the constant accumulation of the alluvial deposit of the Nile capable of making so perceptible a change in the extent of that district, as to authorise us to suppose the upper parts of the country peopled and civilised, while the Delta was a marsh; how much less then can we suppose Ethiopia to have been already inhabited by the ancestors of the future colonisers of Egypt, while that part of the valley lying below the cataracts of Syene was undergoing its formation?

Much consequence has been attached to an expression of Homer, that 'the distance from the Isle of Pharos to Αἴγυπτος was as much as a vessel with a fair wind could perform in one day;' and this is constantly adduced as a decisive proof of the great accumulation of alluvial soil in the Delta,[4] and of its rapid advances into the Mediterranean, since the era of the Trojan war. But a very slight acquaintance with the situation of the Isle of Pharos, and the nature of the ground on which Alexandria is built, ought to have prevented so erroneous a conclusion; and if we readily account for the misconstruction of the Αἰγύπτου προπάροιθε[5] of

[1] Bochart, Sacra, lib. iv. c. 24.

[2] The remains of the Hykshos or Shepherd Kings, who reigned prior to the eighteenth dynasty, have been found at Tanis. (Mariette, 'Lettre à M. le Vicomte de Rougé sur les Fouilles de Tanis,' p. 16.) Abandoned or neglected till the time of Rameses, it was then called Paramesses. (Brugsch, 'L'Exode et les Monuments Égyptiens,' 1874.)—S. B.

[3] Numbers xiii. 22: 'Hebron was built seven years before Zoan.' It already existed in the days of Abraham. 'And Sarah died in Kirjath-arba: the same is Hebron' (Gen. xxiii. 2; conf. Josh. xv. 13, and Judg. i. 10).

[4] Plutarch, de Iside, s. 40.

[5] Odyss. Δ 355. By the harbour and fresh water at the Isle of Pharos Homer evidently alludes to the site of the modern Alexandria, close to the island. [Conf. Diodor. i. 31.—G. W.]

the poet, we are surprised at the notion which extends the river and its alluvial deposit *over the space between* the Canopic mouth and the Pharos, hitherto unwashed by the fertilising waters of the rising Nile. [So trifling is the accumulation of soil at the shore of the Delta, we can only suppose that the quantity of mud constantly taken down to be deposited in the sea must be carried off by strong currents setting from the coast of Syria, which sweep off the greater proportion of the mud from the Mediterranean shore: and the lightness of the Nile water, though holding so much mud in suspension, carries it over the dense salt water of the sea to a distance, as *some have supposed*, of 40 miles from the shore.—G. W.] And if a certain deposit does take place *in the harbour* of Alexandria, it is very trifling, and by no means capable of having united Pharos to the shore, which was done artificially[1] by means of the Heptastadium. [Seven stadia from the shore, or three quarters of a mile from the inner or eastern harbour. Though the depth of the soil has greatly increased, and is still increasing, in various ratios in different parts of the valley, the first deposit did not take place after man existed in Egypt; and as marine productions have not been met with in boring to the depth of 40 feet in the Delta, it is evident that its soil was deposited from the very first on a space already above the level of the Mediterranean. The formation of the Delta of Egypt is not like that of some other rivers, where the land has been protruded far into the sea; on the contrary, the Nile, after pursuing its course through the alluvial soil, enters the sea at the same distance north of the Lake Mœris as it did in the age of the early kings of Egypt. The sites of the oldest cities are as near the sea-shore as when they were inhabited of old; and yet the period now elapsed since some of them were built is nearly double that between Menes and Herodotus. The Pharos Isle and the coast of Alexandria being both *rock*, the distance between them has always been the same. Another great reason for the Delta not encroaching on the sea is that the land is always sinking along the north coast of Egypt (while it rises at the head of the Red Sea); and there is evidence to show that the Mediterranean has encroached, and that the Delta has lost instead of gaining, along the whole of its extent from Canopus to Pelusium. The distance that the Mediterranean is discoloured by the Nile during the inundation is

[1] [*V.* Amm. Marcel. 22, p. 342, edit. 1681; Cæsar, 'de Bell. Civ.' lib. iii. *passim*; Strabo, xvii. p. 545, edit. 1587; Josephus, 'Ant.' xii. c. 2, s. 13.—G. W.]

very great, and the same takes place in a minor degree at the mouths of rivers on the Syrian coast, but without their forming any deltas; nor is the shallow sea off the coast of Egypt more a part of the Delta of the Nile now than when sounded in Herodotus' time, about 2300 years ago; and 11 orgyies (or fathoms) at a day's sail from the coast would alarm a sailor even at the present day. For you only come into 11 fathoms water at about 12 or 13 miles off the coast, about Abukir; and at 25 or 30 miles you have 60, 70, 80, and 90 fathoms, with sand and mud. At five or six miles from the mouth of the Nile the water on the surface is nearly fresh, and the bottom mostly a stiff mud. The longest day's sail, according to Herodotus,[1] is 700 stadia, about 79½ English miles, or 540 stadia, about 61 miles, where the soundings would be at least the same number of fathoms.—G. W.] The Heptastadium, increased in breadth by many subsequent additions, now forms the base of the chief part of the modern city. Ancient Alexandria, the successor of the town of Rakôtis, stood on the *rock* of the Libyan desert, which is still beyond the reach and above the level of the inundation; and the distance from the line of the coast to Pharos is the same as in the days of Homer. The error respecting its having been a day's journey from Egypt originated in the misinterpretation of the word Αἴγυπτος, which is used by the poet to designate both the Nile and Egypt;[2] and that the river was so called in ancient times is testified by the authority of Diodorus, who states that Nileus, one of the early monarchs[3] of the country, transferred his name to the stream, 'which previously bore that of Ægyptus.'[4] Arrian[5] again justly observes, that 'the river, now called by the Egyptians and others Nile, is shown by Homer to have been named Ægyptus, when he relates[6] that Menelaus anchored his fleet at the mouth of the Ægyptus;' and the bare inspection of the verse to which he alludes suffices to prove his remark to be correct. It is, then, to the Nile, not to the coast of Egypt, that Homer alludes: and thus the argument derived from his authority must cease to be brought forward in support of the great

[1] iv. 86.

[2] Various conjectures have been made as to the name of Egypt; lately it has been supposed to be derived from *Ha-ka-ptah*, the sacred name of Memphis.—S. B.

[3] Diodorus places him as the predecessor of Chembres, who erected the great pyramid.

[4] Manetho says Egypt took its name from Sethosis, who was also called Ægyptus, and was brother of Armaïs. (Josephus, contra Ap. lib. i. c. 15.) Aulus Gellius tells us Egypt was formerly named Aeria (xiv. 6). Diodorus, i. 19.

[5] Arr. Exped. Alex. lib. v. and lib. vi. [Conf. Amm. Marcel. lib. xxii. p. 333; edit. 1681.—G. W.]

[6] Odyss. Δ 477, and Ξ 257.

encroachments of the Delta, and of the constant advance of the land into the receding sea.

To any person who has examined the levels of the alluvial deposits of the Nile in various parts of its course, as from the first cataract to its mouth at Rosetta,[1] it is well known that the perpendicular stratum of soil, if I may so call it, decreases in thickness as it approaches the sea; and thus at Elephantine the land has been raised about nine feet in 1700 years, at Thebes about seven, and so on, gradually diminishing to the mouth. There, indeed, the deposit is lessened in a very remarkable degree, much more than in the same decreasing ratio, in consequence of the greater extent of the land, east and west, over which the inundation spreads; so that, in a section representing the accumulated soil and the level of the low Nile, the angle of inclination would be much smaller from the fork of the Delta to the Sea, than from the Thebaïd to the Delta. And this is satisfactorily proved by the increase of the banks and the surface of the country at Elephantine, Thebes, Heliopolis, the vicinity of old Cairo, and other places, where the positions of ancient monuments attest the former levels of the land's surface, and enable us to ascertain the increase within a known period. Around the base of the obelisk at Heliopolis, erected by Usertesen I. about 1700 years before our era, the alluvial soil has accumulated[2] to the height of five feet ten inches;[3] and, comparing this with Elephantine, we shall find that a monument placed there at the same period would have been buried to the depth of about nineteen feet. Heliopolis stood to the south of the Delta; and the diminution northwards, for every mile, in an expanse of increasing breadth, must have been proportionably greater as it approached the sea, till at the shore it became almost imperceptible, even after the lapse of many ages.[4]

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[1] The banks during the low Nile are upwards of 30 feet high in parts of Nubia, in middle Egypt 20, and decrease as they are nearer the mouth.

[I find Shaw calculates 'somewhat more than a foot in a hundred years' (c. ii. s. 3). —G. W.]

[2] [The water-mark, to which the Nile rises, is 5ft. 10in. on the W. side, and 5ft. 6in. on the N. side, above the level of the ground.—G. W.]

[See, also, a full examination of this question in a paper by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, 'On the Present and Former Levels of the Nile,' Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc., vol. ix., 1839, p. 431.—C. C. W.]

[3] In my 'Egypt and Thebes' (p. 313), I have said 'between seven and eight feet.' This was from information I received at Cairo, and suspecting it to be erroneous, I sent to have it ascertained, and found it to be as stated above.

[4] Some attempt to determine the age of the civilisation, by the depth in the alluvial Nile mud at which objects have been found, has been made by L. Horner, 'On the Alluvial Land of Egypt,' in the Philosophical Transactions, 1858, p. 75,

Having endeavoured to show that no argument can be derived from the appearance of the Delta, to favour the supposition of this district having been formed at a period when the upper part of the country was already inhabited, it is necessary to observe that I limit my remarks exclusively to the Nile, whose nature is very different from that of most rivers, and particularly those whose deltas have been created and rapidly increased by materials brought down by their waters, and deposited at their mouths. These, consisting of trees and other vegetable productions, have tended to form here and there a nucleus for the construction of islands, afterwards connected with the main land, and consolidated by alluvial deposit and fresh materials constantly adhering to them; but this peculiarity is totally unknown at the mouth of the Egyptian Nile.

It is not my present intention to enter into any speculation upon the formation of the alluvial land of Egypt, and its Delta; and much less shall I attempt to fix the time required for such an event. This would be irrelevant and presumptuous, even if we were not limited to the period elapsed between the Deluge and the age of those early Pharaohs, in whose time all the country, as it now exists, was densely peopled. Nor would any one be permitted to assert the priority of a *nation* from the apparent antiquity of the soil which clothes the rocks of the country. But of this we may be assured, that the formation of Egypt and its extensive Delta is beyond the reach of our inquiry, and of a date long anterior to the epoch at which that country or Ethiopia was inhabited.

With regard to the word Ethiopia, used by ancient authors, we have many reasons for supposing it was sometimes intended to designate, or was confounded with, the Thebaïd or Upper Egypt. The expression of Pliny, "Ethiopia was evidently renowned and powerful, even to the time of the Trojan war, . . . and extended its empire over Syria,"[1] though he is speaking of Ethiopia proper, can only have been borrowed from a tradition relating to the Thebaïd, since the Diospolite monarchs ruled and received tribute from Ethiopia, and actually did extend their dominion over Syria; which the Ethiopians could not have done without first obtaining possession of Egypt, and that, too, at a period when

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which gives 12,000 years at the assumed rate of deposits of 3·5 inches per century at Memphis, from the fragments of vase found at 70 feet; but the whole inquiry is for many reasons more than unsatisfactory. —S. B.

[1] Plin. vi. 35.

the Pharaohs were in the zenith of their power. Nor is the assertion of the prophet Nahum, that Ethiopia and Egypt were the strength of Nó, less remarkable; Nó, or, as the Hebrew gives it, Na-Amûn, being the name of Thebes.[1] According to Aristotle,[2] 'the Thebaïd was formerly called Egypt;' the rest of the country being deemed of minor importance, and the Thebaïd bearing this name *par excellence:* and Herodotus says, that 'Egypt in ancient times was called Thebes.'[3] Whence it may be supposed that Lower Egypt was conquered by, or annexed to, the Thebaïd, or, as it was then styled, Egypt; and, if this be true, we can have no hesitation in ascribing to it the precedence of the upper country, [in the hieroglyphic legends; unless it be from the eighteenth Theban dynasty having driven out the Shepherds and again brought all Egypt under one sceptre; or from the early precedence of This, of which Menes was a native.—G. W.]

The question respecting the comparative antiquity and civilisation of the Egyptians and Ethiopians has now become obsolete. I do not, therefore, detain the reader by any further mention of the numerous arguments to be adduced from the monuments of both countries, to decide the priority of the Egyptians, which even those ancient writers, whose authority some have supposed to militate against that opinion, do not fail to prove: Diodorus[4] allowing that 'the Thebans consider themselves the oldest of men, and affirm that philosophy and astrology were invented by them,' in no way acknowledging the Ethiopians as their predecessors, and Herodotus[5] distinctly stating that the manners of the Egyptian troops who deserted from Psammetichus had a very sensible effect in civilising the Ethiopians.[6]

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[1] Nahum iii. 8, 9. This passage is very interesting. 'Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the waters, that had the waters round about it; whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength: Put and Lubin were thy helpers.' The word יְאֹרִים *Iarim*, 'the rivers,' is the Hebrew plural of the Egyptian word *iaro*, 'River,' applied to the Nile. The word *sea* is, in the Hebrew, water or waters, and does not apply exclusively to the sea. 'Populous No' should be No or Na-Amûn, taken from the Egyptian HI N AMOTN or AMOTN-HI, 'the abode of Amûn,' or Diospolis, Thebes. There is no appearance of the name 'Egypt' on the ancient monuments, where the country is called 'Chemi,' represented in hieroglyphics by the tail of a crocodile. Chemi, 'the black land,' 'the land of Ham,' or of Khem (the Egyptian god Pan, or the Generative principle of Nature), is said by Plutarch to have been so called from the blackness of the soil.

[2] Aristot. Meteorol. lib. i. 14.

[3] Herod. ii. 15.

[Strabo, on the other hand, speaks of the whole of Egypt being the low country, and then mentions the Thebaïd separately (lib. xvii. p. 563; edit. 1587).—G. W.]

[4] Diod. i. 50.

[5] Herod. ii. 30.

[6] [A people who elected their kings for their physical powers (Herod. iii. 20), proving that they still had the habits of uncivilised races.—G. W.]

Of the state of Egypt at the epoch when the arrival of Joseph, or the Exodus of the Israelites, took place, some little information may be obtained from the Bible, and from the monuments that remain, both of which bespeak a people already far advanced in the arts and customs of civilised life. And though we must remain ignorant of their origin, and of the form of government at the commencement of Egyptian history, we may venture to explain, from reason and probability, some of the causes of their early and rapid progress.

But the primeval history of states, especially at so remote an epoch, must necessarily be a matter of pure conjecture, since they are beyond the reach of authentic records; and if those nations themselves had handed down to us what they deemed their real annals, we should find them so complicated and improbable, that it would be out of our power to separate truth from fiction. Such is the character of the uncertain fragments of Manetho, preserved by later writers; and even the early history of the Greeks is so encumbered with allegory, and a mysterious system of mythology, that it is difficult to distinguish between real events and religious fable: a mode of uniting history and metaphysical theory not peculiar to the Greeks, but adopted by other, perhaps by all, nations of antiquity; and, wherever we have been able to examine the basis on which it was constructed, a striking similarity is observable in its general outline.

Whether Egypt was originally governed by an hierarchy or a monarchy is still a question. It is true that infant states are more usually governed by some individual, pre-eminent for his abilities either as a statesman or a warrior, than by a body of persons with equal authority; but, as the former opinion appears to be less at variance with what history has imparted to us, it is more reasonable to conclude that, like Judæa before the time of Saul, Egypt was ruled by an hierarchy, until the accession of its first king, Menes.

Any attempt to fix the precise era of this political change must be fruitless and unsatisfactory: if, however, it is beyond our reach, there are positive grounds for the conviction, that no Egyptian deity was ever supposed to have lived on earth;[1] and

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[1] *Vide* Herod. ii. 143. The priests also assured him that no deity had ever lived on earth (Ibid. ii. 142); and Plutarch, de Iside, v. 21, observes that the inhabitants of the Thebaïd entertained the same opinions. Works of imagination, however, represented the gods as coming on earth and walking there, and the historical lists supposed that they reigned on earth. —S. B.

the story of Osiris's rule in this world is purely allegorical, and intimately connected with the most profound and curious mystery of their religion. And so great was their respect for the important secret, and for the name of Osiris, that Herodotus[1] scrupled to mention him; and Plutarch[2] says the Egyptian priests talked with great reserve even of his well-known character as ruler of the dead.

The Egyptians justly ridiculed the Greeks for pretending to derive their origin from deities. They showed Hecatæus and Herodotus a series of three hundred and forty-five high priests, each of whom, they observed, was 'a man, son of a man,' but in no instance the descendant of a god: thus censuring the folly of Hecatæus, who claimed a deity as his sixteenth ancestor. Such is the meaning of the expression in Herodotus,[3] 'a *piromis*, son of a *piromis*:' and it is singular that the historian should not have understood the signification of the word *rômi*,[4] man, or *pirômi*, the man, as the sense alone suffices to point it out; and his translation proves how ignorant he was of the language of the country in which he travelled. Indeed, the information of Herodotus was frequently of a very imperfect kind, owing sometimes to an excess of credulity, of which the humorous Egyptians gladly took advantage in a Greek, and sometimes to a want of scrutiny, as may be seen in the account he gives of the sources of the Nile.[5]

The kings of Egypt are arranged by Manetho in twenty-six dynasties, from the time of Menes to the invasion of Cambyses, which happened B.C. 525;[6] but whether any dependence can be placed on the names and number of the kings before the accession of the eighteenth dynasty, is a matter of great doubt;[7] and some of the authors to whom we are indebted for the fragments of his work disagree in their arrangement. Nor do the monuments render us any assistance in this portion of the early history; though the great similarity in the names and order of the monarchs, in the eighteenth and some of the succeeding dynasties, suggests the probability of the original work of Manetho having been derived from authentic sources.

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[1] Herod. ii. 86, *et alibi*.

[2] Plut. de Is. s. 79.

[3] Herod. ii. 143.

[4] *Rōmi* in the old language did not signify 'man,' which was expressed by *rot*. The word *rōmi* is found in the later demotic and Coptic.—S. B.

[5] Herod. ii. 28.

[6] The last received date is B.C. 527.—S. B.

[7] Although the exact number of the kings before the eighteenth dynasty is not known, the names of most of the monarchs now are.—S. B.

View of South side of Great Pyramid. *Gizeh.*

One great difficulty arises from the long duration assigned to the Egyptian monarchy: the sum of years from Menes to the Persian invasion being, according to Manetho, about 4750 years, without reckoning the fourteenth dynasty; and Herodotus' account, who was assured by the priests that 330 kings succeeded that prince,[1] requires, on an average of fifteen years to a reign, about 4950 years for the same period. A similar objection applies to the statements of Diodorus and other writers; but, as the examination of controverted questions can offer little interest to the reader, I shall only venture a few remarks on the period previous to the arrival of Joseph.

The oldest monuments of Egypt, and probably of the world, are the pyramids to the north of Memphis;[2] but the absence of hieroglyphics and of every trace of sculpture precludes the possibility of ascertaining the exact period of their erection, or the names of their founders. From all that can be collected on this head, it appears that Suphis and his brother Sensuphis[3] erected them about the year 2120 B.C.;[4] and the tombs in their vicinity may have been built, or cut in the rock, shortly after their completion.[5] These present the names of very ancient kings, whom we are still unable to refer to any certain epoch, or to place in the series of dynasties; but whether they were cotemporary with the immediate predecessors of Usertesen,[6] or ruled the whole of Egypt, is a question that I do not as yet pretend to answer.

Previous to the accession of the first Usertesen, who probably

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[1] L. ii. s. 100. He may mean 330 kings from Menes to Amasis, though he says to Mœris; and in s. 143, he speaks of 345 kings and high priests, and in s. 142, of 341 generations before Sethos. He confounds reigns with generations. For the chronology of Herodotus, cf. Lepsius, 'Einleitung.'—S. B.

[2] Altogether, about sixty-six pyramids are known. The oldest is that of Senefru of the fourth dynasty at Meidoum, prior to those of Cheops and Cephren or the two Suphis. The latest pyramids are those of the last kings of the twelfth dynasty at the Lake Mœris. All were sepulchres.—S. B.

[3] Sensuphis signifies 'the brother of Suphis,' agreeing with the relationship mentioned by Herodotus between Cheops and Cephren. They were succeeded by Moscheris or Mencheres, the Mycerinus of the Greek historian. Suphis, according to Manetho, was the second king in the fourth dynasty of Memphites. [Sensuphis is now recognised as Suphis II., the *sen* having been erroneously repeated by the scribe in the list of Eratosthenes, from the previous word *ebasileusen*.—S. B.]

[4] The tombs of the royal families and principal officers of state of the fourth, fifth, and sixth dynasties.—S. B.

[5] This is following Eratosthenes, who places Suphis or Saophis the fourth before Apappus, whom I suppose to have been the cotemporary of Abraham, B.C. 1920. For if Jacob's arrival, B.C. 1706, is referred to the reign of Apappus, the antiquity of these monarchs is unnecessarily increased, and the additional 214 years augment our perplexities on the subject.

[6] If we may believe Josephus, Manetho speaks of kings of the Thebaïd and the rest of Egypt uniting in a common cause; and thereby shows the existence of cotemporary dynasties.

lived about 1740 B.C. and was therefore cotemporary with Joseph, we have little to guide us upon the monuments of Egypt;[1] but we may safely conjecture, from the state of those erected during his reign, that the Egyptians were already far advanced in the arts of civilised life, and had arrived nearly at the same state in which they continued during what may be styled the Augustan era of the eighteenth dynasty. This is further confirmed by the scriptural sketch of Egyptian manners in the time of Joseph; but we have nothing to lead to any conclusion respecting the exact duration of the previous reigns, the organisation and progress of the political state of the country, or the period from which its civilisation dates its commencement.

Nor can anything satisfactory be derived from the imperfect history[2] of the shepherd kings given by Manetho, or at least by his copyists: and his account of their aggressions is not sufficiently clear to enable us to determine whether he alludes to the Assyrians, Phœnicians, or Arabs.[3] That they were not Jews is evident; though, as I have already observed in a former work, the Exodus of the Israelites may possibly, through the inattention of some authors, have been confounded with the expulsion of the Pastor tribes: and their abomination of shepherds necessarily originating in serious injuries received from them, as it already existed in the time of Joseph, proves their hostile invasions to have happened before that period.

About the epoch of the Jewish captivity, Egypt must have

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[1] Since this was written the publication of Lepsius' 'Denkmäler der Aegypten,' Abth. iii.; and Mariette-Bey, 'Monuments divers,' Paris, 1875, have thrown great light on the tombs, and De Rougé, 'Les six premières Dynasties,' 4to, Paris, great light on the history of Egypt.—S. B.

[2] Many histories of Egypt were written at different periods, by native as well as foreign authors, which have unfortunately been lost. (Conf. Cicero, de Repub. iii. 8.) The principal authors were Hecatæus, Herodotus, Manetho, Diodorus, and Chæremon.—S. B.

[3] Herodotus calls Sennacherib 'king of Arabia and Assyria' (lib. ii. 141).

[More probably Asiatic Ethiopians, Cushites of Asia, who had long possession of Arabia, as well as the southern parts of the country east of the Ionian Gulf, Susa being a Cushite or Ethiopian city. Of the same race were the Phœnicians who migrated from the Persian Gulf about the modern Bahrayn. They long possessed the islands of Aradus and Tylos, etc.; those Cushites were also parents of the Ethiopians of the Upper Nile, *i.e.* that part corresponding to the modern Nubia. Having crossed over from the S.W., corner of Arabia at a more remote period, and being Asiatics, accounts for the Ethiopians of the Nile bearing the Asiatic, not the African, character of features, hair, etc. The same Cushites probably peopled part of Egypt also at that remote period and became united with another race, perhaps a Semitic, already established in Northern Egypt.

Cush (Kush, or Kish) is the cuneiform, and Ethaush the Coptic name of 'Ethiopia;' the name of Cush had already been given to Ethiopia on the monuments before the invasion of the Shepherds, at the beginning of the twelfth dynasty.—G. W.]

View of the Great Pyramid and Sphinx. *Gizeh.*

been engaged in a war with some powerful enemies, since the reason of the oppression exercised against the unresisting Hebrews is stated to have been the fear of their uniting with them ;[1] and, indeed, it appears from the sculptures of Beni-Hassan, that the Egyptians already, as early as the reign of Usertesen, had extended their arms into Asia, had thence brought many captives to Egypt, and had perhaps enrolled some of the conquered people in their army, as was frequently the case at a later period. This war with foreign nations is another strong argument against the opinion of Josephus that the Jews were the Shepherds, and the pretended power of his countrymen at so early an epoch is inconsistent with reason and probability. The Jews, even in the most flourishing state, when in firm possession of the promised land, and united under one king, never did arrive at the degree of power which he has ascribed to them in Egypt; and the whole is at variance with Scripture history.

[Recent discoveries have thrown a strong light on the history of the Shepherd dynasty. The fall of the fourteenth or Xoite dynasty was followed by the simultaneous invasion of Egypt from Canaan consequent on the Asiatic immigrations into the Delta. Established at Memphis, five of the Shepherd kings, Bnon, Apachnas, Apappus, and Iannias, for two centuries carried on war with the southern princes, and Asses subjected Northern Egypt. These conquerors bore the Semitic name of Shasu or pillagers, and their princes called *haq* were the Hykshos of Manetho. Their monuments and remains have been found as far south as the Fyoum, and it appears that the Theban princes of the sixteenth dynasty were tributary to them. Ultimately they were expelled by the monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty. Apepi or Apappus II. demanded of the Theban monarch Taakan assistance towards the building of the temple of Sutech or Set, and quarrelled about the distribution of the waters. War broke out between the Shepherd and Egyptian rulers, and after a contest continued for several years Avaris or Tanis was finally besieged by Aahmes I. of the eighteenth dynasty and taken in the fifth year of his reign; the Shepherd ruler Tatuan and his Asiatic host departing for Asia, whither they were pursued as far as Saruhen or Sharon, in the sixth year of Aahmes I. The monuments of the Shepherds found

[1] Exodus i. 10: 'Lest . . . . when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us.' According to Manetho, the Egyptians had obtained possession of Libya long before this epoch, since he speaks of the Libyans revolting from the first king of the *third* dynasty.

at Tanis represent them with Asiatic features and characteristics and of a type very different from the Egyptians.[1]—S. B.]

And in order to present a comparative view of the succession from Menes to the invasion of Cambyses, according to Herodotus and Diodorus, I shall arrange the names given by those historians separately in opposite columns.

EGYPTIAN KINGS.

According to Herodotus.	*According to Diodorus.*[2]
—341 Generations, (or Kings,) "equal to 11,340 (or 5115) years." Herod. ii. 142.—	
Menes.	Menes, or Menas.
330 Sovereigns. 18 Ethiopians and Queen Nitocris. (The Nitocris of Manetho is placed in the 6th Dynasty, and after Suphis the founder of the great pyramid.)	Then 2 of his descendants. Then 52 Kings. — During a period of more than 1,400 years.
	Busiris.
	Then 8 of his descendants; the last of whom bore the same name as the first,[3] and was said to have founded Thebes. His 8th descendant, who bore the name of his father, Uchoreus, reputed to be the founder of Memphis.
	Then 12 generations of Kings.
Mœris, built the labyrinth and excavated the Lake Mœris.	Moiris, dug the lake above Memphis.
	Seven generations of Kings.
Sesostris, the great conqueror.	Sesoôsis I. the great conqueror.
Pheron, his son.	Sesoôsis II.
	Many kings succeeded him.
	Amasis, who was conquered by Actisanes.
	Actisanes the Ethiopian.
	Mendes, or Marrhus, an Egyptian, who built the labyrinth as a tomb for himself.
	An interregnum for 5 generations.
A Memphite, whose name according to the Greeks is Proteus.	Ketna, or Ketes, who is Proteus.
Rhampsinitus.	Rhemphis.
	Seven Kings of no note, from one of whom, Nileus, the river was called Nilus, having formerly borne the name of Ægyptus.
Cheops, built the great pyramid and reigned 50 years.	The eighth was Chembes, or Chemmis, the Memphite. He reigned 50 years and built the great pyramid.
Cephren, his brother, built the 2nd pyramid and reigned 56 years.	Cephren, his brother, reigned 56 years; others say he was his son, and call him Chabryïs.

[1] A full account of the war has been given by M. Chabas, 'Les Pasteurs en Égypte,' 1868; Maspero, 'Histoire Ancienne,' p. 176.

[2] It is worthy of remembrance that Diodorus does not introduce the name of Osymandyas in this list of kings, though he mentions him as a Theban monarch in his description of that city.

[3] Some suppose him to have been Busiris II.

EGYPTIAN KINGS.

According to Herodotus.	*According to Diodorus.*
Mycerinus, son of Cheops, left a pyramid.	Mycerinus, or Mecherinus, son of the founder of the great pyramid. He began a third, and died before it was finished.
Asychis.	Tnephachthus, the Technatis of Plutarch.
Anysis, who was blind. The Egyptian crown passed to an Ethiopian line.	Bocchoris the Wise, his son.
Sabaco, the Ethiopian, retired after 50 years.	After a long time, Sabacôn the Ethiopian.
Anysis restored.	An interregnum of 2 years.
Sethos the priest of Vulcan, cotemporary of Sennacherib and Tirhaka.	
The 12 Kings reigned over Egypt, divided into 12 parts[1] (or nomes).	Twelve chiefs (nomarchs) 18 years.
Psammitichus, one of the 12, 54 years.	Psammetichus the Saïte, one of them, 54 years.
Necos, his son, reigned 11 years.	
Psammis, his son, 6 years.	After 4 generations, came
Apries, his son, 25 years.	Apries, who reigned 22 years.
Amasis, having usurped the throne, 44 years.	Amasis, 55 years.
Psammenitus, his son, reigned 6 months.	

The dynasties of Egyptian monarchs, according to Manetho (on the authority of Africanus and Eusebius), are as follow :—

1*st Dynasty, of* 8 *Kings, either Thinites or Thebans.* Name.	Duration of Reign. yrs.	*Observations.*
1. Menes, the Thinite, succeeded the Demigods, killed by a hippopotamus . . .	62	Called a Theban by Eratosthenes, and apparently so according to the monuments. Eusebius mentions 7 or 17 sons of Menes.
2. Athôthis, his son, built the palace at Memphis, and wrote the anatomical books, being a physician	57	
3. Cencenes (Kenkenes), his son . . .	31	
4. Venephes (Enephes or Venephres), his son, raised the pyramids near the town of Cochone (Cochoma or Choe). A great plague in Egypt during his reign	23	
5. Usaphædos (Saphaidos or Usaphaes), his son .	20	
6. Miebidos (Miebes or Miebais), his son . .	26	
7. Semempses (Semenpses or Mempses), his son. A terrible pestilence raged in Egypt . .	18	According to Africanus 253, Eusebius 252; the sum being really 263.
8. Biênaches (Ubienthes or Vibethis), his son .	26	
Total	253	

[1] The same division of Egypt into 12 provinces or beyliks was retained to the time of the Memlooks.

2nd Dynasty, of 9 Thinite Kings.

Name.	Duration of Reign. yrs.	*Observations.*
1. Boethus the first (or Bôchus). In his reign the earth opened at Bubastis, and many were killed	38	
2. Cæechos (Chous or Cechous). Under him the bulls Apis in Memphis, and Mnevis in Heliopolis, and the Mendesian goat were appointed to be gods	39	This introduction of the worship of sacred animals is remarkable.
3. Binôthris (or Biophis), under whom it was enacted that women might hold the reins of government	47	
4. Tlas	17	
5. Sethenes	41	
6. Chæres	17	
(According to Eusebius, these three, and their four successors, did nothing worthy of commemoration, and he omits their names.)		
7. Nephercheres (the seventh successor of Biophis, according to Eusebius). Fabulists reported the Nile to have flowed with honey during eleven days	25	
8. Sesôchris, who was 5 cubits (7 ft. 6 in.) in height, and 3 in breadth; or, according to Eusebius, 3 palms	48	
9. Cheneres (or Keneres). Name omitted by Eusebius	30	
Altogether	302	Eusebius gives 297 years.

3rd Dynasty, of 9 Memphite Kings.

1. Necherôphes (Echerophes or Necherôchis). In his reign *the Libyans revolted* from the Egyptians; but, alarmed by an unexpected increase of the moon, submitted	28	
2. Tosorthrus (or Sesorthus), called Asclepius by the Egyptians, from his medical skill. He introduced the mode of building with *hewn stone*, and patronised *literature*	29	
3. Tyris	7	
4. Mesôchris	17	
5. Sôÿphis (Sôuphis or Zôuphis)	16	
6. Tosertasis	19	
7. Aches	42	
8. Sephuris	30	
9. Cerpheres	26	
(Eusebius mentions *six* others after Sesorthus, who were not famed for any memorable exploit: and he omits their names.)		
Altogether	214	Eusebius gives the total 197 years.

4th Dynasty, of 8 Memphite Kings of a different branch.

1. Sôris	29	Eusebius omits the name of Sôris, and considers Suphis the 3rd of this Dynasty.
2. Suphis. Built the largest pyramid, which Herodotus says was constructed by Cheops. He was arrogant towards the gods, and wrote the *sacred book*, which is regarded by the Egyptians as a very precious work[1]	63	

[1] This is very contradictory.

4th Dynasty, of 8 *Memphite Kings of a different branch*—continued.		Duration of Reign. yrs.	*Observations.*
Name.			
3. Suphis (the 2nd)	The names of these are omitted by Eusebius.	66	
4. Mencheres		63	
5. Rhatœses		25	
6. Bicheris		22	
7. Sebercheres		7	
8. Thampthis		9	
Altogether		284	According to Eusebius 448 years.

5th Dynasty, of 9 *Elephantine Kings.*			
1. Usercheres	Eusebius reckons 31 Elephantine kings, but omits all their names, and introduces Othius and Phiops into this Dynasty.	28	
2. Sephres		13	
3. Nephercheres (or Nerchepheres)		20	
4. Sisires (Sisichis or Sisiris)		7	
5. Cheres (or Echeres)		20	
6. Rathures (or Rathuris)		44	
7. Mencheres (or Mercheres)		9	
8. Tancheres (or Tacheres)		44	
9. Obnus (Unus or Onnus)		33	
Altogether		248	The sum is 218.

6th Dynasty, of 6 *Memphite Kings.*		
1. Othóes (Othius or Thôês), killed by his guards	30	Omitted by Eusebius.
2. Phius	53	
3. Methusuphis	7	
4. Phiops (or Aphiops), who began to reign at the age of 6 years, and reigned until he completed his 100th year	94	As Eusebius calls Phiops the 4th King, he evidently intends to place him in the Sixth Dynasty. Is he not the same as Apophis?
5. Menthesuphis	1	
6. Nitôcris.[1] The handsomest woman of her time, of a florid complexion and flaxen hair; built the third pyramid	12	Nitocris, or Minerva Victrix.
Total	203	Should be 197.

7th Dynasty, of 70 *Memphite Kings, who reigned* 70 *days; or, according to Eusebius,* 5 *Kings, who reigned* 75 *days or years.*

8th Dynasty, of 27 *Memphite Kings, who reigned* 156 *years. Eusebius gives* 5 *Kings and* 106 *years.*

[1] This name is either Neit-gori or Neit-acri. The Queen of Psammatichus III. was also called Nit-akar.

	Observations.
9th Dynasty, of 19 *Heracleopolite Kings, who reigned* 409 *years; or, according to Eusebius,* 4, *who ruled* 100 *years.*	
Name. — Duration of Reign. yrs.	
1. The first was Achthoes (Achtros, Ochthovis, or Ochitois). More cruel than all his predecessors; and, having perpetrated many crimes in Egypt, he was seized with madness, and afterwards killed by a crocodile.	
10th Dynasty, of 19 *Heracleopolite Kings, who reigned* 185 *years.*	
11th Dynasty, of 16 *Diospolite Kings, who reigned* 43 *years.*	
Of these Ammenemes reigned 16	According to Eusebius these 16 years are not included in the total of 43.
[The number of the above-mentioned kings is 200, who reigned during the space of 2300 years and 70 days.[1] This terminates Manetho's first book.]	
SECOND BOOK OF MANETHO.	
12th Dynasty, of 7 *Diospolite Kings.*	
1. Sesonchosis (Geson-Goses, or Sesonchoris), son of Ammanemes 46	
2. Ammanemes (or Ammenemes), slain by his eunuchs 38	
3. Sesôstris conquered all Asia in nine years, and Europe as far as Thrace, everywhere erecting monuments of his conquest over those nations. Among the people who had acted bravely, he set up memorials of a phallic nature; but among the degenerate, female emblems engraved on stelæ. He is considered by the Egyptians to be the first after Osiris. His stature was 4 cubits, 3 palms, and 2 digits (about 6 feet 10 inches) . . . 48	
4. Lachares (Labaris, Lamaris, or Lambares), built the labyrinth in the Arsinoïte nome as a tomb for himself 8	If this is the Mœris of Herodotus, he is perhaps correct in making him the immediate successor of Sesostris.
5. Ammeres (or Ameres) . } Eusebius omits the names of these three, and says the successors of Labaris reigned 42 years. } 8	
6. Ammenemes . } 8	
7. Scemiophris (Skemiophris), his sister . } 4	
Altogether 160	According to Eusebius 245.
13th Dynasty, of 60 *Diospolite Kings, who reigned* 453 *years.*	
14th Dynasty, of 76 *Xoite Kings, who reigned* 134 *years. Eusebius says* 484; *another reading gives* 184.	

[1] The total of the sums given by Africanus is only 2287 years 70 days; or, corrected, 2261 years 70 days. Eusebius has omitted two of these sums; but, assuming them the same as those of Africanus, his total of years would be 2059 and 75 days.

15th Dynasty, of the Shepherds. According to Eusebius, of Diospolitans, who reigned 250 years.

Name.	Duration of Reign. yrs.	*Observations.*
These were 6 foreign Phœnician Kings, who took Memphis.		
1. The first was Saïtes, from whom the Saïte[1] nome borrowed its name. The Shepherds founded a city in the Sethroïte nome, from whence they invaded and conquered all Egypt	19	Probably meaning Lower Egypt, which even in the time of the Romans was distinguished from the Thebaïd by the name Ægyptus.
2. Bêôn (Bnôn, Anôn, or Byon)	44	
3. Pachnan (or Apachnas)	61	
4. Staan	50	
5. Archles (or Anchles)	49	
6. Apôphis (or Aphobis)	61	Aphoph signifies a giant.
Altogether	284	According to Eusebius 250.

16th Dynasty, of 32 Hellenic Shepherd Kings, who reigned 518 years. Eusebius gives 5 Theban Kings, who reigned 190 years.

17th Dynasty, of 43 Shepherd Kings and 43 Theban Diospolites. Eusebius introduces the Kings of the 15th Dynasty of Africanus, whom he calls Phœnician Shepherds.

17th Dynasty of Africanus.	yrs.	*17th Dynasty of Eusebius.*	yrs.	
The contemporary reigns of the Shepherds and Thebans lasted	151	1. Saits	19	
(He omits their names.)		2. Bnôn (Anôn)	40	
		3. Archles (Aphôphis)	30	
		4. Apophis (Archles)	14	
		Total	103	Differing from the total of the 15th Dyn. of Africanus.

18th Dynasty.

According to Africanus, of 16 Diospolite Kings.	yrs.	*According to Eusebius, of 14 Diospolite Kings.*	yrs.	
1. Amos, in whose time Moses went out of Egypt		1. Amoses (Amosis)	25	
2. Chebros	13	2. Chebron	13	
3. Amenôphthis	24	3. Amophis (Amenôphis)	21	
4. Amersis (Amensis)	22			Amensis is omitted by Eusebius, being a Queen.
5. Misaphris (Misphris)	13	4. Miphris (Memphres, Mephres)	12	
6. Misphragmathosis (Misphragmuthôsis), in whose time happened the deluge of Deucalion	26	5. Misphragmuthôsis (Myspharmuthosis, or Misphragmuthôs)	26	*V.* Thothmes II. in my list of Kings, agreeing with the date of the deluge of Deucalion.
7. Tuthmosis	9	6. Tuthmosis	9	

[1] Very improbable.

18*th Dynasty*—continued.

According to Africanus, of 16 Diospolite Kings.	yrs.	*According to Eusebius, of 14 Diospolite Kings.*	yrs.	*Observations.*
8. Amenôphis, supposed to be Memnon of the musical stone	31	7. Améndphis (Amnophis). It is he who is supposed to be Memnon of the musical stone	31	
9. Horus	37	8. Orus	36, 27, or 37	
10. Acherrhes	32	9. Achencheres (Achencherses, or Achencherres)	16 or 12	In the Armenian text Achoris and Chencherres are omitted, and the Exodus follows the name of Achencheres.
11. Rathôs	6	[10. Athôris, 39 (Achoris)]	7	
12. Chebres	12	[11. Chencherres.] In his time Moses led the Jews out of Egypt	18	
13. Acherres	12	10. [12.] Acherres	8	
		11. [13.] Cherres	15	
14. Armeses	5	12. [14.] Armais, who was also called Danaus, reigned. After which he was expelled by his brother Ægyptus, and fled to Greece. He took Argos, of which he became King.	5	
15. Ramesses (Ameses or Armesis)	1	13. Ramesses (Ammeses), called also Ægyptus [15. Remesses]	68	
16. Amenophath (or Amenoph). (262)	19	14. Amenophis (or Memôphis) [16. Menophes]	40	
Total.	263	Total	348	Or 380, 369, 378, 384. or 337.

19*th Dynasty.*

According to Africanus, of 7 Diospolite Kings.	yrs.	*According to Eusebius, of 5 Diospolite Kings.*	yrs.
1. Sethos.	51	1. Sethos.	55
2. Rapsaces	61	2. Rampses (or Rapses)	66
3. Ammenepthes	20	3. Amenephthis (or Amenôphthis)	8
4. Rameses	60	4. Ammenemes.	26
5. Ammonemnes	5	5. Thuoris, the Polybus of Homer	7
6. Thuoris, called by Homer Polybus, the husband of Alcandra, in whose reign Troy was taken	7		
Total	209	Total.	194

In this 2nd book of Manetho are 96 Kings, who ruled 2121 years.

THIRD BOOK OF MANETHO.

Observations.

20th Dynasty, of 12 *Diospolite Kings, who reigned* 135 *years, or according to Eusebius* 172 *years. Their names are omitted.*

21st Dynasty, of 7 *Tanite Kings.*

According to Africanus.	yrs.	*According to Eusebius.*	yrs.
1. Smendes	26	1. Smendis (or Amendis)	26
2. Psusenes (Psuneses, or Psusennes)	46	2. Psusennus	41
3. Nephelcheres	4	3. Nephercheres (Nepherchenes)	4
4. Amenôphthis (or Amenenôphthis)	9	4. Amenophthis	9
5. Osochôr (Osochôn)	6	5. Osochôr	6
6. Psinaches (Pinaches)	9	6. Psinnaches	9
7. Psusennes (Susennes)	14	7. Psosennes	35
Total	130	Total	130

Scaliger omits this Dynasty, and introduces the same Kings in the 20th Dynasty.

Syncellus gives in the 20th Dynasty:
Nechepsos, 19 years.
Psammuthis, 13 yrs.
————, 4 years.
Certus, 16 years.
Rhampsis, 45 years.
Amenses, or Ammenemes, 26 years.
Ochyras, 14 years.

And in one version Amenophthis is placed before Nephercheres, in the 21st Dynasty.

22nd Dynasty.

According to Africanus, of 9 *Bubastite Kings.*	yrs.	*According to Eusebius, of* 3 *Bubastite Kings.*	yrs.
1. Sesonchis (Sesonchosis)	21	1. Sesonchusis (Sesonchosis)	21
2. Osorthon	15	2. Osorthos (Osorthôn)	15
3. 4. 5. Three names not given, of kings who reigned	25		
6. Tacelôthis (Tacellothis)	13	3. Tacellothis (Takellothis)	13
7. 8. 9. Names omitted, reigned	42		
Total	120	Total	44

23rd Dynasty.

According to Africanus, of 4 *Tanite Kings.*	yrs.	*According to Eusebius, of* 3 *Tanite Kings.*	yrs.
1. Petoubates. In his time the Olympiads began	40	1. Petubastis	25
2. Osorchô (Osorchôn), whom the Egyptians call Hercules	8	2. Osorthon	9
3. Psammus	10	3. Psammus	10
4. Zêt (34 or)	31		
Total	28	Total	44

24th Dynasty.

Name.	Duration of Reign. yrs.	*Observations.*
Bocchôris, the Saïte, in whose reign a sheep spoke	6	Called the Wise. No mention is made of his father Tnephachthus.

25th Dynasty, of 3 Ethiopian Kings.

	yrs.	*According to Eusebius.*	yrs.
1. Sabaco (Sabbacôn), who took Bocchoris and burnt him alive, reigned	8		12
2. Sebichus (Sebichôs, or Sevêchus), his son	14		12
3. Tarcus	18	Taracus	20
Total	40	Total	44

26th Dynasty, of 9 Saite Kings.

	yrs.		yrs.
		1. Ammeres the Ethiopian	18
1. Stephinates	7	2. Stephinathis (Stephanthes)	7
2. Nechepsos	6	3. Nechepsôs	6
3. Nechao I. (Nachao).	8	4. Nechao I.	6
4. Psammeticus (Psammetichus, Psammetychus, or Psammiticus)	54	5. Psammetichus	44
5. Nechao II. Took Jerusalem, and carried Joachaz the King captive to Egypt	6	6. Nechao II.	6
6. Psammuthis	6	7. Psammuthes, called also Psammatichus	17
7. Vaphris, to whom the remainder of the Jews fled when Jerusalem was taken by the Assyrians	19	8. Vaphres	25
8. Amosis		9. Amosis	42
9. Psammecherites (Psammacherites) reigned	6 months		
Total	150 yrs. 6 months	Total	167

27th Dynasty, of 8 Persian Kings.

	yrs.
1. Cambyses reigned over Persia 5 years, and over Egypt	6
2. Darius, son of Hystaspes	36
3. Xerxes the Great	21
4. Artabanus.	7 months

27th Dynasty, of 8 *Persian Kings*—continued.

Name.	Duration of Reign.	*Observations.*
	yrs.	
5. Artaxerxes	41	
6. Xerxes	2 months	
7. Sogdianus	7 months	
8. Darius the son of Xerxes	19	
Total	124 years 4 months	Eusebius gives 120 years and four months.

28th Dynasty.

	yrs.	
Amyrteus of Saïs (Amyrtæus, Amyrteôs)	6	

29th Dynasty, of 4 *Mendesian Kings.*

	yrs.		yrs.	
1. Nepherities (Necherities)	6	1. Nepherites	6	
2. Achôris	13	2. Achoris	13	
3. Psammuthis	1	3. Psammuthes	1	
		4. Muthes	1	One version places Muthes after Nepherites II.
4. Nephorites (Nephorotis, or Nephorotes)	4 months	5. Nepherites (or Anepherites)	4 months	
Total	20 yrs. 4 months	Total	21 yrs. 4 months	

30th Dynasty, of 3 *Sebennyte Kings.*

	yrs.		yrs.
1. Nectanebes	18		10
2. Teos	2		2
3. Nectanebes (Nectanebus)	18		8
Total	38	Total	20

31st Dynasty, of Persians.

	yrs.		yrs.
1. Ochus (Artaxerxes III.) ruled Persia 20 years, and Egypt	2	1. Ochus, who in his 20th year obtained possession of Egypt, and reigned	6
2. Arses	3	2. Arses, son of Ochus	4
3. Darius	4	3. Darius, conquered by Alexander	6
Total	9	Total	16

(The whole number of years in the third book of Manetho is 1050.)[1]

Such is the imperfect list of Kings given by the copyists of Manetho; but though many of the Dynasties are questionable, yet from a comparison with the old Chronicle and the Canon of Theban Kings from Eratosthenes, some general conclusions may be obtained respecting their succession and the different families

[1] *Vide* Mr. Cory's very useful collection of 'Ancient Fragments.'

who enjoyed the sovereign power. From Menes to the 18th, or at least to the 16th Dynasty, there is great obscurity; and Manetho's work is unsatisfactory, both in the number of monarchs who reigned and in the names of the Dynasties.

In the Old Egyptian Chronicle, after the demi-gods are enumerated 15 generations of the Cynic cycle, which occupied 443 years. The

	yrs.
16th Dynasty is of Tanites, eight descendants, during	190
17. Of Memphites, 14 in descent	103
18. Of Memphites, 4 in descent	348
19. Of Diospolites, 5 in descent	194
20. Of Diospolites, 8 in descent	228
21. Of Tanites, 6 in descent	121
22. Of Tanites, 3 in descent	48
23. Of Diospolites, 2 in descent	19
24. Of Saïtes, 3 in descent	44
25. Of Ethiopians, 3 in descent	44
26. Of Memphites, 7 in descent	177
27. Of Persians, 5 in descent	124
28.	
29. Of Tanites, ... in descent	39
30. A Tanite, 1 in descent	18

Total 30 Dynasties and 36,525 years, including 3984 of the reigns of Cronus and the other 12 Deities.

The Kings of Thebes, according to Eratosthenes, are—

	yrs.
1. Menes the Theban, which is by interpretation Dionius: he reigned	62
2. Athothes the son of Menes, by interpretation Hermogenes.	59
3. Athothes II.	32
4. Diabies, the son of Athothes, signifying Philetærus	19
5. Pemphos (or Semphôs), the son of Athothes, called Heraclides	18
6. Tœgar-amachus Momchîri the Memphite, called a man redundant in his members (or Toigaramos)	79
7. Stœchus his son, who is Arés the Senseless	6
8. Gosormies, called Etesipantos	30
9. Mares his son, signifying Heliodorus	26
10. Anoÿphis, which is 'a common son'	20
11. Sirius, or 'the Son of the Cheek,' or 'Abascantus'	18
12. Chnubus Gneurus, which is Chryses the son of Chryses	22
13. Rauosis, which is Archicrator	13
14. Biyris	10
15. Saophis 'Comastes,' or according to some 'Chrematistes.' (These three are probably the Suphis I. & II. and Mencheres of Manetho; the Cheops, Cephrenes, and Mycerinus of Herodotus.)	27
16. Saophis II.	29
17. Moscheres or 'Heliodotus'	31
18. Musthis	33
19. Pammus Archondes	35
20. Apappus or 'Maximus,' one hour less than	100
21. Achescus Ocaras	1
22. Nitocris or 'Athena Nicephora,' Minerva Victrix, instead of her husband	6
23. Myrtæus 'Ammonodotus'	22
24. Thyosimares 'the robust,' who is called 'the Sun'	12

		yrs.
25.	Thinillus, which signifies the augmentor of his country's strength	8
26.	Semphucrates, which is Hercules Harpocrates	18
27.	Chuther Taurus the tyrant	7
28.	Meures Philoscorus, 'the beloved of the Sun'	12
29.	Chomaephtha, 'Cosmus Phil-hephæstus'	11
30.	Sœcuniosochus the tyrant	60
31.	Pente-athyres	16
32.	Stamenemes II.	23
33.	Sistosichermes, 'Hercules the Strong'	55
34.	Maris	43
35.	Siphoas, 'Hermes *the son of Vulcan*'	5
36.		14
37.	Phruron or Nilus	5
38.	Amuthantæus	63

No. 1. Shooting at a target. *Thebes.*

VIGNETTE B.—Cattle during the inundation in the Delta.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF EGYPT.

Dynastic Succession—Tables of early Dynasties—Usertesen I. and Kings of 12th Dynasty—18th Dynasty—Early Inventions—Use of Iron—Rameses II.—Canal of the Red Sea—Glories of Rameses III.—Sesostris—Tomb of Osymandyas—Memnonium—Right of Succession—Duties—Helen—Rhampsinitus—Tnephachthus—Sabaco—Shishak—Dodecarchy—Psammatichus—Acoris—Nectanebo.

IN the previous chapter, I have shown the difficulty of elucidating the early period of Egyptian history, owing to the want of monumental records and the deficiency of authentic historical information: a slight difference of opinion may also exist respecting the age of Usertesen I., and even that of the glorious princes of the 18th Dynasty: it will, however, be proper to accompany my historical notice with a chronological table of kings, and the inquiring reader will not consider it uninteresting to compare the succession of those whose names occur on the monuments with the accounts of ancient authors. Many of the first monarchs are omitted, from the persuasion that conjecture unsupported by positive authority is unnecessary and presumptuous, and I am less anxious to introduce them into the following series, as the lists of Manetho and Eratosthenes have been already given.

SUPPOSED SUCCESSION OF EGYPTIAN KINGS.

Name from ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
	1st Dynasty, of 1 *Theban.*		B.C.
Menes. Minæus of Josephus . .	Menai . .	First King of Egypt. According to Josephus, Menes lived *upwards* of 1300 years before Solomon, (who was born in 1032, and ascended the throne in 1015,) and founded Memphis (Antiq. viii. c. 6).	2320

Name from ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
			B.C.
2nd to the 15*th*[1] *Dynasty, of Memphites?*			
Athothis, his son.	. . .	Builds the palace at Memphis,[2] and transfers the court to it. This 2nd Dynasty was perhaps in consequence called Memphite.	2300
His successors uncertain.			
		Foundation of the kingdom of Assyria by Nimrod, 2204. Eratosthenes gives 569 years for the 19 kings who preceded Apappus.	
Suphis,[3] or Saophis . .	. . .	Foundation of the kingdom of Sicyon, 2089. He built the great pyramid. These three kings should be the Cheops, Cephren (*his brother*), and Mycerinus of Herodotus, whom he has strangely misplaced, making them posterior to Sesostris and Mœris. Diodorus calls Cheops Chemmis, or Chembes.	2123
Suphis II., or Sen Saophis, *i.e.* Saophis's brother . .	During part at least of this period, Egypt appears to have been divided into two distinct states, each governed by its own king.	Era of the Chinese emperor Yao, 2057. Built the second pyramid.	2083
Moscheris, or Mencheris . .		Built the third pyramid . .	2043
Musthis? . .		. . . . .	2022
Pammus Archondes . .		. . . . .	2011
Apappus, or Aphoph . .		Abraham visits Egypt, 1920[4] .	2001
Achescus Ocaras?		. . . . .	1901
Nitocris . .		A queen, called Nicaule by Josephus (Antiq. viii. 6).	1900
Myrtæus? . .		. . . . .	1890
Thyosimares? .		. . . . .	1880
Thinillus? . .		Kingdom of Argos founded, 1856.	1866
Semphucrates .		Deluge of Ogyges in Attica. .	1848
15th Dynasty, of 1 *Diospolite King?*			
(Uncertain) .	. . . .	. . . . .	1830

[1] The number of Manetho's Dynasties from Athothis to Menmoph is probably too great.

[2] Manetho, according to Africanus. Menes is said to have reigned 60 years. Ælian (Nat. Hist. lib. ii. 40), on the authority of Apion, mentions Œnis, a son of Menes, as having been king of Egypt.

[3] The name of this Pharaoh was probably Shofo, or Khof, the *sh* and *kh* being frequently used indifferently in Egyptian names. They are easily converted into Suphis or Cheops by adding the Greek termination *s*.

[4] [From Abraham to David, 14 generations; from David to the carrying into Babylon, 14 generations; and from the captivity to Christ, 14 generations.—G. W.]

Name from ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
	16th Dynasty, of Tanites?		
(Uncertain) .	*Vide* the list of kings in Plate I. of my 'Egypt and Thebes.'		
Misartesen[1] .	Osirtesen I. .	Arrival of Joseph, 1706 . .	1740
	Amun-emha I. .	. . . . .	1696
	Amun-emha II..	. . . . .	1686
	17th Dynasty, of Memphites?		
(Uncertain) .	Osirtesen II. .	. . . . .	1651
	Nofri-Ftep, or Osirtasen III. .	Joseph died 1635 . . .	1636
	Amun-emha III.	. . . . .	1621
	(Name unknown) . .	. . . . .	1580

[LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL KINGS OF THE FIRST SIX DYNASTIES FOUND ON THE MONUMENTS.

Tablets of Abydos.	Saqqarah.	Turin Papyrus.	Greek Name.
			1st Dynasty.
Mena		Mena . .	Menes.
Teta		Atet . . .	Athothis.
Atota.			
Ata.			
Hesep . . .	. . . .	. . . .	Ousaphais.
Merba . . .	Merbaipen . .	. . . .	Miebis.
Kabeh . . .	Kabehu.		
			2nd Dynasty.
Butau . . .	. . . .	. . . .	Boethos.
Kakau . . .	Kakau . .	. . . .	Kaiechos.
Bainuteru . .	Bainuter . .	. . .	Binothris.
Utnes . . .	Utnes . .	. . . .	Tlas.
Senta . . .	. . . .	. . . .	Sethenes.
Tata.			
	Raneferka . .	. . . .	Nephercheres.
	Sekari Neferka Tefa. .	Neferka Sekar .	Sesochris.
	Bubui . .	Bubu.	
			3rd Dynasty.
Nebka . . .	. . . .	Nebka.	
Ser-bes . . .	Ser . . .	Sera.	
Tata . . .	Ser-Teta . .	Ser-Teta . .	Tureis.
Set-es . . .	. . . .	. . . .	Toser-tasis.
Raneferka . .	Ra nebka.		
	Huni . . .	Hu.	

[1] The error in this name arose from the ω having been mistaken for μ.

Tablets of Abydos.	Saqqarah.	Turin Papyrus.	Greek Name.
			4th Dynasty.
Senefru.			
Khufu	Khufu		Cheops.
Ratat-ef	Ra tatuf.		
Ra-shaf	Ra shauf		Chephren.
Ra-men-ka			Mencheres.
User-kaf			Ousercheres.
Ra-sahu			Sephres.
			5th Dynasty.
	Ra nefer-ar-ka		Nepherchores.
Ra en user			Rathoures.
Har-men-ka			Mencheres II.
Ra-tat-ka		Tat	Tancheres.
Unas	Unas		Obnus.
			6th Dynasty.
Tata	Tota		Othoes.
Ra meri	Pepi		Phiops.
Merenra			Methensouphis.

S. B.]

The accession of the first Usertesen I conceive to date about the year 1740 B.C., and the length of his reign must have exceeded forty-three years. If the name of this monarch was not ennobled by military exploits equal to those of the Rameses, the encouragement given to the arts of peace, and the flourishing state of Egypt during his rule, evince his wisdom; and his pacific character satisfactorily accords with that of the Pharaoh[1] who so generously rewarded the talents and fidelity of a Hebrew stranger.

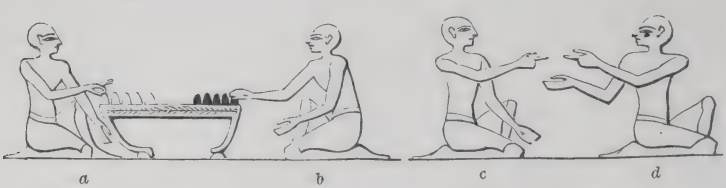
Some insight into Egyptian customs during his reign is derived from the story of Joseph, with whom I suppose him to have been coeval: and the objects taken thither by the Ishmaelites, consisting of spices, balm, and myrrh, which were intended for the purposes of luxury as well as of religion; the subsequent mention of the officers of Pharaoh's household; the state allowed to Joseph;[2] the portion of lands allotted to the priesthood, and

[1] I have frequently had occasion to notice the true reading and purport of this name: I shall, therefore, only observe, that it is written in Hebrew Phrah, פַּרְעֹה, and is taken from the Egyptian word Pire or Phre (pronounced Phra), signifying the sun, and represented in hieroglyphics by the hawk and globe, or sun, over the royal banners. It was through the well-known system of analogies that the king obtained this title, being the chief of earthly, as the sun was of heavenly bodies. But the word is not derived from or related to *ouro*, 'king,' as Josephus supposes (Antiq. viii. c. 6). Phouro is like Pharaoh; but the name is Phrah in Hebrew, and Pharaoh is an unwarranted corruption. (*Vide* my 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 5, note.) [The last idea is that it is derived from *Per-âa*, 'the great house,' or 'court,' and the Pharaoh, 'the great houses of life.'—S. B.]

[2] Gen. xli. 42, 43.

other similar institutions and customs—tend to show the advanced state of society at this early epoch.

From the sculptures of Beni-Hassan,[1] we learn that the Egyptians were acquainted with the manufacture of linen, glass, cabinet work, gold ornaments, and numerous objects indicative of art and refinement; and various gymnastic exercises, the games of draughts,[2] ball, *mora*, and other well-known modern amusements, were common at the same period.



No. 2. Games of draughts (*a b*) and mora (*c d*). *Beni-Hassan.*

The style of architecture was grand and chaste, and the fluted columns of Beni-Hassan are of a character calling to mind the purity of the Doric, which indeed seems to have derived its origin from Egypt.

It was during the reign of Usertesen that the temple of Heliopolis was either founded or received additions, and one of the obelisks bearing his name attests the skill to which they had attained in the difficult art of sculpturing granite. Another of the same material indicates the existence of a temple erected or embellished by this monarch in the province of Crocodilopolis, afterwards known by the names of Arsinoïte nome and el Fyoom; and the remains of a colonnade in the great temple of Karnak prove, as well as the title 'lord of the upper and lower country,' accompanying his name, that he was sole monarch of the Thebaïd and Lower Egypt.

Of the Pharaohs in the two last Dynasties, Amenemha II. and Usertesen II. were the most remarkable after Usertesen I. Independent of the encouragement given by them to the agricultural interests of the country, they consulted the welfare of those who were employed in the inhospitable desert; and the erection of a temple, and a station to command the wells and to serve for their

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[1] Grottoes on the east bank of the Nile, near the Speos Artemidos.

[2] There are other instances of this game: one of the time of Rameses III., where the king himself is playing; the other of Psammatichus II.: both at Thebes.

abode in the Wadee Jasoos,[1] proved that they were mindful of their spiritual as well as temporal protection. The breccia quarries of the Kossayr road were already opened, and probably also the emerald mines of Gebel Zabára; and the wars with the foreigners of Pount[2] are recorded in a tablet[3] at Wadee Jasoos, bearing the date of the 28th year of Amenemha II. This last is a very important fact, as it shows that the arms of Egypt already extended into some of the very same countries afterwards noticed among the conquests of the Pharaohs.

It is highly probable that the port of Philoteras, or Ænnum, on the Red Sea, was already founded, since the station at Wadee Jasoos appears to have been principally intended to protect the wells which then supplied and still continue to supply that port[4] with water: and thus we have an additional reason for concluding the commerce with Arabia to have commenced at a very early period; and that its gums and spices found a ready market in the opulent Egypt,[5] is sufficiently proved by the Ishmaelites or Arabs of those days bringing them for sale into the lower country.

No. 3. An attendant holding the car. *Alabastron.*

No monument now remains of Usertesen III.,[6] though his name frequently occurs in tablets sculptured on the rocks of Upper Egypt and Mount Sinai; and we learn nothing of interest concerning these monarchs, either from sacred or profane records, till the accession of the 18th Dynasty.

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[1] Or Gasoos: the *g* in Arabic being properly always soft. This is the modern name of the valley.

[2] N. Arabia or Somali.

[3] In the collection of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick.—S. B.

[4] The modern town of Kossayr is a short distance to the south of Philoteras Portus, or old Kossayr, and consequently a little farther from Wadee Jasoos.

[5] Punt, either Somali or N. Arabia, is mentioned as early as the 4th Dynasty.—S. B.

[6] *Vide* my 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 500.

[The kings of the 12th Dynasty were succeeded by the monarchs of the 16th, who bore the names of Sebakhetp and Neferhetp, and appear to have sprung from the Arsinoïte nome, or the Thebaïd. Their reigns were not remarkable, and they appear to have been restricted to Egypt proper. They, like their predecessors, have left records at Samneh of the height of the Nile at this remote period, nearly 24 feet above the present level; but although a few monuments bear their names, they executed no great work, and, pressed on by the Asiatic enemies of Egypt, were unable to hold northern possessions.—S. B.]

Name from ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.[1]	Ascended the Throne.
	18th Dynasty, of Theban or Diospolitan Kings.		B.C.
Amosis (Chebron)	(Chebron) Ames[2]	"There arose a new (dynasty, or) king, who knew not Joseph." (Exod. i. 8.) Moses born, 1571. Josephus says Pharaoh's daughter was called Thermuthis.[3] Cecrops leads a colony from Sais,[4] and founds the kingdom of Athens, B.C. 1556.	1575
Amenoph . .	Amenoph I. .	. . . . .	1550
Amesses, or Amenses, his sister .	Amense, his sister[5] . .	Included in the reign of Thothmes I.	
Mephres, Mesphris, or Mesphra-Tuthmosis	Thothmes I. .	His 14th year found on the monuments.	1532
Misphra-Tummosis or Tothmosis	Thothmes II. .	The reign of Amun-num Hasheps included in this.	1505
Thummosis, or Tothmosis .	Thothmes III. .	Exodus of the Israelites, 1491, 430 years after the arrival of Abraham.	1495
Amenophis. .	Amnoph II. .	Moses died 1451. . . .	1456
Horus . .	Thothmes IV. .	. . . . .	1446
Achenchres (a queen) . .	Maut-emua (Regency). .	Included in the reign of her son, Amenoph III.	
Rathotis . .	Amenoph III. .	The supposed Memnon of the vocal statue. His brother[6] not admitted into the list of kings.	1430
Achencheres, or Chebres . .	[Khuenaten.—S. B.]	. . . . .	1408

[1] For a more detailed chronological table *vide* my 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 510.

[2] I have given my reasons for considering these two the same king in my 'Hieroglyphical Extracts,' pp. 10, 12.

[3] Joseph. Antiq. ii. 9.

[4] Neith or Nêt, Minerva, was the deity of Saïs, and her name seems to have led to that of the Greek goddess, and of the new city. In Egyptian it was written from right to left, ΘHN, and the Greeks [very possibly, though not very probably —G. W.], by adding an A at either end, would make it AΘHNA; reading from left to right.

[5] *Vide* my 'Materia Hieroglyphica,' Pl. I. of the Kings. Syncellus gives Amenses.

[6] Amen-Toonh [Tutanchamen—S. B.], probably Danaus, who lived at this time; *vide* p. 22.

Name from ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
Achencheres, or Acherres .	Remessu, or Rameses I.	. . . . .	1395
Armais . .	Seti I. (Osireè)	Calculating 900 years from the time of Herodotus, Mœris should have lived at this period. The similarity of Mœris (Mai-re) and Armais is singular.	1385
Rameses Miamun	Amen-mai Rameses, Rameses II., or the Great.	The supposed Sesostris of the Greeks. The date of his 44th and 62nd year found on the monuments. Manetho allows him 66.	1355
Amenophis. .	Pthahmen [Meneptah—S. B.] his son.	. . . . .	1289

Amosis or Ames was the leader of the 18th Dynasty, and the period of his accession and this change in the reigning family strongly confirm the opinion of his being the 'new king who knew not Joseph.' And if we consider that he was from the distant province of Thebes, it is reasonable to expect that the Hebrews[1] would be strangers to him, and that he was likely to look upon them with the same distrust and contempt with which the Egyptians usually treated foreigners. They stigmatised them with the name of impure Gentiles;[2] and the ignoble occupation of shepherds was for the Jews an additional cause of reproach.[3] Indeed it is possible that the Jews, who had come into Egypt on the occasion of a famine, finding the great superiority of the land of Egypt both for obtaining the necessaries of life and for feeding their flocks, may have asked and obtained a grant of land[4] from the Egyptian monarch, on condition of certain services being performed by them and their descendants. As long as the Memphite Dynasty continued on the throne, this grant was respected, and the only service required of them was that agreed upon in the original compact. But on the accession of the Theban family, the grant being rescinded and the service still required, they were reduced to a state of bondage; and as despotism seldom respects the rights of those it injures, additional labour was

[1] Or the people of Joseph; for 'Joseph was dead, and all his brethren, and all that generation.' (Exod. i. 6.) He had been dead about 60 years.

[2] 'Nations,' an expression adopted by the Jews. The hieroglyphical character refers to a hilly country in contradistinction to the plains of Egypt.

[3] 'Every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians.' (Gen. xlvi. 31.) 'Thy servants are shepherds, both we and also our fathers.' (xlvii. 3.)

[4] Some of them were tillers of land as well as shepherds. (Exod. i. 14; Deut. x. 11.)

imposed upon this unresisting people.[1] And Pharaoh's pretended fear, lest in the event of war they might make common cause with the enemy, was a sufficient pretext with his own people for oppressing the Jews, at the same time that it had the effect of exciting their prejudices against them. Affecting therefore some alarm at their numbers, he suggested that so numerous a body might avail themselves of the absence of the Egyptian troops and endanger the tranquillity and safety of the country,[2] and that prudence dictated the necessity of obviating the possibility of such an occurrence. With this view they were treated like the captives taken in war, and were forced to undergo the gratuitous labour of erecting public granaries and other buildings for the Egyptian monarch.[3] These were principally constructed of crude brick; and that such materials were commonly used in Egypt, we have sufficient proof from the walls and other buildings of great size and solidity found in various parts of the country, many of which are of a very early period: and the bricks themselves, both at Thebes and in the vicinity of Memphis, frequently bear the names of the monarchs who ruled Egypt during and prior to the epoch to which I am now alluding. The crude brick remains about Memphis are principally pyramids; those at Thebes consist of walls enclosing sacred monuments and tombs, and some are made with and others without straw. Many have chopped barley and wheat straw, others bean haulm and stubble;[4] and in the tombs we find the process of making them represented among the sculptures. But it is not to be supposed that any of these bricks are the work of the Israelites, who were never occupied at Thebes; and though Josephus affirms they were engaged in building pyramids, as well as in making canals and embankments, it is very improbable that the crude brick pyramids of Memphis, or of the Arsinoïte nome, were the work of the Hebrew captives.

Towards the latter end of Amosis' reign happened the birth of Moses. His flight must have taken place in the second year of Thothmes I., and his return to Egypt after the death[5] of this and the succeeding prince.

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[1] Whenever the Arabs become settled in villages on the banks of the Nile, the Turks are always anxious that they should fix themselves in villages, in order to get them within their power.

[2] Exod. i. 10. He evidently did not fear their obtaining possession of any part of Egypt; but of their committing depredations, and then *escaping* out of the country.

[3] They built 'treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses.' (Exod. i. 11.)

[4] Exod. v. 12. Some bricks were made 'with stubble instead of straw.'

[5] Exod. iv. 19.

[Aahmes, or Amasis, was descended from the kings of the 17th Dynasty, who held Southern Egypt and the Thebaïd against the Shasu or Shepherds, the Hykshos of Manetho. He continued the war against them commenced by his predecessor, Taakan, and in the fifth year of his reign took their stronghold, Avaris, and pursued Tatuan, the last of the Hykshos' rulers, to Sharuhan, in his sixth year. His reign lasted twenty-two years. —S. B.]

Few monuments remain of his reign; but a tablet at the Trojan mountain,[1] behind el Maasara, shows that the stone of those quarries was used by him for the erection of some building at Memphis or in the vicinity.[2]

Amosis was succeeded by Amenophis I. [Amunoph or Amunôthph—G. W.], a prince whose name occurs in numerous parts of Thebes, and who seems to have been a great encourager of the arts of peace. He married an Ethiopian princess, called Nefer tari, a name common to many Egyptian queens [B.C. 1478—G. W.].

Some buildings of the time of Thothmes I.[3] still exist, but the second of that name has left little to mark the history of his reign. [Thothmes I. was succeeded by his daughter, the queen Hatasu or Hasheps—S. B.] But whether she was only regent during the minority of Thothmes II. and III., or succeeded to the throne in right of Thothmes I., in whose honour she erected several monuments, is still uncertain, and some have doubted her being a queen.[4] Her name has been generally erased, and those of the second and third Thothmes are placed over it; but sufficient remains to prove that the small temple of Medeenet Haboo, the elegant edifice under the Qoorneh rocks, and the great obelisks of Karnak, with many other handsome monuments, were erected by her orders, and the attention paid to the military caste is testified by the subjects of the sculptures. That the invention of glass was known at this time, is satisfactorily proved

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[1] The 'Troici lapidis Mons' of Strabo and Ptolemy. It is about nine miles to the south of Cairo.

[2] Some may suppose it to have been for the pyramids, but his era does not agree with the time of their erection. It is, however, from these quarries that the stone used for the outer tier, or casing, was taken, which is alluded to by Strabo and other authors.

[3] Thothmes I., as I am assured by Lord Prudhoe, penetrated into Ethiopia as far as the Isle of Argo, where he left an inscription. The 2nd Thothmes' name is found at Napata (Berkel), and the 3rd probably went still farther south. Did they possess this country by right of the marriage of Amunoph I. with an Ethiopian princess?

[4] The constant use of the female sign, and the title Daughter of the Sun, seem to require it to be so, notwithstanding the dress, which is that of a king. (*Vide* 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 92.)

by the discovery of a large bead bearing the name of this queen;[1] and I shall have occasion to show that we have evidence of the use of it in the early time of the first Usertesen. The mode of irrigation was by the *shadoof*, or pole and bucket of the present day; and it is remarkable that the modern Egyptians have a tradition that it was derived from their Pharaonic[2] predecessors. The manufacture of linen cloth, the arch, and other notable inventions are also represented in the sculptures of the same reign; but as I shall notice them in their proper place, it is unnecessary here to enter into any detail concerning those interesting subjects.

The reign of Thothmes III. [B.C. 1463—G. W.] is one of the most remarkable that occurs in the history of Egypt. He was a prince who aspired to the merit of benefiting his country by an unbounded encouragement of the arts of peace and war. But whether his military expeditions were conducted by himself in person, or whether he confided the management of the war to expert generals, we have ample testimony of the extent of his power by the tributes laid at his feet by 'the chiefs of foreign countries,' who present him with the riches of Pount,[3] of Kufa,[4] of the Rot-en-nu,[5] and of 'the southern districts of Western Ethiopia.'[6]

It was in the 4th year[7] of his reign that I suppose the exodus of the Israelites to have taken place, and the wars he undertook and the monuments he erected must date subsequently to that event. Indeed there is no authority in the writings of Moses for supposing that Pharaoh was drowned in the Red Sea;[8] and from our finding that wherever any fact is mentioned in the Bible history we do not discover anything on the monuments which tends to contradict it, we may conclude that these two authorities will not here be at variance with each other. And in order to show that in this instance the same agreement exists between

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[1] There is some doubt if this bead is not obsidian.—S. B.

[2] Ebn Pharaóon, 'son of Pharaoh,' is, however, a great term of reproach with the modern Egyptians, and almost equivalent to 'son of a Frank.' But the climax is 'a Jew's dog.'

[3] Somali on the African coast, or else Southern Arabia.

[4] Or Kéft, Phœnicia.

[5] Syria.

[6] From the monuments of Thebes; where deputies from those nations bear the tribute to the monarch seated on his throne. Kufa and Rot-en-nu are two northern people, of which the latter is the more distant from Egypt. They were long at war with the Egyptians.

[7] We find the date of his 54th year on the monuments.

[8] *Vide* my 'Materia Hieroglyphica,' remarks at the end of p. 4. The Arabs have a tradition that the exodus happened under King Amioos, a name very like Amosis or Thothmosis (Ames or Thothmes), both of which have a similar import.

ASIATIC AND AETHIOPIAN TRIBUTARIES FROM THE TOMB OF REKHMARA AT THEBES

ASIATIC AND AETHIOPIAN TRIBUTARIES FROM THE TOMB OF REKHMARA AT THEBES

[Add. MS. 22817 Brit. Mus.]

them, and to prevent a vulgar error, perpetuated by constant repetition,[1] from being brought forward to impugn the accuracy of the Jewish historian, it is a pleasing duty to examine the account given in the Book of Exodus. According to it, Pharaoh led his army in pursuit of the fugitives, and overtook the Israelites 'encamping by the sea, beside Pi-Hahíroth, before Baal-zephon.'[2] The Israelites having entered the channel of the sea, the army of Pharaoh, 'his chariots and horsemen,'[3] pursued them, and all those who went in after them were overwhelmed by the returning waters. This however is confined to the 'chariots and the horsemen and all the host of Pharaoh, that came into the sea after them,'[4] and neither here nor in the Song which Moses sang on the occasion of their deliverance is any mention made of the king's death,[5]—an event of *sufficient* consequence at least to have been *noticed*, and one which would not have been omitted. The authority of a Psalm can scarcely be opposed to that of Moses, even were the death of Pharaoh positively asserted, but this cannot even be argued from the expression, he 'overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea,'[6] since the death of a monarch is not the necessary consequence of his defeat and overthrow.

The departure of the Israelites enabled Thothmes to continue the war with the northern nations before mentioned with greater security and success, and it is not impossible that its less urgent prosecution after the time of Amenemha II. was owing partially to the sojourn of the Jews in Egypt.[7] At all events we find evidence of its having been carried on by this monarch with more than usual vigour; and in consequence of the encouragement given to the arts of peace, the records of his successes sculptured on the monuments he erected, have been preserved to the present day. He founded numerous buildings in Upper and Lower Egypt, and in those parts of Ethiopia into which his arms

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[1] Among many others are the two humps of a dromedary, and the inability of a crocodile to turn round quickly, both in direct opposition to truth.

[2] Exod. xiv. 9.

[3] Exod. xiv. 23.

[4] Exod. xiv. 28.

[5] Exod. xv. 4: 'Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath He cast into the sea: his *chosen captains* also are drowned in the Red Sea.'

[6] Psalm cxxxvi. 15.

[7] The failure of historical monuments of this period prevents our deciding the question. I had formerly supposed the Jews and Pastors the same people (Materia Hieroglyphica, p. 84), and that the expulsion of the latter happened under Thothmes III. This last must have occurred long before, and I believe the two events and the two people to have been confounded by historians, or by the copyists of Manetho. The captives represented in the tombs of Thebes are not Jews, as I have observed in 'Egypt and Thebes,' but rather of those nations bordering on Assyria.

had penetrated; he made extensive additions to the temples of Thebes; and Coptos, Memphis, Heliopolis, and other cities in different parts of the country, benefited by his zeal for architectural improvements. In many of the monuments [1] he founded, the style is pure and elegant; but in the reversed capitals and cornices of a columnar hall behind the granite sanctuary at Karnak, he has evinced a love of change consistent neither with elegance or utility, leaving a lasting memorial of his caprice, the more remarkable as he has elsewhere given proofs of superior taste.

After a reign of fifty-four years [2] he was succeeded [3] by his son Amenophis II., who, besides some additions to the great pile of Karnak, founded the small temple of Amada in Nubia, which was completed by his son and successor Thothmes IV. The great sphinx at the pyramids also bears the sculptures of the son of Amenophis; but whether it was commenced by him or by the third Thothmes, is a question which it would be curious to ascertain. At all events, the similarity of the names may have given rise to the error of Pliny, who considers it the sepulchre of Amasis.

Amenophis III. and his elder brother Amun-Toônh succeeded to the throne on the death of the fourth Thothmes; but as they were both young, the office of regent and tutor during their minority was confided to their mother, the Queen Maut-emua.

During the early part of their reign, stations on the road to the emerald mines were either built or repaired; and the care bestowed on their construction is proved by our finding hewn stones carved with hieroglyphics.

The palace-temple of Luqsor and that behind the vocal statue [4] were also founded at Thebes, and the sculptures in a side chamber of the former seem to refer to the birth and early

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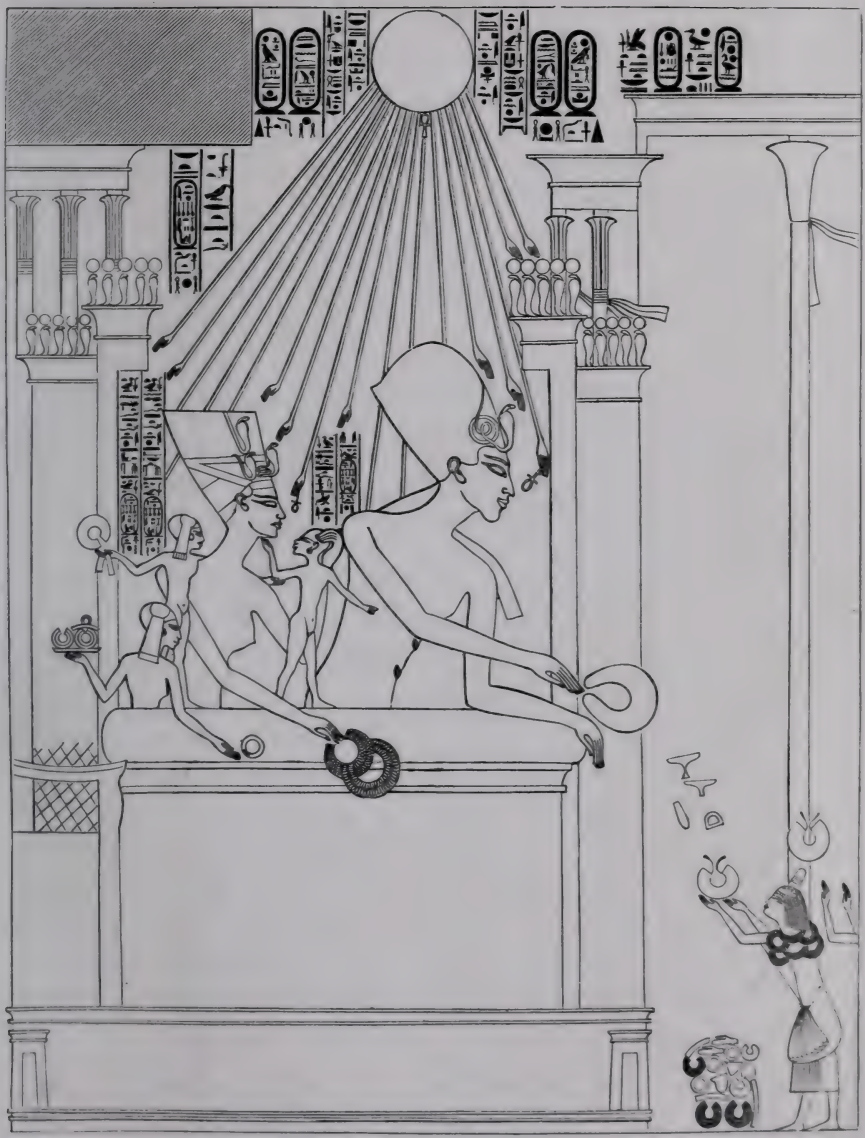
[1] Several obelisks were cut by his order, as the two now at Alexandria, others at Rome, and one at Constantinople. More scarabæi and small objects have been found bearing the name of this king, than of any one who reigned before or after him, not excepting Rameses the Great.

[2] The original date given was thirty-nine years, but recent discoveries show that he entered on his fifty-fourth year, and it has been altered in accordance.—S. B.

[3] The return of the Shepherds or Pastors during his reign, mentioned by Manetho, is very doubtful. They are out of place here, and we know that the Jews did not revisit Egypt.

[4] The vocal statue of the supposed Memnon is of Amenophis III. [Alciphron mentions it in his epistles, but they are of later date—G. W.] I have already noticed this error in my 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 33; 'Extracts,' p. 11; and 'Materia Hierog.' p. 88. With the Romans everything curious or striking in Egypt was given to Memnon, as with the Arabs every large grotto is the stabl (stable of) Antar. English sailors in like manner fix upon another remarkable person.

PLATE III.



Khuenaten distributing gifts to his courtiers.

education of the young prince. Many other buildings were erected in different parts of the country[1] during this reign; extensive additions were made to the temple of Karnak, and the name and monuments of Amenophis III. are found in Ethiopia, and even at the distant city of Napata.[2] The conquests of the Egyptians in Ethiopia and Asia were also continued by this monarch, and some of the enemies[3] with whom they fought under Thothmes III. again appear in the sculptures of Amenophis.

It was about the same period, B.C. 1406, that some suppose the use of iron[4] to have been first discovered in Greece; but whether it was *already* known in Egypt or not is a question hitherto unanswered. We are surprised at the execution of

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[1] I do not here notice all the monuments erected by the Pharaohs. They will be found in the description of the different towns of ancient Egypt given in my 'Egypt and Thebes.'

[2] I suppose Gebel Berkel to mark the site of Napata. From this place were brought Lord Prudhoe's beautiful lions. They were sculptured at the early part of his reign, and immediately before the secession of his brother. [Some years after this was written Sir Gardner Wilkinson visited and made extensive surveys of Gebel Berkel, completely confirming the supposition that this was the site of Napata, the capital of Tirhaka. These are still unpublished.—C. C. W.]

[3] Those of Pount, who are among the number of northern nations.

[4] Hesiod (in his 'Opera et Dies') makes the use of iron a much later discovery. In Theseus' time, who ascended the throne of Athens in 1235, iron is conjectured not to have been known, as he was found buried with a brass sword and spear. Homer generally speaks of brass arms [that is to say, *bronze*, which we translate *brass*—G. W.], though he mentions iron. [Neither ornaments nor utensils of brass were common in Egypt. Indeed, it was rare even amongst the Greeks and Romans in early times; and though we translate χαλκός 'brass,' that word *usually* signified 'bronze,' which last is composed of copper and tin; brass being composed of copper and zinc. When therefore we read of '*brazen* vessels,' of 'brass helmets,' and of other objects in '*brass*,' which are described in Greek under the name of χαλκός or χάλκεος, it is *generally* an error in the translation, which should have been '*bronze*.' But the notions which some have entertained, that brass was unknown to the Greeks, and even to the Romans, is incorrect. They evidently had brass, and the term orichalcus, or aurichalcus, seems with good reason to be considered 'brass,' as in this line of Horace, 'Ars Poet.' 202:

'Tibia non ut nunc orichalco vincta;'

and gold was often imitated by that metal. But I do not know of any brass of ancient Egyptian time, though I had in my possession (now given to Harrow School with the rest of my collection) a brass ring of ancient Egypt—*v.* fig. E, 434, of my Harrow Catalogue—which, perhaps, had an alloy of gold like one kind of 'Corinthian brass,' used for mirrors, etc., which contained silver mixed with copper and tin, or else an alloy of gold: of this last, other specimens besides my ring have been found in Egypt and Greece, and they closely resemble gold. Of this fine quality were doubtless the 'two vessels of fine copper, precious as gold,' mentioned by Ezra, viii. 27. Pliny also mentions vases of it, more valuable than those of gold. The brass of the ancients differed from that of modern times (which was introduced into England from Germany), but they used calamine, or native carbonate of zinc, mixed with copper and charcoal, and this last reducing the zinc ore to a metallic state, enabled it to combine with the copper and form brass.

That which was called Cyprian brass, or *coronarium*, was used for making thin metal leaves, which were coloured with ox-gall to look like gold, and of these leaves garlands or crowns were composed for the stage, and other occasions (see Pliny xxxiv. 9). The best proportions for brass are thought to be 2 parts copper to 1 of zinc, or 66⅔ to 33⅓, but some use 70 copper to 30 zinc, or 80 to 20 in 100. —G. W.]

hieroglyphics cut in hard granite and basaltic stone, to the depth of two inches, and naturally inquire what means were employed, what tools were used? If the art of tempering steel was unknown to them, how much more must our wonder increase! and the difficulty of imagining any mode of applying copper to this purpose adds to our perplexity.

The era of Amenophis III. was noted for the great spirit and beauty of its sculptures, which seem gradually to have improved from the reign of Usertesen to that of Rameses the Great, though without any great change, the general character being already established even at that early period, and only undergoing certain modifications of style.

The features of this monarch cannot fail to strike every one who examines the portraits of the Egyptian kings, having more in common with the negro than those of any other Pharaoh; but it is difficult to say whether it was accidental, or in consequence of his mother having been of Ethiopian origin.

It is singular that the sepulchres of the kings who preceded him are not met with, and that he is the first of the 18th Dynasty whose tomb occurs at Thebes. But it is not in the same valley as those of his successors;[1] and the next monarch whose tomb has been discovered is Rameses I., grandfather of the great conqueror of the same name. The tomb of Taia, the queen of Amenophis, is in company with many others in a valley behind the temple of Medeenet Haboo at Thebes; a circumstance which proves that they were not generally buried in the same sepulchres with the kings, though some exceptions may occasionally have been made.[2]

His successor has recorded his lineal descent from the third Thothmes on a block of stone used in the wall of a temple at Thebes, in the following manner:[3]—'The father of his father's father, Thothmes III.;' but the monuments of his reign are few and inconsiderable, consisting chiefly of additions to the previously existing buildings.

Rameses I. has left little to elucidate the history of the era in which he lived, nor does he appear to have been conspicuous

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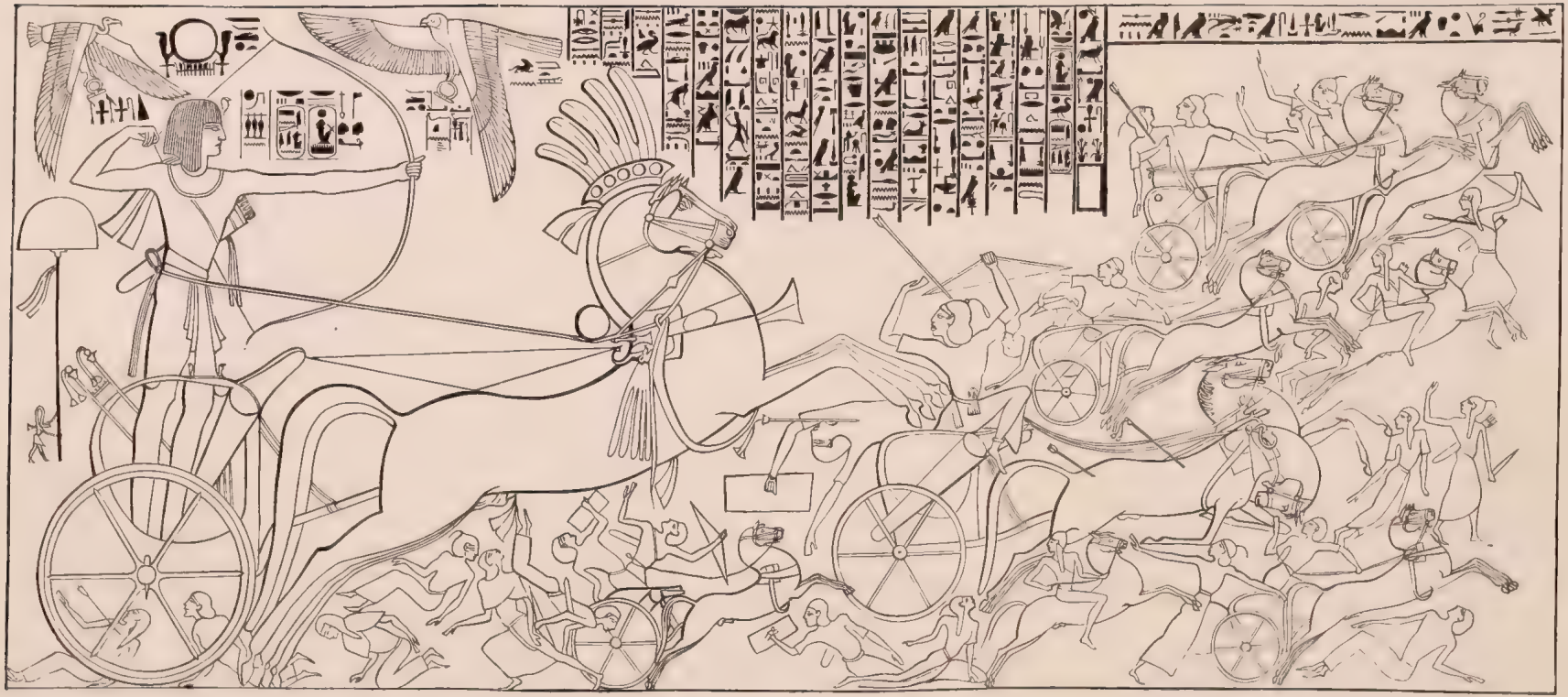
[1] The tomb of Amenophis III. is mentioned in the papyrus Abbott (Chabas, 'Spoliation des Hypogées, Mél. Égypt.' 3e série), and was at the El Assasif with three of the kings of the 11th Dynasty, but has not been found; that of his successor is in the western valley of Thebes.—S. B.

[2] As in the tomb No. 10 of Biban-el-Molóok at Thebes, and perhaps in No. 14.

[3] *Vide* 'Materia Hierog.' Pl. I., name c. d.



Battle-scene of Seti I. and the Khita.

for any successes abroad, or the encouragement of the arts at home. It is probable that both he and his predecessor were pacific monarchs, and to this neglect of their foreign conquests we may ascribe the rebellion of the neighbouring provinces of Syria, which Seti I.[1] was called upon to quell in person on his accession to the throne. That the revolt of those countries is alluded to in the sculptures of Seti I feel persuaded, from his being the only king who is represented attacking any country in the immediate vicinity of Egypt, and from the remarkable fact that some of the people through whose territory he passes are on friendly terms, and come forward to pay the stipulated tribute,[2] or to bring presents to the monarch. And the names of Canana[3] and Lemanon,[4] added to the circumstance of its being at the commencement[5] of his reign, tend strongly to confirm this opinion.

Seti was the son and successor of Rameses I., and father of the second of that name. He extended his conquests to a considerable distance in the 'north and south countries;' but the destruction of the upper part of the walls of Karnak has unfortunately deprived us of great part of the interesting historical basreliefs which describe them. Among the people against whom the war was principally directed we distinguish the Rot-en-nu, who, from their colour and dress, as well as the productions of their country, appear to have lived in a colder climate than Egypt, which produced elephants and bears.[6] The march of the monarch is described with great spirit on the walls of Karnak. Leaving Egypt with a considerable force, he advanced into the heart of the enemy's country; attacked and routed them in the field; and, following up his successes, he laid siege to their fortified

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[1] In the original edition *Osirei* is given, not Seti; but the name of Seti is recognised as the oldest and correct form, for which Osirei or Uasiri was substituted at a much later period.—S. B.

[2] The tributes levied on the countries conquered by the Egyptians are not only mentioned in the sculptures of Thebes, but also by Tacitus: 'Legebantur indicta gentibus tributa haud minus magnifica quam nunc vi Parthorum, aut potentia Romana jubentur.' (An. ii. 60.)

[3] The Pharaoh whose daughter Solomon married, destroyed 'the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer, and burnt it with fire;' probably for the same reason—neglect in paying the tribute they owed—which brought the vengeance of Seti upon them on this occasion. (1 Kings ix. 16.)

[4] The common custom of substituting *m* for *b* in Coptic, and the representation of a mountainous and woody country in which the chariots could not pass, convince me of this being intended for Mount Lebanon. In the compartment immediately below it is the 'land of Canana.' (*Vide* 'Egypt and Thebes,' pp. 190, 192.) This name is now supposed to be read Ermenen for Armenia.

[5] In his first year, according to the hieroglyphics.

[6] From a tomb at Thebes. (*Vide* 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 153.)

cities, and obliged them to surrender at discretion. And in order to indicate the personal courage of the hero, he is represented alighting from his car, and, having laid aside his bow, engaging hand to hand with the hostile chiefs. Having established his dominion in the conquered countries, he returned to Egypt, and dedicated the rich booty and numerous captives he had made to the deity of Thebes.

The subsequent part of his reign was employed in erecting the monuments which still serve to commemorate his victories, and the glory he acquired; and the splendour of Egypt at this period is sufficiently demonstrated by the magnificence and grandiose scale of the buildings, and by the sculptures that adorn his splendid tomb.[1]

Seti was succeeded by his son, Rameses the Great,[2] who bore the name of Amun-mai-Rameses, or Rameses-mi-amun,[3] and was reputed to be the famous Sesostris of antiquity. The origin of the confusion regarding Sesostris may perhaps be explained. He is mentioned by Manetho in the 12th Dynasty, and Herodotus learned that he preceded the builders of the pyramids: I therefore suppose that Sesostris was an ancient king famed for his exploits, and the hero of early Egyptian history; but that after Rameses had surpassed them, and become the favourite of his country, the renown and name of the former monarch were transferred to the more conspicuous hero of a later age; and it is remarkable that when Germanicus went to Egypt, the Thebans did not mention Sesostris, but Rhamses, as the king who had performed the glorious actions ascribed in olden times to their great conqueror. Nothing, however, can justify the supposition that Sesostris, or, as Diodorus calls him, Sesoosis, is the Shishak of Scripture.

The reign of Rameses was conspicuous as the Augustan era of Egypt, when the arts attained a degree of perfection which no after age succeeded in imitating,[4] and the arms of Egypt were

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[1] Discovered and opened by Belzoni at Thebes.

[2] Champollion and Rosellini are of opinion that there intervened another king between this and Osirei (Seti), to whom they give the name of Rameses II. Lord Prudhoe, Major Felix, and myself think them to have been one and the same monarch, and that the variation in the mode of writing the name was owing to his having altered it some time after he ascended the throne.

[3] I have noticed the synonymous use of these titles, Amen-mai and Mai-amun (Mi-amun), in the names of Rameses III. and others, when written horizontally and vertically.

[4] The head now in the British Museum, and erroneously called that of the Young Memnon, is of Rameses II. We smile at the

extended by this prince considerably farther into the heart of Asia than during the most successful invasions of his predecessors. He had no sooner ascended the throne than he zealously devoted himself to military affairs; and we find that in his fourth year he had already waged a successful war against several distant nations.[1] His march lay along the coast of Palestine, and the record of that event is still preserved on the rocks of the Lycus near Beiróot, where his name and figure present the remarkable circumstance of a Pharaonic monument without the confines of Egypt. But that this nation extended its arms and dominion far beyond the valley of the Nile, is abundantly proved by the monuments and by Scripture history, and some of their northern possessions were retained by the Egyptians until Nebuchadnezer king of Babylon took from Pharaoh Neco all that belonged to him, 'from the Euphrates to the river of Egypt.'[2] From Syria their march probably extended towards the N.E.; but I do not pretend to decide the exact nations they invaded, or the names of the people over whom the victories of the great Rameses are recorded on the walls of the Memnonium.[3] Champollion supposes them the Scythians, and perhaps the hieroglyphics may admit of such a reading; but let it suffice for the present that they were a northern nation, skilful in the art of war, and possessing strong towns and a country traversed by a large river. Indeed, from their general appearance and the mode of fortifying their towns, we may conclude them to have been far above the level of a barbarous state; and the double fosses that surrounded their walls, the bridges[4] over them, and the mode of drawing up their phalanxes of infantry, suggest a considerable advancement in civilisation and the art of war. Their offensive and defensive arms, consisting of spears and swords, helmets,

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name 'young' applied to a statue because it was smaller than a colossus in the same temple; a distinction formerly adopted at the Louvre, where a statue was called '*le jeune* Apollon,' because it had not *yet* attained the size of the Belvedere.

[1] *Vide* my 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 193.

[2] 2 Kings xxiv. 7. This river of Egypt is not the Nile, but the 'rivulet' or 'torrent of Egypt;' and is mentioned by Joshua (xv. 4) as the boundary-line, a little to the south of the modern Gaza (Ghuzzeh). נַחַל (nachal) is a rivulet, and not a river, as some have supposed, which is נָהָר (nahar), as in Arabic. Much less is nahl related to the Nile. Neco also 'went up to fight against Carchemish by Euphrates' (2 Chron. xxxv. 20). For the first copy of the name of Rameses on the Lycus we are indebted to Mr. Wyse. [Strabo says the rule of the Egyptians extended over Scythia, Bactria, India, and what is now called Ionia.—G. W.]

[3] I use this name for the palace-temple of Rameses II., because it is better known than any other.

[4] As they are seen from above, it is not possible to ascertain how they were constructed.

shields,[1] and coats of mail, were light and effective; and two-horsed chariots, containing each three men, formed a well-constituted and powerful body of troops. Some fought on horses, which they guided by a bridle, without saddles,[2] but the far greater part in cars; and these instances of the use of the horse seem to be introduced to show a peculiarity of Asiatic people.

I do not find the Egyptians thus represented; and though it is probable they had cavalry as well as chariots, mention being made of it in ancient authors,[3] the custom of employing large bodies of horsemen does not appear to have been so usual in Egypt as in some Eastern countries.[4]

The Egyptian cars contained but two persons,[5] the warrior and his charioteer; and to the great number of their chariots, and their skill in archery, may be attributed the brilliant successes of this people in a long series of wars waged against populous nations: and it is remarkable that their mode of drawing the bow was similar to that of our ancestors, who, for the glorious victories they obtained over armies far exceeding them in numerical force, were principally indebted to their dexterity in the use of this arm.

Great light is thrown on the mode of warfare at this early period by the sculptures of the Memnonium, where a very satisfactory representation is introduced of the scaling-ladder and testudo;[6] and it is highly probable that the Egyptians, accustomed as they were to subterraneous excavations, adopted the latter as coverts while mining[7] the besieged towns, as well as for facilitating the approach of their men. Indeed, since they are not formed of shields, but of a covering or framework supported by poles, and are unaccompanied, in this instance, by the

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[1] In form bearing a slight resemblance to the Theban Greek buckler.

[2] The Numidian cavalry had neither. [The Khita are supposed to be the Hittites or people lying to the N.E. of Egypt. The great campaign of the monarch against them was in his fifth year, when the king defeated them in a great battle at Khadesh, on the Orontes. This war is described in the poem of Pentaur or the Sallier papyrus.—S. B.]

[3] We read of the Egyptian horsemen in Isaiah xxxvi. 9: 'Put thy trust in Egypt for chariots and horsemen;' and in Miriam's Song, 'the horse and his rider,' Exod. xv. 21. Shishak had with him 1200 chariots and 60,000 horsemen: 2 Chron. xii. 3. (*Vide* my 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 194, note.)

[4] Homer's heroes are also mounted in cars. He mentions one cavalier ('Iliad,' vi. 684) using two horses. The Greeks did not employ much cavalry till after the Persian war.

[5] The Indian chariots, according to Megasthenes, contained each two persons, besides the charioteer. (*Vide infrâ*, on the Castes, in Chap. iii.)

[6] It was already in use 400 years before this period, in the reign of Usertesen I., as well as a sort of battering-ram. The Aries, or Ram, is said by Vitruvius to have been invented by the Carthaginians at the siege of Gades, lib. x. 19.

[7] For mines, *see* Herodotus iv. 200, and v. 115.

battering-ram, we may conclude that the men posted beneath them were so employed, especially as they appear, in no ostensible manner, to be connected with the fight.[1] In some instances, however, they served as a cover to those who directed the ram[2] against the walls, and were then very similar in use and principle to the *testudo arietaria* of the Romans.

The wars and successes of the great Rameses are again recorded on the walls of Karnak, and in the temples of Nubia; and the number of nations he subdued, and the extent of his arms in the north and south, are the subjects of many historical pictures. The Egyptians had already formed alliances with some of the nations they subdued, and the auxiliary troops enrolled in their army assisted in extending the conquests of the Pharaohs. Their principal allies, at this period, were the Shairetana, a maritime people, and the same who afterwards continued to assist the Egyptians in the time of Rameses III. Other alliances were also formed by the last-mentioned monarch, many distant tribes were subdued by him, and the reigns of Seti and the second and third Rameses appear to have been the most remarkable for the extent of foreign conquest.

According to Herodotus, Sesostris,[3] whom I assume to be the same as Rameses II., fitted out long vessels[4] on the Red Sea, and was the first who went beyond the straits into the Indian Ocean. Diodorus says they amounted to no less a number than 400, and the historian supposes him to have been the first monarch who built ships of war; though these as well as merchant vessels, as I have before observed, were probably used by the Egyptians at a much earlier period. And we may reasonably conclude the fleet to have been connected with the Indian trade as well as the canal he cut from the Nile to what is now called the Gulf of Suez.[5]

This canal commenced about twelve miles to the N.E. of the

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[1] The wooden horse is, perhaps, the first hint of a mine in ancient history. Rameses II. lived about 150 years before the taking of Troy.

[2] Their ram was a long pike armed with a metal point, by which they loosened the stones of the wall: the terebra of the Romans, and the *τρύπανον* of the Greeks.

[3] Sesostris, or Sesoosis, according to Diodorus, during his father's reign, had led an expedition into Arabia, as well as Libya; and we may, perhaps, trace some indication of this fact in the sculptures of Karnak, where the son of Osirei returns from the war with his father (Diod. i. 53). Can Ses-Osirei, or Se-Osirei, the 'son of Osirei,' bear any relation to the name of Sesostris?

[4] Or ships of war.

[5] Strabo, Pliny, and Aristotle attribute its commencement to Sesostris; ['before the Trojan war.' Strabo, xvii. p. 553, edit 1587.—G. W.]

modern town of Belbays,[1] called by the Romans Bubastis Agria, and, after following a direction nearly E. for about thirty-three miles, it turned to the S.S.E., and continued about sixty-three more in that line to the extremity of the Arabian Gulf. Several monarchs are reputed to have been the authors of this grand and useful undertaking; some writers attributing it to Sesostris, others to Neco, and its completion to Darius and Ptolemy Philadelphus. Pliny, indeed, supposes it never to have been finished, and states, that after it had reached the bitter springs (lakes), the canal was abandoned from fear of the greater height of the Red Sea:[2] but it is evident that it was completed, and there is reason to believe even as early as the reign of the second Rameses; nor is it improbable that the captives he had taken in war assisted in the construction[3] of this noble work. But the vicinity of the sands, amidst which it was excavated, necessarily prevented it from remaining in a proper condition without constant attention; and we can easily conceive that, in the time of Neco and of the Ptolemies, it was found necessary to re-open it, before it could be again applied to the use for which it was intended.[4]

Herodotus says,[5] it was commenced by Neco, who lived about the year 610 before our era; that it was four days' journey in length, and broad enough to admit two triremes abreast; and that it began a little above Bubastis, and entered the sea near the town of Patumos;[6] and since Diodorus[7] says its mouth was close to the port of Arsinoë,[8] this last may have succeeded to the old town mentioned by Herodotus. Some have reckoned its length at upwards of 1000 stadia; its breadth at 100 cubits, or according to Pliny,[9] 100 feet, and its depth forty; and he reckons thirty-seven Roman miles from its western entrance to the bitter lakes. Six-score thousand Egyptians were said to have perished in the undertaking:[10] but this is very incredible; nor can we even believe that the lives of the captives taken in war, who

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[1] [Strabo (xvii.) says it began at the village of Phacensa, near that of Philon. —G. W.]

[2] Plin. vi. c. 29, s. 33, and Aristot. 'Meteorol.' lib. i. c. 14. Diodorus says that Darius was prevented from completing it, owing to the greater height of the Red Sea; but that the second Ptolemy obviated this objection by means of sluices (i. 33). (*Vide* 'Egypt and Thebes,' pp. 320, 321.)

[3] Herodotus (ii. 108) says that Sesostris employed his prisoners to cut the canals of Egypt.

[4] It is evident that it entered the sea very near the modern town of Suez.

[5] Herodot. ii. 158.

[6] Pa or Pi-Thom.

[7] Diod. i. 33.

[8] Strabo calls it 'Arsinoë, or, as some style it, Cleopatris' (lib. xvii.).

[9] Plin. vi. s. 33.

[10] Diodor. loc. cit.

were probably employed in the more arduous parts of this as of other similar works, were so inhumanly and unnecessarily thrown away. At the mouth of the canal were sluices, by which it was opened or closed according to circumstances; and thus, at one period of the year, the admission of the sea-water into the canal was regulated, as the Nile water was prevented, during the inundation, from discharging itself too rapidly from the canal into the sea. Though filled with sand, its direction is still easily traced, as well from the appearance of its channel as from the mounds and vestiges of ancient towns upon its banks, in one of which I found a monument bearing the sculptures and name of Rameses II.—the more satisfactory, as being a strong proof of its having existed at least as early as the reign of that monarch. After the time of the Ptolemies and Cæsars, it was again neglected, and suffered to go to decay; but on the revival of trade with India, this line of communication from the Red Sea to the Nile was once more proposed, the canal was re-opened by the Caliphs, and it continued to be used and kept in repair till the commerce of Alexandria was ruined by the discovery of the passage round the Cape.

Herodotus also tells us that Sesostris was the only king who ruled in Ethiopia,[1] but his assertion is contradicted by the monuments which still exist there.

The family of Rameses II., by his two wives, was numerous, consisting of twenty-three sons and three daughters, whose names[2] and figures are introduced in the Memnonium.

The duties of children were always more severe in the East than among any European people, and to the present day a son is not expected to sit in the presence of his father without express permission. Those of the Egyptian princes were equally austere. One of their offices was 'fanbearer on the left of the king,' and they were also obliged to carry the monarch in his palanquin or chair of state. As fanbearers, they attended him while seated on his throne, or in processions to the temples; and in this capacity they followed his chariot on foot[3] as he celebrated his triumphant return from battle.[4] Nor did they lay aside their insignia of

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[1] This may refer to the original Sesostris, above mentioned. There is, perhaps, some analogy between this name and that of Usertesen.

[2] The names of the daughters are omitted. The families in the East are frequently mentioned by ancient authors as being very numerous. Artaxerxes had 153 children; Rehoboam begat 28 sons and 60 daughters.

[3] [Conf. 1 Samuel viii. 11–18.—G. W.]

[4] *Vide* Plate V.

office in time of war; and sometimes in the heat of battle, whether mounted in cars or engaged on foot, they carried them in their hand or slung behind them: and, as a distinguishing mark of princely rank, they wore a badge depending from the side of the head, perhaps intended to cover and enclose the lock of hair which, among the Egyptians, was the sign of extreme youth, and the usual emblem of the god Harpocrates.

The reign of Rameses the Great was long and prosperous; nor does the period of sixty-six years appear too much, when we consider the extent of his conquests and the many grand monuments he erected in every part of Egypt, after his victorious return. Indeed, the number I have stated is derived from the authority of Manetho; and in the monuments, we have already met with the date of his 62nd year. The extensive additions to the great temples of Karnak and Luqsor, where two beautiful obelisks of red granite, bearing his name, proclaim the wonderful skill of the Egyptians in sculpturing[1] those hard materials: the elegant palace-temple of the Memnonium, and many other edifices at Thebes and Abydus: the temples hewn in the hard grit-stone rock of Aboosimbel: those erected at Dayr, Sabooa, and Gerf Hossayn in Nubia: the obelisks at Tanis, and vestiges of ruins there and in other parts of the Delta,—bear ample testimony to the length of time required for their execution: and from these we may infer a proportionate number founded or enlarged by him at Memphis,[2] and other of the principal cities, whose sites are now unknown or concealed by mounds.

Besides his military exploits, another very remarkable event is said[3] to have distinguished his reign; the partition of the lands among the peasants,[4] who were required to pay a fixed tax to the government, according to the extent of the property they obtained. But that this division could have been the origin of land surveying, as Herodotus supposes, is contrary to probability; and the evidence of the Bible as well as of the sculptures, both of which show the rights and limits of landed property to have been long since well defined, and the necessity of ascertaining the quantity of land irrigated by the Nile or changed by the effect of the inundation, must have led a people already highly civilised

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[1] Many of the hieroglyphics are two inches deep. One of the obelisks has been removed to Paris; the other has been ceded to the city of Marseilles.

[2] At Memphis, a Colossus, and fragments of several statues, bearing his name, are still met with.

[3] *Vide infrà*, Chap. iv. under Different Lawgivers.

[4] Herodot. ii. 109.

before the accession of this prince, to the practice of geometry at least some centuries previous to his era. The Bible informs us that a Pharaoh, the contemporary of Joseph, bought all the land (except that of the priests) from the Egyptian landholders: the partition of land, mentioned by the historian, could not therefore have been the first instance of such a system in the country; and he may either allude to a new regulation made subsequently to the time of Joseph, or to the very change that took place by his advice. In this case, the tax imposed refers to the fifth part[1] annually paid to the government by the Egyptian peasant, which continued to be the law of the country long after the time of Joseph;[2] and hence some may derive an argument in favour of the idea before suggested, that the *original* Sesostris (so often confounded with Rameses II.) was Usertesen I.,[3] the Pharaoh in whose reign Joseph arrived in Egypt.[4]

His thirteenth son, Meneptah,[5] succeeded him; and, from the kingly oval accompanying his name at the Memnonium, it is highly probable that the first prenomen he took on ascending the throne was afterwards changed to that by which he is known in the lists of the Egyptian monarchs. But his reign was not marked by any military event of consequence, nor by any particular encouragement given to the arts of peace. He may be the Sesoosis II. of Diodorus, and the Pheron of Herodotus,—a title mistaken by the latter historian for the name of the monarch, and evidently corrupted from Phra or Pharaoh.[6] Two obelisks are reported[7] to have been erected by him, at Heliopolis, in honour of the sun, but they no longer remain; and though his name appears on some of the monuments of his father and of his predecessors, those founded by him were comparatively few, at least in Upper Egypt. And the additions he made to those buildings are neither numerous nor remarkable for their magnificence.

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[1] Gen. xlvii. 24.

[2] Gen. xlvii. 26: 'A law over the land of Egypt *unto this day*, that Pharaoh should have the *fifth* part; except the land of the priests only, which became not Pharaoh's.

[3] Usertesen having lived posterior to the erection of the pyramids is an objection. The name of Rameses is found in the papyri written Sesura and Sesutra, from which the name of Sesostris has been derived. The idea of Sesostris belonging to an earlier dynasty has been put forth, but the political events of the 12th Dynasty do not answer to the legends about Sesostris. —S. B.

[4] I must, however, confess that Herodotus's statement does not agree exactly with that mentioned in Genesis; the people then selling their lands for corn, and afterwards farming it from the king.

[5] Sir G. Wilkinson, in the original edition, gives this name as Pthahmen, but it is now universally read Meneptah.—S. B.

[6] The Arabs now call Phrah, or Pharaoh, Pharoon.

[7] Pliny calls him Nuncoreus, and says that he dedicated two obelisks to the sun on the recovery of his sight. Herodotus states the same of Pheron. (Plin. xvi. 16; Herodot. ii. 111.)

In Pthahmen terminated the 18th Dynasty, and a second family of Diospolitan or Theban[1] monarchs succeeded to the dominion of Upper and Lower Egypt, and reigned eighty-nine years.

19th Dynasty, of 1 *Memphite? and* 6 *Diospolite Kings.*

Name from ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
			B.C.
Sethos . .	Pthah-men-Se-pthah.	Was probably either a Memphite, or succeeded to the throne by right of marriage with the Princess Taosiri.	1269
Rampses . .	Osirei II., or Osiri - men - pthah [Seti II. —S. B.].	. . . . .	1255
Amenophthis .	Osirita? Remerer? Amunmai [Setnecht —S. B.].	. . . . .	1245
Ramesses . .	Rameses III., Mi-amun or Amun-mai.	. . . . .	1235
Ammenemes .	Rameses IV. .	. . . . .	1205
Thuoris . .	Rameses V. .	Troy taken 1184 (Arundel marbles), and in the reign of a Rameses, according to Pliny.	1195
———? . .	Rameses VI. .	. . . . .	1180

Thus far I have stated my own opinions respecting the accordance of the monuments with some of the historical data furnished by Manetho; particularly about the period of his 18th Dynasty. I have placed the arrival of Joseph in the reign of Usertesen I.; the birth of Moses in that of Amosis, the leader of this Theban succession, whom I suppose to be the 'new king who knew not Joseph;' and the Exodus of the Israelites in that of the third Thothmes. I have assigned the date of 1355 for the accession of the great Rameses, and have had the satisfaction of finding the period thus fixed for his reign fully accords with, and is confirmed by, the astronomical ceiling of the Memnonium. But as another opinion, which ascribes to these events a higher antiquity, may also be maintained by many forcible arguments, and my object is to examine the question impartially, and to be guided by what appears most probable, I gladly avail myself of

[1] Sethos, or Pthah-men-Se-pthah (Siptsah), appears to have been an exception, and was, perhaps, a Memphite, or from Lower Egypt, as his name is omitted in the lists of Thebes and Abydus. It also seems to indicate a Memphite origin.

this opportunity of introducing Lord Prudhoe's view of the subject, which he has done me the favour to embody in the following remarks :—'It is extremely difficult to determine the date of the Exodus in Egyptian history, from the want of sufficient data in the Bible, and from the incorrectness of names given by ancient historians; but the event is so important, that even an attempt to ascertain that date must be interesting.

'The first text bearing on the subject is, "Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, saying, Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee: the land of Egypt is before thee; in the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell; in the land of Goshen let them dwell."[1] "And Joseph gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded."[2] In this quotation it does not appear that the land was called Rameses when Pharaoh gave it to Jacob: his words are, "give them the best of the land:" the remainder of the text is in the form of a narration by Moses. But the land was called Rameses when Moses wrote, and consequently it was so called before the Exodus. It probably received its name from one of the Pharaohs; we may therefore conclude the Exodus did not take place until after the reign of a Rameses: and the earliest king of that name[3] is distinguished among students in hieroglyphics by the title of Rameses I.

'"Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph."[4] This text would agree with Rameses I., who appears to have been the first king of a new dynasty, and might well be ignorant of the benefits conferred on Egypt by Joseph. "Therefore they did set over them (the children of Israel) taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities, Pithom and Raamses."[5] The last was the name of the Pharaoh; and it is remarkable that the prefix used to designate Rameses II. was compounded of Pi "the," and Thme "Justice." And though the figure of the goddess Thme is introduced into the names of his father and of other Pharaohs, he is the first Rameses in whose prefix it occurs, and we may therefore conclude it was for this monarch that the Hebrews built the treasure-cities.

'Another instance of the name so used is confirmed by the testimony of Strabo and Aristotle, who attribute the making of

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[1] Gen. xlvii. 5, 6.
[2] Gen. xlvii. 11.
[3] Private individuals bore the name long before; but it is uncertain whether there was any older king Rameses.
[4] Exod. i. 8.
[5] Exod. i. 11.

the Suez canal to Sesostris; and Herodotus says that it entered the sea near the town of Patumos. Sesostris is now generally considered to be Rameses II., and the circumstance of his name being found on buildings near the canal, gives another Pithom built by this king.

'Lysimachus mentions, "that in the reign of Bocchoris, king of Egypt, the Jewish people, being infected with leprosy, scurvy, and sundry other diseases, took shelter in the temples, where they begged for food; and that in consequence of the vast number of persons who were seized with the complaint, there became a scarcity in Egypt. Upon this, Bocchoris sent persons to inquire of the oracle of Ammon, respecting the scarcity: and the god directed him to cleanse the temples of all polluted and impious men, and to cast them out into the desert, when the land would recover its fertility." This the king did with much cruelty.

'If Bocchoris could be a mistake for the Coptic name OCIPI, with the article II prefixed, it was Osiri, the father of Rameses II., who thus oppressed them. Again, the son of Rameses II. was called Pthamenoph. Josephus states, that "the king Amenophis was desirous of beholding the gods, as Orus, one of his predecessors in the kingdom, had done. And having communicated his desire to the priest Amenophis, the son of Papis, the priest returned for answer, that it was in his power to behold the gods, if he would cleanse the whole country of the lepers and other unclean persons who abounded in it; upon which the king gathered them together, and sent them to work in the quarries." Josephus relates, in continuation, that a revolt was the consequence of this measure: and after some delays and difficulties, King Amenophis marched with 300,000 Egyptians against the enemy, defeated them, and pursued them to the bounds of Syria, having previously placed his son Sethos under the care of a faithful adherent.

'It is probable that by Amenophis Josephus meant Pthamenoph; and this opinion is twice confirmed: 1. by his son Sethos, the Se-ptha of the hieroglyphics, which is the only instance of a king so called in the known series of the Pharaohs; and, 2. when he describes Horus as one of his predecessors: for the grandfather of Pthamenoph succeeded to Horus, who was the only Egyptian monarch who bore that name.

'If these corrections of names be permitted, six Pharaohs, who succeeded each other in regular succession, are mentioned, either as a direct or a collateral evidence of the Exodus having taken place at this era: 1. Horus, one of the predecessors of

Amenophis: 2. Rameses I., the new king who knew not Joseph: 3. Osiri I., who oppressed the Jews: 4. Rameses II., who built Pithom and Raamses: 5. Pthamenoph, the Pharaoh of the Exodus: 6. Sethos, his son, who was placed with an attendant.

'From the many complaints of oppression in the Bible, it appears that the bondage was both severe and of some duration; these two reigns may therefore not be too long: but what, may be inquired, would be the effect in Egypt of an oppression of so numerous a population, and of their subsequent exodus? for even if the number of "600,000 men, besides children," had not been mentioned, it is evident, from the previous account of their increased numerical force, that the Jews were a very large body. 1. To oppress and keep them in bondage required a powerful monarch, and a warrior; and such were in an eminent degree Osiri I.[1] and Rameses II. 2. The labours of so great a population could not fail to be distinguished; and no Pharaohs have left finer or more numerous buildings than these two kings. 3. A successful revolt could only take place under a feeble monarch, and such was Pthamenoph: and the loss of so great a population would inflict a blow on the prosperity of Egypt, and cause a lasting debility. Such was the state of Egypt after the reign of Rameses II., when a sudden decline of the arts and power of the country ensued; and if at the accession of Rameses III. they for a time reappeared, and in great splendour, yet with this monarch the glory of ancient Egypt departed for ever.'

From the preceding statement, it is evident that Lord Prudhoe places the Exodus in the reign of Pthahmen (or, as he writes it, Pthamenoph), the last king of the 18th Dynasty;[2] and that consequently the dates of those monarchs are all thrown back about 200 years. The decision of this interesting question I leave to the learned reader; and shall feel great satisfaction, when the subject becomes so well understood as to enable a positive opinion to be pronounced upon it. I now return to the 19th Dynasty.

Pthahmen Septhah appears to have been the Sethos[3] of Manetho and other authors, and the second part of his phonetic nomen may have been the origin of the name it so much

[1] Seti I.—S. B.

[2] [There is another calculation which may reconcile the date of the Exodus at a later time with the opinion that Ames was 'the new king who knew not Joseph.' The Israelites were only 215 years in Egypt after the arrival of Jacob (430 years date from the covenant with Abram); and if Ames began to reign about B.C. 1500, 215 years would bring the Exodus to 1315, in the latter part of the reign of Rameses II. — G. W.]

[3] So often mistaken for Sesostris. This rests on the authority of Josephus's version of Manetho: '*Σεθῶν τὸν Ῥαμέσσην ὠνομάσμενον.*'

resembles. His right to the sceptre and admission into this dynasty were probably derived from his wife Taosiri, while his Memphitic origin excluded him from the privilege of being inserted in the list of Diospolite monarchs, unless this was owing to his expulsion from the throne.[1] Nothing of note occurred during his reign; and whatever buildings he may have founded at Memphis and in Lower Egypt, few bear even his name at Thebes, or in any other city of the Upper provinces. Those of his two successors are equally obscure in the history of their country, and little else remains of the monuments they erected except the avenue of Sphinxes, and the small chambers in the front area of Karnak, which the first of them added to that splendid edifice. But the name of the third Rameses is conspicuous in the annals of his country, as a conqueror and as a zealous encourager of the arts. The war in Asia had been neglected subsequently to, and perhaps in consequence of, the decisive successes of Rameses the Great, and the usual tribute from the conquered provinces was deemed a sufficient acknowledgment of their submission. But either some remissness in its payment, or his own ambition, stimulated the new king to a renewal of hostilities, and great preparations were made at Thebes and other parts of Egypt for a formidable expedition. Large bodies of chariots, and of archers, spearmen, and other corps of infantry were collected,[2] and the usual route was taken to the intended seat of war.

During their previous invasions,[3] the Egyptians had overrun several provinces,[4] in what I suppose to be the vicinity of the Caspian Sea; and in order to secure their possessions, and the fidelity of those who had entered their service as allies, they took the precaution to leave military colonies in the places where their presence was most essential, or which proved most suitable to the purpose; and proper officers were appointed to urge and accompany [5] the annual tribute paid to the Egyptian king. We

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[1] It would account for his name being erased in the tomb No. 14, at Thebes, which M. Champollion supposed to be an instance of a king refused the right of burial for his bad conduct: *vide* Champollion, pp. 76, 255. [It seems that Sethos cut his name over that of another king; and that another king cut his over that of Sethos, leaving the queen's name (Taosiri) in some instances, sometimes putting his figure over hers, and appropriating all her legends in spite of the female sign. This is not really Sethos, who was the son of Osirei I.—G. W.]

[2] Represented at Medeenet Haboo.

[3] *Vide* Diodorus's Account (lib. i. 28) of the Egyptian Colonies.

[4] Diodorus (i. 71) says, 'many nations were conquered by them.' (*Vide* also Tacit. Ann. ii. 60.)

[5] According to the pictures in the tombs at Thebes.

PLATE V.

Rameses III. returning with his prisoners.

Thebes.

may hence account for the readiness shown by the allies to join the Pharaohs when invading the hostile countries; and they are represented in the historical bas-reliefs united with the Egyptians in the field of battle.

Some of the people attacked by the third Rameses are frequently alluded to on various monuments, as the enemies[1] of Egypt; but others appear to be situated farther in the interior, and to have been previously unknown to, or unassailed by, the Egyptians. This last would, indeed, argue that ambition or the love of spoil was the main object of the monarch who planned the expedition; and it was probably owing to some injustice on his part, that two of the nations who fought under his banners in the capacity of allies, were induced to quit their allegiance, and unite against the aggressions of the invader. These were the Shairetana and the Tokkari;[2] and that the costume of the latter bears a remarkable analogy to those of the vicinity of Persia, may be seen by comparing it with the figures brought from Persepolis.[3] But whether the conquests, or any of the captives represented in the sculptures of the tombs and temples, can be referred to the rebellion and defeat of the Bactrians, is a question which I do not intend to discuss, since it would lead to arguments uninteresting to the general reader.

It is possible that this monarch extended his conquests in one direction, even farther than his predecessor Rameses II.; but the people represented at the Memnonium, and who have been supposed by M. Champollion to be the Scythians, do not appear to have been invaded to the same extent by the third Rameses.[4]

After subduing several nations, whose troops he had defeated in the open field, in fortified towns, and by water, he returned with immense booty[5] to the valley of the Nile, and distributed rewards to his troops, whose courage and superior discipline had added so much to his glory, and to the power of their native

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[1] Some of the allies at Medeenet Haboo are also a new people. They may have been represented on earlier monuments, now destroyed. Medeenet Haboo has been better preserved even than the Memnonium.

[2] The Tokkari rebelled first, and were then joined by the Shairetana, who had been allies of the Egyptians at least from the time of Rameses II.

[3] *Vide infrà*, Chap. iii., Enemies of Egypt.

[4] Or perhaps gave no cause for the renewal of war; and their names may only be noticed at Medeenet Haboo, as among the nations tributary to Egypt.

[5] If this king is the same as the Rhampsinitus of Herodotus, his successful wars may have been one of the great sources of the immense wealth he is said to have possessed.

country. And the latter part of his reign[1] was occupied, like those of his victorious ancestors, in erecting or embellishing many of the noblest monuments of Egypt.

[Succeeding his father Setnekht, who had recovered the sovereignty of Egypt and driven out the Asiatic and Libyan invaders of the country, Rameses defeated a confederation of Sardinians, Italians, and Libyans who had advanced beyond Memphis, in the eighth year of his reign, was victorious in a second campaign in Palestine, and was successful in a third war against the Libyans, in his eleventh year, the enemy losing their leader and above four thousand dead in the battle which ensued. He re-organized the country, established general tranquillity, and enriched with magnificent donations the temples of Heliopolis, Memphis, and Thebes, from the spoils of his conquests and the valuable tributes he received from the south and north. He reigned rather more than thirty-one years.—S. B.]

The sculptures of this period were elegant, as the architecture was magnificent; but a peculiar innovation, introduced into the style of the hieroglyphics, was the forerunner, though not the cause, of the decline and downfall of Egyptian art. The hieroglyphics had ceased to be executed in relief from the accession of the second Rameses; but the change made in the reign of his fifth successor was by carving the lower side of the characters to a great depth, while the upper face inclined gradually from the surface of the wall till it reached the innermost part of the intaglio, so that the hieroglyphics could be distinguished by a person standing immediately beneath, and close to the wall on which they were sculptured. It was a style not generally imitated by his successors; and the presence of hieroglyphics of this kind may serve to fix the monuments in which they occur to the era of the third Rameses. Some attempt was made by the monarchs of the 26th Dynasty to revive the beauty of ancient sculpture; and so great was the care bestowed on the execution of the hieroglyphics and small figures, that a person unacquainted with the purity of the more ancient style feels inclined, at first sight, to consider them the most elegant productions of this school. But on more careful consideration, and judging with a full understanding of true Egyptian design, they will be found to derive their effect from

[1] Among the Turks, it was long an established rule that no mosque could be founded by a Sultan who had not defeated the infidels, the enemies of their religion, of which he was the chief.

the minuteness of their detail, rather than from the boldness or superiority of their execution.

At the close of his reign we bid adieu to the most glorious era of Egyptian history.[1] But what was done by the labours of individuals zealous in the prosecution of the arts of peace, or what advances science and general knowledge underwent previous and subsequently to his era, still remains a secret; though it is probable, judging from similar events in other countries, that the epoch of conquest and military renown was accompanied by a proportionate development of intellectual powers.

That the Bible history makes no mention of the conquests of the Egyptian monarchs of the 18th Dynasty is not surprising, when we consider the state of the newly-occupied land at the epoch in question; and, as the history of the Jews only relates to themselves, or to those people with whom they were at war, we readily perceive the reason of their silence. They had not, in fact, become settled in the promised territory; they were engaged in war with neighbouring tribes; and the passage of the Egyptian army along the sea-coast of Palestine could in no way disturb or alarm them. Nor could they have had any object in imprudently provoking the hostilities of a nation far more powerful than those petty states whose aggressions they found so much difficulty to resist: and we observe that, at a subsequent period, the insolent interference of Josiah on a similar occasion cost him his kingdom and his life,[2] and had the additional effect of rendering his country tributary to Egypt.

Whether the successors of Rameses III. preferred the encouragement of the arts of peace and the improvement of the internal administration of the country, or, contented with the annual payment of that tribute which the arms of their warlike predecessors had imposed on the vanquished states, ceased to thirst for further conquest, military expeditions on the grand scale of those equipped by the two Rameses and Seti[3] were now abandoned; and the captives represented in their sculptures may be referred to the tributary people, rather than to those brought from any newly-acquired territory.

The immediate successors of the third Rameses were his sons.

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[1] [In the coronation ceremony of Rameses III., his queen's name is not inserted in the oval over her figure. Was he separated from her?—G. W.]

[2] 2 Kings xxiii. 30, 34. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20 *et seq.*, and xxxvi. 3.

[3] Osirei in the former edition.—S. B.

They all bore the name of their father, and completed the series of the 19th[1] Dynasty. To them succeeded five other Rameses: but the total of the 20th and 21st Dynasties is yet uncertain; nor can the arrangement of their names be ascertained with any degree of precision, owing to their having erected few buildings, at least in those cities whose monuments remain. Nor do the Dynasties of Manetho assist in the history of this period; and, indeed, the unsatisfactory form in which they have been transmitted to us, precludes the possibility of our using them, in any instance, without some confirmation or assistance from the more trustworthy records of the monuments.

[There is, indeed, little historical information to be obtained from the monuments after Rameses III. In the sixteenth year of Rameses IX. the tombs of some of the kings of Thebes were violated by robbers, and in the fifteenth year of Rameses XII. the ark of the god Chons with the accompanying priests was sent to the land of Bakhtan, to aid in driving away an evil spirit supposed to possess the younger sister of the queen of Egypt and daughter of the king of Bakhtan. The ark returned after a successful mission, in the thirty-third year of the reign of the monarch. After Rameses XIII. the throne of Egypt was occupied by the high priests of Amen, the first and most important of whom was Harhor, the first of the 21st Dynasty.—S. B.]

Of the same epoch, little information is to be obtained either from Herodotus or Diodorus; nor can we place much confidence in the accounts given by those authors of any portion of Egyptian history. Previous to the reign of Psammatichus, the names of nearly all the sovereigns they mention are questionable, and great confusion is caused by their misplacing Sesostris, or by their ascribing events of the later reign of a Rameses to that conqueror. The cause of this error I have already endeavoured to explain, by supposing Sesostris to have been the original hero of Egypt, and the conquests of the second Rameses to have been attributed to the former monarch, whose exploits he had eclipsed; the two persons thus becoming confounded together. However, as Herodotus and Diodorus mention some amusing details of the reigns of the early Pharaohs, I shall introduce them as a collateral account of the history of the Egyptian kings.[2]

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[1] 20th Dynasty.—S. B.

[2] The History of Egypt written by the authors of the 'Universal History,' has been compiled chiefly from those two historians; I therefore avail myself occasionally of some extracts from that work, adding my own remarks on the events there detailed.

Menes, or Menas, as already stated, is allowed by universal consent to have been the first sovereign of the country; and was the reputed founder of Thebes,[1] as well as Memphis, the capitals of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Having diverted the course[2] of the Nile, which formerly washed the foot of the sandy mountains of the Libyan chain, he obliged it to run in the centre of the valley, nearly at an equal distance between the two parallel ridges of mountains which border it on the east and west; and built the city of Memphis in the bed of the ancient channel. This change was effected by constructing a dyke about a hundred stadia above the site of the projected city, whose lofty mounds and strong embankments turned the water to the eastward, and effectually confined the river to its new bed. The dyke was carefully kept in repair by succeeding kings; and even as late as the Persian occupation of Egypt, a guard was always maintained there, to overlook the necessary repairs, and to watch over the state of its embankments. For, adds Herodotus, if the river was to break through the dyke, the whole of Memphis would run a risk of being overwhelmed with water, especially at the period of the inundation. Subsequently, however, when the increased deposit of the alluvial soil had heightened the circumjacent plains, these precautions became unnecessary; and though we may still trace the spot where the diversion of the Nile was made, which is pointed out by the great bend it takes, about fourteen miles[3] above the site of ancient Memphis, the lofty mounds once raised there are no longer visible. The accumulated deposit of the river has elevated the bank about Kafr-el-Iyat to a level with their summit; and a large canal runs, during the inundation, close to the villages of Saqqara and Mit-rahenny, which occupy part of the old city, without endangering their security. Nor, judging from the great height of several mounds still existing at Memphis, could that city have been overwhelmed[4] at any

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[1] [The name of Thebes is almost always written in the plural by the Greeks and Romans — Θῆβαι, Thebæ — but Pliny writes 'Thebe portarum centum nobilis fama.' The Egyptian name of Thebes was Ap or A'pé, the 'head,' or 'capital.' This, with the feminine article, became Tápé, and in the Memphitic dialect Thapé, pronounced, as by the Copts, Thaba, whence Θῆβαι in Ionic Greek. The oldest known monuments in Western Thebes were of Amun-em-ha I. at Karnak, and of his successor Osirtasen I., who ruled immediately after the 6th Dynasty ended at Memphis, about B.C. 2080.—G. W.]

[2] If this is true, it shows great scientific knowledge at that early period.

[3] I have noticed this in my 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 341.

[4] Herodotus says, Κίνδυνος πάσῃ Μέμφι κατακλυσθῆναί ἐστι (lib. ii. 99).

period by the rising Nile, though much damage might have been done to some of the lower portions of it which may have stood on less elevated ground.

On the north and west of Memphis, Menes excavated a lake, which stood without the town, and communicated with the Nile by a canal; it did not, however, extend to the east, because the river itself was on that side.[1] He also erected at Memphis a large and magnificent temple to Vulcan, who was called by the Egyptians Ptah,—the demiurgos, or creative power.

Menes was the first who instructed the Egyptians in religious matters, introduced domestic magnificence and luxury, and instituted the pomp of feasts; and the change he made in the primitive simplicity of the Egyptians was, in after-times, so much regretted by Tnephackthus, the father of Bocchoris surnamed 'the Wise,' that he ordered a curse against the memory of Menes to be engraved and set up in the temple of the Theban Jupiter.

A great blank is left after the death of Menes, both in Herodotus and Diodorus. The former relates that 330 sovereigns succeeded him; among whom were eighteen Ethiopians, and one queen, a native of Egypt, whose name was Nitocris. He fails to inform us if she preceded or followed the Ethiopian princes; and we are left in ignorance of the events which led to their obtaining possession of the country—whether it was from conquest, or in consequence of intermarriages with the royal family of Egypt. Nitocris was a woman of great beauty; and, if we may believe Manetho, she had a fair complexion and flaxen hair. Her immediate predecessor was her brother, who was put to death by his subjects; but neither his name nor the cause of that event is mentioned by Herodotus. Resolved on revenging herself upon the authors of this outrage, Nitocris had no sooner ascended the throne than she invited those she suspected of having been privy to it to a festival. A large subterraneous hall was prepared for the occasion; and though it had the appearance of being fitted up with a view to celebrate the proposed feast, it was in reality designed for a very different purpose: for when the guests were assembled, the water of the Nile was introduced by a secret canal into the apartment; and thus by their death she gratified her revenge, without giving them an opportunity of suspecting her designs. But she did

[1] But apparently at some distance from it.

not live long to enjoy the satisfaction she had anticipated; and fearing the indignation of the people, she put an end to herself by suffocation.

No one monarch of the long series above mentioned was distinguished by any act of magnificence or renown, except Mœris, who was the last of them. He built the northern propylæum of the temple of Vulcan at Memphis, and excavated a lake called after him—a work of great splendour and utility, near [1] which he erected two pyramids—and the most wonderful of all buildings [2] either in Egypt or in any part of the world. This was the famous labyrinth,[3] from whose model that of Crete was afterwards copied by Dædalus;[4] and in which, says Pliny,[5] not a single piece of wood was used, being entirely constructed of stone. Herodotus attributes its foundation to the twelve kings, in the time of Psammatichus; but tradition seems to have ascribed it to Mœris; though it is possible that the son of Neco and his colleagues may have completed and enlarged it. Pliny says [6] it was first built by King Petesuccus,[7] or Tithoes; though others affirm it to have been the palace of Motherus, or the sepulchre of Mœris;[8] and received opinion maintains that it was dedicated to the Sun. Diodorus mentions Mendes, or, as some call him, Maron or Marrus, as the founder; and others have put forth the claims of Ismandes [9] and various other monarchs.

The entrance and some of the courts [10] were made of white stone resembling marble;[11] and the columns with which several of the corridors were adorned, as well as many other parts of the

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[1] Herodotus (ii. 149) says the pyramids stood *in* the lake, 200 cubits above the surface of the water, and the same below it; and on each of them was a colossus of stone, seated on a throne.

[2] Herodot. ii. 148.

[3] Pliny (xxxvii. 19) mentions an emerald in this building, of which a statue of the god Serapis was made, nine cubits in height. Another stone of the same quality was sent to Egypt by a king of Babylon, four cubits long and three broad. These I suppose to have been of the smaragdite, or root of emerald, or of glass, but even then their dimensions are extraordinary. His smaragdus is here evidently not the real emerald.

[4] Plin. xxxvi. 13. [5] Plin. v. 11.

[6] Plin. xxxvi. 13.

[7] Or Petesecus. The commencement of his name bears an Egyptian character.

[8] The Lake Mœris is found by recent researches to have been commenced by Amenemha III. of the 12th Dynasty. The pyramids contained his sepulchre, and that of his successor Amenemha IV., whose names were found at the Labyrinth, and Sebak nefru or Skemiophris. Possibly the prenomens Maenra or Ma-kher-ra may have suggested the names of the classical authorities.—S. B.

[9] Probably, as I have elsewhere suggested, the same as Mendes and Osymandyas, in which we trace the name of the god Mandoo, from which that of the king was derived.

[10] Herod. ii. 148.

[11] Pliny says, 'of Parian marble.' The stones which I found amidst the ruins on its site are, a hard white limestone, which takes a polish almost like marble, and red granite.

building, were of red granite of Syene.[1] It was divided into sixteen parts, according to the number of the nomes of Central Egypt, and contained a temple to each of the deities: and with such remarkable solidity[2] was the whole constructed, that time, says Pliny, could not destroy it, though assisted by the Heracleopolites, from whose ill-will it sustained considerable damage.

Whether the Lake (or rather canal) Mœris was really commenced by, and owed its origin to, this monarch, it is difficult to determine; but from the name still given by the Egyptians to the canal which carries the water of the Nile to the Fyoom[3] and its lake, and from traditions concerning it, I am inclined to attribute its commencement to Menes, from whom the modern appellation El Ménhi appears to have been borrowed. That the Lake Mœris was in reality a name applied to the canal, as well as to the lake itself, we have the authority of Pliny, who asserts that 'the Lake Mœris was a large canal, which lay between the Arsinoïte and Memphite nomes:'[4] and the great difficulty which has arisen on the subject is owing to the imperfect description of Herodotus, who has confounded the two; omitting to designate the canal as an artificial work, and the lake as a natural formation. It has not only perplexed many of his readers, but has even misled the learned geographer D'Anville, who, in order to account for his statement, suggested the existence of the Bathen; an hypothesis entirely disproved by an examination of its supposed site: and of all authors who have written on this lake and canal, or the position of the labyrinth, none can be consulted with greater satisfaction than Strabo,[5] in whose valuable work we only regret too much conciseness.

During the period which elapsed from Menes to Sesostris, no monarch of note reigned in Egypt, if we except those above mentioned, and the Mnevis and Sasyches of Diodorus,[6] who held a conspicuous place among the legislators of their country. But the exact period of their reigns is uncertain, and the historian has failed to inform us if Sasyches was the immediate successor of the former, and whether they both preceded or followed

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[1] Plin. loc. cit.

[2] Ibid. Strabo, xvii.

[3] The modern name of the Arsinoïte, or Crocodilopolite, nome.

[4] 'Mœridis lacus, hoc est, fossa grandis.' (Plin. xxxvi. 16, and v. 9.)

[5] *Vide* Strabo's account of the lake and its canal, as well as the position of the labyrinth (lib. xvii.).

[6] Diodor. i. 94. The name calls to mind Susachis, or Shishak; though Diodorus places him before Sesostris (Sesoosis).

Mœris. Mnevis is represented to have been the first to teach the people to obey and respect the laws, and to have derived his sanction as a lawgiver from Mercury himself; a fable which, with the name of the prince, argues strongly in support of the opinion that Diodorus has confounded him with Menes, the founder of the Egyptian monarchy. Sasyches, a man of great learning, made numerous and important additions to the existing code, and introduced many minute regulations respecting the service of the gods. He was also the reputed inventor of geometry; and ordained that astronomy should be taught, as an important branch of education.

With the exception of these few reigns, Egyptian history presents a blank from the foundation of the monarchy to the era of Sesostris: it is, however, probable that a portion of it may be filled by an event which, though not fixed to any precise time by historians, is universally allowed to have occurred; the occupation of the country by the Shepherds. If this and the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt have been confounded by Josephus, perhaps intentionally, and by other writers accidentally, the exploits of Sesostris and of Rameses the Great have experienced the same treatment from Herodotus and others; as the following extracts from his writings cannot fail to prove, with which I continue my comparative view of Egyptian history.

'Sesostris was the first who, passing the Arabian Gulf in a fleet of long vessels, reduced under his authority the inhabitants of the coasts bordering on the *Mare Erythræum;*[1] and proceeding still farther, he came to a sea which, from the great number of its shoals, was not navigable. On his return to Egypt, according to the authority of the priests, he levied a mighty army, and made an expedition by land, subduing all the nations he met with on his march. Whenever he was opposed by a people who proved themselves brave, and who discovered an ardour for liberty, he erected tablets[2] (*stelæ*) in their country, on which he inscribed his name and that of his nation, and how he had conquered them by the force of his arms: but where he met with little or no opposition, upon similar tablets, which he erected,

[1] The *Mare Erythræum*, or Red Sea, was that part of the Indian Ocean without the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb; and in later times was applied to the Arabian Gulf, or *Sinus Arabicus*.

[2] No doubt, similar to those about E'Souan and other places, many of which are commemorative of victories of the Pharaohs. That on the Lycus, near Beiroot, is probably one of the stelæ alluded to by Herodotus.

was added a symbol emblematic of their pusillanimity. Continuing his progress, he passed from Asia to Europe,[1] and subdued the countries of Scythia and Thrace; there, however, I believe his army to have been stopped, since monuments of his victories only appear thus far, and none beyond that country. On his return he came to the river Phasis; but I am by no means certain whether he left a detachment of his force as a colony in that district, or whether some of his men, fatigued with their laborious service, remained there of their own accord.[2] The Colchians, indeed, appear to be of Egyptian origin; and a strong argument in support of this conjecture, is derived from the fact of their being the only people, except the Egyptians and Ethiopians, and, I may add, the Phœnicians and Syrians of Palestine, who use circumcision; and these last two acknowledge that they borrowed the custom from Egypt. The Colchians have also another point of resemblance to the Egyptians: the manufacture of linen is alike in both countries, and peculiar to them; and, moreover, their manners and language are similar.

'The greater part of the stelæ erected by Sesostris in the places he conquered, are no longer to be found. I have myself seen some in Palestine of Syria, with the disgraceful emblem and inscriptions above mentioned; and in Ionia are two figures of the same king hewn in the rock—one on the way from Ephesus to Phocæa, the other between Sardis and Smyrna. They both represent a man, five palms in height, holding in his right hand a javelin, and in his left a bow; the rest of his armour being partly Egyptian and partly Ethiopian. Across his breast, from shoulder to shoulder, is this inscription, in the sacred or hieroglyphic writing of Egypt—"I conquered this country by the force of my arms."[3] Who or whence he is, are not specified, both being mentioned elsewhere;[4] and though some who have examined it suppose it to be Memnon, I am persuaded they are mistaken in the name of the monarch.'

There is little doubt that one of the tablets or stelæ alluded to by the historian still exists in Syria, bearing the name of Rameses II. It is at the side of the road leading to Beiroot.

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[1] Conf. Valer. Flac. Argon. v. 418: . . . . 'ut prima Sesostris intulerit rex bella Getis.'

[2] Rather as a garrison for one of the military posts he established, in order to secure the conquered territory and the exaction of tribute.

[3] Or 'shoulders.' Conf. Claudian, Bell. Gild., 114: 'Terras *humeris* pontumque subegi.'

[4] Probably in the lines of hieroglyphics on the tablet accompanying the figure.

close to the river Lycus, now Nahr-el-Kelb; and though the hieroglyphics are much erased, sufficient remains to show by whose order it was sculptured. Near it is another, accompanied by the figure of an Assyrian king, and inscribed with the arrow-headed character, copies of which have been made by Mr. Bonomi; and thus the memorials of the passage of the Egyptian army, marching triumphant over Asiatic nations, and that of the Assyrians[1] victorious over Syria and Egypt, are recorded in a similar manner at the same spot.

Diodorus mentions several princes who reigned in Egypt between Menes and Sesostris, some of whom preceded, and others followed, Mœris, or, as he calls him, Myris. Menes, according to that historian, was succeeded by two of his descendants, who in Manetho are his son Athothes and his grandson Cencenes, or, as Eratosthenes states, Athothes I. and II. Fifty-two kings, whose names are omitted, succeeded them; then Busiris, who was followed by eight of his descendants, the last of whom bore the same name as the first, and was said to have been the founder of Thebes. This honour, we have seen above, has also been claimed for Menes; but it is more probable, as I have elsewhere shown, that the city existed even before his era, especially as he is said to have been a native of Thebes. Nor can we agree with Diodorus in ascribing the foundation of Memphis to Uchoreus II., who is said to have borne the same name as his father, and was the eighth in descent from the monarch he supposes to have been the builder of Thebes. Uchoreus was followed by twelve generations of kings, after whom came Myris, who excavated the lake above Memphis, and is the Mœris of Herodotus. If we admit the authority of Diodorus, seven generations intervened between Mœris and Sesostris; but Herodotus seems to place the latter as his immediate successor.

Sesostris, or, as Diodorus calls him, Sesoosis, was reputed by some to have been the son of Amenophis; and about the period of his birth, the god Vulcan appeared to his father in a dream, informing him that his child should become lord of the whole earth. Impressed with the truth of this vision, and anxious to profit by the admonition of the deity, he ordered all the male children throughout Egypt who were born on the same day as his son,[2]

[1] [A little to the south of this is another — *v.* Arch. of Rome. They are Assyrian, not Persian.—G. W.]

[2] Of about the same age as his son, would have been more consistent with probability. Voltaire ridicules this account very severely ('Phil. de l'Hist.,' p. 50).

to be brought to him, and, having appointed nurses and proper persons to take charge of them, he gave instructions that they should be educated and treated in every respect as the young prince: being persuaded that those who were his constant companions in childhood and youth would prove his most faithful adherents and affectionate fellow-soldiers. They were abundantly furnished with everything needful: as they grew up, they were by degrees inured to laborious and manly exercises, and were even forbidden to taste any food till they had performed a course of 180 stadia, or nearly twenty-three Roman miles. By this severe training of the body, and by a suitable cultivation of the mind, they were equally fitted to execute and to command. And at length, resolving to give him and his companions an opportunity of proving themselves worthy of the pains bestowed upon their education, the monarch sent them with an army into Arabia; and as soon as they had subdued that unconquered country, they passed into Africa,[1] great part of which they overran.

Sesostris having ascended the throne, turned his attention to the internal administration of the country; and having divided all Egypt into thirty-six nomes, or provinces, he appointed a governor over each. He then prepared to put his military designs into execution, and to extend the conquests of Egypt into the most remote countries. With this view he collected an army of 600,000 foot, 24,000 horse, and 27,000 chariots, and appointed the companions of his youth, in number upwards of 1700, to the chief command.[2] Leaving his brother Armais regent in his absence, he invested him with supreme power, forbidding him only the use of the diadem, and commanding him to respect and defend the queen, the royal family, and the household; and having marched into Ethiopia, and exacted from that country a tribute of gold, ebony, and ivory, he proceeded to the promontory of Dira, near the straits of the Arabian Gulf, where he erected a stele, with an inscription in the sacred character, to commemorate his successes; and advancing to the country that produces cinnamon, he raised other monuments there, which were seen many ages after his time.

The fleet of Sesostris consisted of 400 sail, and by having

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[1] Libya was always considered to form part of the territories of Egypt, even to the time of the Ptolemies. Thus Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, was deputed by Alexander to preside over Egypt and Africa, as well as part of Arabia. (Justin. xiii. 4.)

[2] Diod. i. 54.

ships of war in the Mediterranean as well as the Arabian Gulf, he commanded the coast of Phœnicia, and made himself master of many of the Cyclades. Having vanquished numerous southern and eastern nations, he returned to Egypt; and on his arrival at Daphne of Pelusium, he was met by his brother, who, with the plea of celebrating and welcoming this joyful event, invited him to a feast. Sesostris, little suspecting his designs, repaired to the house fitted up for his reception, accompanied by his principal friends and the different members of his family. The house had been previously filled with combustibles, which, by the command of his brother, were ignited as soon as they had all retired to rest. Sesostris, roused from his sleep, perceived the imminent danger to which they were exposed, and seeing no other means of escape but by placing two of his children across the parts which were burning, he came to the resolution of making this sacrifice for the preservation of himself and the rest of his family. According to other accounts, his brother, having seized the throne during his absence, openly rebelled against him, and even offered violence to the queen; and they ascribe his hurried return to the anxiety he felt on receiving intelligence of his perfidy.

Sesostris was no sooner delivered from the sinister attempts of his brother, than he returned thanks to the gods for his escape, and raised six colossal marble statues before the temple of Pthah, or Vulcan, at Memphis; two of himself and the queen, which were thirty cubits in height, and four of twenty cubits, each representing one of his children. Many splendid monuments were also erected by him in different parts of Egypt, in token of his gratitude to the gods for the great victories he had obtained; and the captives he took in war were employed in transporting the immense blocks of stone used in the construction of the temple at Memphis, and in other ornamental and useful works. He also set up two splendid obelisks,[1] and dedicated a ship 280 cubits in length to the god of Thebes; and his statue, which was erected in the temple of Vulcan, together with those of his predecessors, in order to show the esteem in which he was held by his countrymen, had the first and most conspicuous post assigned to it, nor did any succeeding monarch obtain permission to place his own before that of Sesostris. Darius, indeed, claimed this honour, upon the plea that his conquests had equalled those of his Egyptian precursor; but, after they had weighed his claims,

[1] Diodorus (i. 57) says 120 cubits (180 feet) high!

the priests of Memphis declared him to have been eclipsed by Sesostris, inasmuch as he had vanquished the Scythians, who had never yielded to the arms of Darius. This candid remonstrance of the priests was far from displeasing to the Persian monarch, who, in acknowledging the justice of his precedence, expressed a hope that, if he lived as long as Sesostris, he should be enabled to equal his exploits.

In every building erected by his captives he put up an inscription, purporting that it was the work of those he had taken in war, and that no native[1] was employed in the laborious part of the undertaking; and in every city of Egypt he dedicated a monument to the presiding deity of the place. The same captives were also employed in digging large canals, and in raising dykes and embankments, for the purposes of irrigation, the protection of the towns[2] and lands, and the distribution of the water of the Nile during the inundation; and though these had been previously established throughout the country by his predecessors, the superior scale on which they were now constructed, the many wise regulations he introduced relative to landed property, and the accurate surveys he ordered to be made, in order to ascertain the levels and extent of every person's estate, obtained for Sesostris the credit of having been the first to intersect the plains of Egypt with canals, and of having introduced the science of mensuration and land surveying. Herodotus supposes that Egypt, 'previous to his reign, was conveniently adapted to those who travelled on horses or in carriages,' and that afterwards it became disagreeable to traverse the country on horseback, and utterly impossible in chariots; but as many dykes were raised, as at present, to facilitate the communication from one town to another, and as the journey along the edge of the desert is not only more commodious but shorter for those who go by land from Lower to Upper Egypt, neither Sesostris nor his predecessors were guilty of the great impediments complained of by the historian. Nor is it probable that this monarch was the first to suggest the expediency of ascertaining the quantity of land irrigated by the rising Nile, or the justice of proportioning the taxes to the benefits derived from its fertilising influence; and however we may be inclined to believe that geometry may have originated

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[1] Diod. i. 56.

[2] Herodotus in another place (ii. 137) says, the towns were elevated in the reign of Sesostris, when the canals were made.

in Egypt in consequence of the necessity of ascertaining the changes which annually take place on the banks of the Nile, we cannot suppose that no means were devised for this purpose previous to his reign.

Sesostris is reported to have raised a wall on the east side of Egypt,[1] extending from Pelusium along the edge of the desert by Heliopolis,[2] 1500 stadia in length, or about 187 Roman milès; and that such a wall was actually made by one of the Egyptian monarchs, we have positive proof from the vestiges which remain in different parts of the valley. It was not confined to Lower Egypt, or to the east of the Delta, from Pelusium to Heliopolis, but continued to the Ethiopian frontier at Syene; and though the increase of the alluvial deposit has almost concealed it in the low lands overflowed during the inundation by the waters of the Nile, it is traced in many of the higher parts, especially when founded upon the rocky eminences bordering the river. The modern Egyptians have several idle legends respecting this wall, some of which ascribe it to a king, or rather of a queen, anxious to prevent an obnoxious stranger from intruding on the retirement of her beautiful daughter: and the name applied to it is Gisr el Agoós, or 'the old woman's dyke.' It is of crude brick: the principal portion that remains may be seen at Gebel e'Tayr,[3] a little below Minyeh; and I have even traced small fragments of the same kind of building on the western side of the valley, particularly in the Fyoom.

Of the humane character of the ancient Egyptians, we have several strong proofs; but, if we may trust the authority of Diodorus[4] and Pliny,[5] Sesostris tarnished his glory by an act of great oppression, compelling captive monarchs to draw his chariot as he proceeded to celebrate his triumph. And the Theban artists have not been ashamed to introduce a similar instance of cruelty in the sculptures of the temple at Medeenet Haboo, representing the triumphal return of Rameses III.,[6] after his conquests in the Eastern war: where three captives are tied beneath the axle of his chariot, while others bound with ropes walk by his horse's side, to be presented to the deity of the place.[7]

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[1] In my 'Egypt and Thebes' (p. 368) I have shown that Voltaire is wrong in the inference he draws from this fact. [Sesostris is Rameses II. of the 19th Dynasty.—S. B.]

[2] Diod. (i. 57) says, *to* Heliopolis.

[3] I have already noticed it in my 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 367.

[4] Diod. i. 58. [5] Plin. xxxiii. 15.

[6] And of Osirei (Seti I.) at Karnak.

[7] *Vide* Plate IV.

The latter days of Sesostris were embittered by the misfortune of losing his sight, which so affected him that he put a period to his existence: an act far from being considered unworthy of a pious and good man, but looked upon by his subjects, and even by the priests themselves, as becoming a hero admired by men and beloved by the gods, whose merited gifts of eternal happiness he had hastened to enjoy.

He was succeeded by his son, the Pheron of Herodotus, the Sesoosis II. of Diodorus, and the Nuncoreus of Pliny. Like his father, he was affected by a weakness of the eyes, which terminated in total blindness: but though it continued during eleven years, he at length recovered, owing more probably to some operation which the noted skill of the Egyptian surgeons had suggested, than to the ridiculous cause assigned by Herodotus. Diodorus and Pliny both agree with the historian of Halicarnassus, that he dedicated two obelisks to the sun at Heliopolis, in token of gratitude for the recovery of his sight; and this I suppose to refer to the son of Rameses II., as I have observed in noticing the reign of Meneptah.

Many ages after him, according to Diodorus, Amasis ascended the throne. He is represented to have been a cruel and despotic prince; and having oppressed his people for some time, he was deposed by Actisanes,[1] an Ethiopian, who made war upon him, probably in consequence of the representations of his subjects, and who succeeded to the throne of Egypt. Actisanes proved himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him and of the choice made by the Egyptians. He behaved with great moderation and impartiality, and introduced some beneficial laws. Instead of punishing theft with death, he caused all robbers to be banished and confined in the most remote part of Egypt, on the edge of the desert bordering Syria; their noses having been previously cut off, as an eternal stigma, and as a means of recognising them in the event of their escape. And the town of Rhinocolura,[2] where they lived, was said to have received its name from this mutilation of the inhabitants. The spot was dreary and unproductive. On one side was the sea; on the E., W., and S. all was desert; and the torrent or dry 'river of Egypt,' the boundary line of the Syrian frontier, afforded no water but during

[1] The name of Actisanes has not been found on the monuments. The whole of this account of Diodorus is transposed, and does not correspond to the monumental history.—S. B.

[2] Diod. i. 60.

the partial rains which sometimes fell in winter. The wells were salt or brackish; nothing could be cultivated without excessive labour, and so destitute were they of the necessaries of life, that they gladly availed themselves of any opportunity of providing themselves with food. At one season numerous quails visited the district, which they caught in long nets made with split reeds,[1] but this temporary relief only acted as a contrast to their wants during the remainder of the year, when they depended principally on the fish of the neighbouring sea.

Actisanes was succeeded by Mendes, or Marrhus, the sceptre now returning to the Egyptian line. This Mendes, according to Diodorus, built the labyrinth in the Crocodilopolite nome, ascribed by Herodotus to Mœris; whence it is evident that he considers Mendes a different person from Mœris, who excavated the lake, and is called by him Myris.[2] Mendes, indeed, may have continued the building, as the twelve kings are supposed to have done, at a later period, and thereby have obtained the title of its founder: nor is it improbable that Mendes is the Ismandes of Strabo, who was also reputed to be the builder of the labyrinth, and the same as the Mandoof or Mandooftep[3] of the hieroglyphics. And the circumstance of there being two towns in the vicinity still bearing the name Isment is very remarkable. Diodorus does not fix the exact epoch at which Osymandyas, whose tomb he describes at Thebes, reigned in Egypt; but, if we may be allowed to infer the identity of Ismandes and Mendes,[4] we are enabled to assign him a position in the series given by the historian, Ismandes being unquestionably the same as Osymandyas.

Osymandyas signalised himself both for the victories he obtained in the East, and for the monuments with which he adorned the cities of Egypt. In his reign the Bactrians, who had been subdued by Sesostris, rebelled, and threw off their allegiance to the Egyptians. Resolving to punish their defection and recover the conquered country, he levied a formidable army and marched against them. He was victorious; he again reduced

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[1] The framework of some nets, in the Egyptian paintings, seems to be made of reeds.

[2] The *oi* and *u* of the Greeks had the sound of our *ee*.

[3] Mentuhetep was the name of some of the monarchs of the 11th Dynasty. This name has not been found at the labyrinth.—S. B.

[4] Strabo says, 'If, as some suppose, Memnon is called by the Egyptians Ismandes, the labyrinth must be Memnonian, the work of the same person who erected the buildings at Abydus and Thebes, which are there styled Memnoneia' (lib. xvii.).

them under the dominion of Egypt, and, returning triumphant to Thebes, he erected a magnificent monument, supposed by Hecatæus to have been afterwards used as his tomb, on which he commemorated his victory, and his gratitude to the god Amun and the co-templar deities. It is thus described by Diodorus,[1] on the authority of that ancient author: 'Ten stadia from the first sepulchres in the Theban Necropolis, where the pallacides of Jove are buried, stood the tomb of Osymandyas. Its entrance was by a propylon of variously coloured stone,[2] two *plethra* in length[3] and forty-five cubits in height.[4] Behind was a square area, surrounded internally by an avenue of columns,[5] each side measuring four plethra, and having a (partial) roof supported by figures of animals[6] of solid stone, sixteen cubits high, sculptured in the antique fashion. The ceiling, which was of compact masonry[7] (covering the space between the outer walls and the columns), was upwards of two *orgyiai* (twelve feet) in breadth, and was ornamented with stars studded on an azure ground.[8] At the upper end of this, you came to a doorway leading to a second area, with a propylon, similar in all respects to the former, but sculptured with a greater variety of subjects; and close to the entrance was a colossal group of three figures (the workmanship) of Memnon of Syene.[9] One of them was in a sitting posture, and was reputed to be the largest statue in Egypt, whose foot exceeded seven cubits in length. The other two, very inferior in size, reached only to its knees (and were attached in an upright position to the front of the throne), one on the right, the other on the left side, and represented the daughter and mother of the king. It was a monument remarkable as well for the excellence of its workmanship as for the dimensions and nature of the stone, in which no crack or even flaw could be found; and upon it was this inscription: "I am Osymandyas, king of kings; if anyone wishes to know what I am and where I lie, let him surpass me in

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[1] Diodor. i. 47 *et seq.*

[2] This appears to allude to the painted sculptures usual on Egyptian buildings, or to granite.

[3] The plethrum, according to some, was 100 feet, others reckon it about 92 feet, English.

[4] Or 67½ feet, which can only apply to the pyramidal towers.

[5] Literally, 'after you passed through this, was a square peristyle of stone.'

[6] He evidently alludes to the Osiride figures, not of animals, but of men, in the areas of Egyptian temples.

[7] Μονόλιθον signifies here, as in Strabo's description of the labyrinth, 'a solid masonry,' not of a single stone. The Osiride pillars, said also to have been monolithic, were no doubt built, as usual, of several blocks.

[8] These ceilings are very commonly met with in ancient Egyptian edifices.

[9] In this may have originated the idea of its being the statue of Memnon, as well as the name Memnonium attached to the building here described.

some of my exploits." Near it was a statue of his mother, twenty cubits in height, and of a single stone, bearing three crowns upon her head, which purported that she was the daughter, wife, and mother of a king.[1] Behind the propylon was another peripteral area, adorned with a variety of sculpture. On it was represented a war waged by the monarch in the country of the Bactrians, who had revolted from him, and against whom he led an army of 400,000 foot and 20,000 horse, in four divisions, each commanded by one of his sons. On the first wall the king was seen besieging a fortress, surrounded by a river, and contending in the foremost ranks with the enemy, accompanied by a lion, which appeared to aid him in the fight. Some indeed affirm that the sculptor intended to represent a real lion, which the king had brought up, and was accustomed to take with him to battle, to intimidate his foes: but others are of opinion that it merely alludes to the courage of the monarch, of which it was deemed an appropriate emblem. On the second wall, captives were conducted without hands or the signs of virility, purporting them to be men destitute of courage and the power of resistance: and the third wall presented various subjects and appropriate sculptures, indicating the sacrifices and triumph of the king. In the centre of the open court was an altar of very beautiful stone, admirable for its size as well as for its workmanship; and close to the end wall were two sitting statues, of a single block each, measuring twenty-seven cubits[2] in height. Three entrances led from the area to a hall supported throughout by columns, and built in the manner of an *odeum*, which measured on each side two plethra. Here were several wooden statues, representing persons engaged in lawsuits, and judges listening to the causes. These last were thirty in number, with the chief justice in the centre, who had many books lying near him, and wore an image of Truth with her eyes closed, suspended from his neck: an emblematic figure, purporting that the duty of a judge was to receive nothing,[3] and

[1] Hieroglyphics bearing the same import are found to precede the names of queens who were similarly circumstanced, as Neitacri, the wife of Psammatichus III., and others.

[2] 40 feet 6 inches. He evidently alludes to the two small colossi of the Memnonium, which stood on each side of the steps leading from the second court of that building. The head of one is in the British Museum, and was formerly called that of the young Memnon. From this court, three entrances lead to the hall of assembly, agreeing well with the description of Diodorus in his account of the tomb.

[3] Diodorus has omitted to mention their being 'without hands;' which, however, we learn from Plutarch: 'The statues of judges at Thebes without hands, with their chief or president at their head, with his eyes turned downwards, signify that justice ought neither to be accessible to bribes, nor guided by favour and affection.' (De Isid. s. 10.)

that the chief justice should have his mind intent on truth alone. After this was a corridor filled with numerous chambers, where all kinds of food most agreeable to the palate were introduced. The king also appeared in the sculptures, painted in elegant colours, dedicating to the deity the gold and silver he annually received from the mines throughout Egypt, which in silver alone amounted to 3200 myriads of minæ.[1] To these chambers succeeded the sacred library, over which was inscribed "The balsam of the soul;" and contiguous to it were figures of all the gods of Egypt, to each of whom the monarch presented a suitable offering; in order that Osiris, and the assessors who attended beneath him, might know that through life he had acted with piety towards the gods and benevolence towards men. Adjacent[2] to the library was a chamber elegantly fitted up with twenty couches, where the statues of Jupiter, Juno, and the king were placed; and here it was supposed that the body of the prince reposed. Around were several rooms, having beautiful paintings of all the sacred animals of the country, and from them an ascent[3] to the whole tomb; beyond which, and immediately over the sepulchre, was a golden planisphere, carried away in later times by Cambyses when the Persians invaded Egypt. It measured 365 cubits[4] in circumference and one in thickness, and was divided and marked at every cubit with the days of the year, the rising and setting of the stars according to their natural revolutions, and the signs ascertained from them by Egyptian astrologers.'[5]

In re-examining this description of Diodorus, I am still more inclined to the opinion I before stated of his having in view the Memnonium, or palace-temple of Rameses II. 1. The distance from the first tombs, where the pallacides of Jove were buried, agrees very satisfactorily with that from the tombs of the queens[6] to the Memnonium. 2. Its having the largest statue in Egypt, which is the sitting colossus of Rameses, in that building. 3. The plan of the tomb, its three entrances from the second area, and the succeeding hall of columns, agree perfectly with those of the Memnonium; and if the dimensions of the areas exceed the

[1] The Egyptian mina was 1 lb. 5 oz. 6 dwts. English.

[2] 'Ομότοιχον, having a common wall with the library.

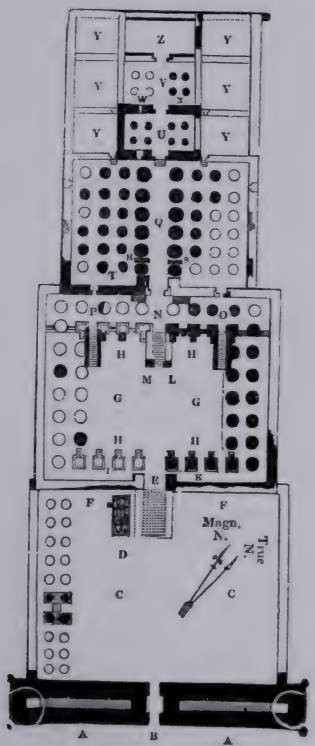
[3] From the position of the Memnonium on a rising rock, you ascend towards the upper end of the building.

[4] 574½ feet, or about 182 feet in diameter.

[5] Another astronomical ceiling is met with at the Memnonium, in the central chamber, immediately behind the grand hall, in which all the Egyptian months and various stars are introduced, with figures and hieroglyphic legends.

[6] The Egyptian princesses and queens held that office in the service of Amun or Jove. (*Vide* my 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 80.)

truth, or appear inconsistent, the objection is one which equally applies to any other Egyptian edifice. I had supposed the word *πυλῶνα* to refer to an entrance court or propylæum; but I perceive that he alludes to the pyramidal towers of the propylon, to which he gives the length of two plethra. The area behind them was four plethra square, and we must therefore conclude the towers to be *each* two plethra, without including the intermediate gateway, which will accord very well with the proportions of an Egyptian temple. However, his measurements may be exaggerated, and I consider it better to leave his plethrum of indeterminate length. And in order that the reader may perceive the relative dimensions and usual arrangement of these courts, and compare Diodorus' description with the Memnonium, I insert a plan of that building, and leave him to form his own opinion.



No. 4. Plan of the Memnonium, showing its great resemblance to the description of the Tomb of Osymandyas, given by Diodorus.

A, A, Towers of the Propylon, '*πυλῶνα . . τὸ μὲν μῆκος δίπλεθρον, τὸ δ' ὕψος τετταράκοντα καὶ πέντε πηχῶν.*' B, the entrance, '*τὴν εἴσοδον.*' C, C, the Area,

That two Theban buildings, the palace of Rameses III. at Medeenet Haboo and the Memnonium, are united in this description of the historian, appears not altogether improbable, from a comparison of the plans and sculptures of those edifices. And the revolt of an Eastern people, the lion accompanying Rameses III., and the mutilation of the bodies of the enemy slain in the fight, which occur at Medeenet Haboo in the sculptures of the inner and outer walls, as well as the fortified town surrounded by a river at the Memnonium, and the presence of his sons in the battle, show a striking resemblance to the circumstances detailed by Diodorus.[1]

After Mendes, or Osymandyas, ensued an interregnum, which

'διελθόντι δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι λίθινον περίστυλον τετράγωνον ἑκάστης πλευρᾶς οὔσης τετττάρων πλέθρων.' . . . 'ἀντὶ τῶν κιόνων, ζῴδια . . μονόλιθα,' as at H, H, in the next court; the area was open in the centre and covered at the sides, 'τὴν ὀροφήν . . ἐπὶ πλάτος δυεῖν ὀργυιῶν.' . . . 'ἐξῆς δὲ τοῦ περιστύλου τούτου πάλιν ἑτέραν εἴσοδον καὶ πυλῶνα.' . . 'παρὰ δὲ τὴν εἴσοδον (E) ἀνδριάντας εἶναι τρεῖς ἐξ ἑνὸς . . . λίθου . . . τούτων ἕνα μὲν καθήμενον (D) ὑπάρχειν μέγιστον πάντων τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον.' D is the large sitting Colossus of Rameses the Great, close to the second entrance, E. 'μετὰ δὲ τὸν πυλῶνα (F, F) περίστυλον τοῦ προτέρου ἀξιολογώτερον (G, G) ἐν ᾧ γλυφὰς . . . δηλούσας τὸν πόλεμον.' The battle-scenes occur on these walls, and at I are traces of sculptures relating to the war; but that part, as well as J, is now in ruins. At K, the *first* wall on the right entering, the king is besieging a city surrounded by a river, 'κατὰ τὸν πρώτον τῶν τοίχων (K) τὸν βασιλέα . . πολιορκοῦντα τεῖχος ὑπὸ ποταμοῦ περίῤῥυτον.' On the second wall were the captives led by the king, 'τά τε αἰδοῖα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχοντας,' as at Medeenet Haboo; and in the centre of the area was an altar in the open air, 'ὑπαιθρίον,' showing this court was also hypæthral in the centre. 'Κατὰ δὲ τὸν τελευταῖον τοῖχον ὑπάρχειν ἀνδριάντας καθημένους δύο,' L and M—the head of the latter of which is now in the British Museum; 'παρ' οἷς εἰσόδους τρεῖς (N, O, P) ἐκ τοῦ περιστύλου καθ' ἃς οἶκον 'πάρχειν ὑπόστυλον (Q) ὠδείου τρόπον κατεσκευασμένον, ἑκάστην πλευρὰν ἔχοντα δίπλεθρον.' R and S are pedestals, perhaps belonging to some of the statues he mentions. 'ἑξῆς δ' ὑπάρχειν περίπατον οἴκων παντοδαπῶν πλήρη,' perhaps referring to the whole space containing the chambers U, V, Y, Z. 'ἑξῆς δ' ὑπάρχειν τὴν ἱερὰν βιβλιοθήκην' (U or V) 'συνεχεῖς δὲ ταύτῃ τῶν θεῶν ἁπάντων εἰκόνας, τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁμοίως δωροφοροῦντος, ἃ προσῆκον ἦν ἑκάστοις,' which is referred to in the sculptures of W and X. Whether his description of the parts beyond this are correct we cannot decide, as the chambers are entirely destroyed, and the general plan is scarcely to be traced; and as it is probable that Hecatæus, who is his authority, was not admitted beyond the great Hall, Q, the information obtained of this part must have rested solely on report. Indeed, in this portion he appears to have united or confounded two buildings, the temple of Rameses the Great and that of Rameses III. at Medeenet Haboo; though, with the exception of the measurement of the areas (four plethra square), his description of the first part of the tomb of Osymandyas agrees very closely with the edifice before us: but we may be allowed to question its having been a tomb, or having been erected by that monarch.

T, Battle-scene, where the testudo occurs. (Diod. i. 47, 48.)

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[1] The building is now recognised to be the Ramesseion, the sculptures of which record the war of the fifth year of Rameses II. (Maspero, 'Hist. Anc.,' pp. 225-6.)—S. B.

lasted five generations, until Cetes or Cetna, a Memphite, 'who in the Greek language was called Proteus,' ascended the throne The shrine of this monarch was still visible at Memphis in the time of Herodotus. It stood on the south of the temple of Vulcan, and was magnificently ornamented. The Phœnicians of Tyre, who had settled in Egypt, lived in its vicinity when the historian visited the country, and the whole of the environs thence obtained the name of the Tyrian camp. There was also in the same spot a small temple dedicated to Venus the stranger;[1] and this goddess, Herodotus, with the vanity of a Greek, conjectures to be the Grecian 'Helen,[2] who was said to have lived some time at the court of Proteus.' 'On inquiring,' he continues, 'concerning her, the priests gave me the following information:—Paris (or Alexander) having carried off Helen from Sparta, was returning home, when, meeting with contrary winds in the Ægean, he was driven into the Egyptian sea; and as they continued unfavourable, he proceeded to Egypt, and putting into the Canopic mouth of the Nile, landed at the Tarichæa,[3] near a temple of Hercules, which still exists there. If on any occasion a slave fled for refuge to this shrine, and, in testimony of his consecrating himself to the service of the god, submitted to be marked with certain characters, no one was permitted to molest him; and the same custom has been strictly observed, from its first institution to the present period. The servants of Paris, aware of the privileges of the temple, fled thither from their master, and with a view of injuring him became suppliants to the deity. They revealed the whole affair concerning Helen, and the wrong he had done to Menelaus; and they not only related it to the priests, but also to Thonis, who was governor of that mouth of the river.

'Thonis instantly despatched a courier to Memphis, with this message to the king:— "A certain Trojan is arrived here, who has perpetrated an atrocious crime in Greece. He has seduced the wife of his host, and has carried her away, with a quantity of treasure. Adverse winds have forced him hither: shall I suffer him to depart without molestation, or shall I seize his person and property?" Upon this, Proteus gave an order that whoever the

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[1] Probably alluded to by Horace:

'O, quæ beatam, Diva, tenes Cyprum, et
Memphin carentem Sithonia nive.'
Od. lib. iii. 26, 10.

Strabo also mentions it (lib. xvii.).

[2] Strabo says that some consider this Venus to be a Greek goddess, and others suppose the temple to be dedicated to the moon.

[3] Or the Salt-pans.

man was, who had thus violated the rights of hospitality, he should be arrested and brought before him. Thonis therefore sent Paris, with Helen and all his wealth, to Memphis, and detained his ships. As soon as he was admitted into the presence of the king, Proteus inquired who he was and whence he came. Paris faithfully related the name of his family and country, and from what place he had set sail. But when he was questioned concerning Helen, and how he had obtained possession of her person, he hesitated in his answers, and endeavoured to conceal the truth, till the slaves who had deserted him explained all the circumstances of his guilt. Proteus thereupon pronounced this sentence, "If I did not consider it a very heinous crime to put any stranger to death, who may have been driven on my coast by contrary winds, I would assuredly, thou worst of men, avenge the Greek whose hospitality thou hast betrayed in a most treacherous manner: thou hast seduced his wife; and not contented with this, thou hast carried her off by stealth, and still detainest her; and, as if this crime was not sufficient, thou hast robbed his house. However, as I think it right not to put a stranger to death, I suffer thee to depart; but this woman and the wealth thou hast brought I forbid thee to take: these shall remain with me till the Greek himself shall come and demand them. In three days leave my coast with thy companions, or expect to be treated as enemies."

'Helen was therefore detained by Proteus till the arrival of Menelaus, who, finding at the capture of Troy that his wife was not in the possession of Paris, but had been left by him in Egypt, repaired to the court of the Egyptian king. On his arrival, he related the object of his journey. He was received with great hospitality, and Helen, who had been treated with respect, was restored to him with all his treasure. He then returned to the coast, intending to set sail immediately: but the winds were contrary; and Menelaus, forgetting the gratitude he owed to his benefactors, clandestinely seized two children of the country, and offered them as a sacrifice.[1] This was no sooner made known to the Egyptians than they resolved on punishing the perpetrator of so great an outrage; but as he fled by sea to Africa, they were unable to overtake him, and Menelaus escaped their indignation, and the punishment his perfidy deserved.'

The fable related by the Greeks of the wonderful powers of

[1] Conf. Virg. Æn. ii. 116.

Proteus,[1] in assuming a multiplicity of shapes, is thought by Diodorus[2] to be explained from a custom common to the Egyptian kings of adorning their heads with various figures and emblematic devices, intended to strike the beholders with awe; but this is neither satisfactory nor probable.[3] The head-dresses of the kings represented in the sculptures, when offering to the gods, are numerous and varied (especially in the later times of the Ptolemies and Cæsars): yet such slight changes could never account for a similar fable among the Egyptians, who were fully acquainted with the intention of every vesture and crown of ceremony.

Rhemphis or Rhampsinitus[4] succeeded Proteus. He does not appear to have been distinguished for the extent of his conquests abroad, but he surpassed all his predecessors in the immense wealth he possessed, and in his fondness for riches. Diodorus considers him of so avaricious a character that he was unwilling to employ any of the treasure he had amassed either for the service of the gods or the benefit of his subjects; but the monuments he erected at Memphis disprove this statement, and claim for him a place among the patrons of religion and the encouragers of art. 'The western vestibule of the temple of Vulcan,' says Herodotus, 'was added by his order, as were two colossal statues, twenty-five cubits in height, which stand in front of it. The northern statue[5] is called by the Egyptians Summer, the other to the south Winter; and though they treat the latter with no manner of respect, they reverence the former, and even worship it.'

Herodotus concurs in representing Rhampsinitus as the most opulent of all the Egyptian kings who reigned before or after him; and if he does not state the amount of his wealth, which the former historian calculates at no less than 400,000 talents, he relates the great care he took in its preservation.[6] 'For this purpose he constructed a stone edifice, one side of which was attached to the wall of his palace. But the architect he employed, with a

[1] [Plutarch mentions the enchantments of Proteus, the Egyptian Sophist Euthydemus, p. 200.—G. W.]

[2] Diodor. i. 62.

[3] The Egyptian accounts of Homer have been considered in detail by Professor Lauth, 'Homer und Aegypten,' 8vo. Munich, 1867; and the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, 'Homeric Synchronisms,' 8vo. London, 1876. According to Lauth, p. 37, Proteus was the personified navigation (*Perhot*) of the coast.—S. B.

[4] Rameses III.

[5] Or that on the left entering.

[6] The treasury of Rameses III. at Medeenet Haboo is the place referred to. It is given in Champollion, 'Notices descriptives,' p. 257; Duemichen, 'Die historische Inschriften.'—S. B.

dishonest view, so disposed one of the stones of the outer wall that two or even one man might easily remove it. The building being completed, the king there deposited his treasures in supposed security. Some time afterwards, the architect finding his end approaching, sent for his two sons, and told them how their future prosperity was provided for by an artifice he had adopted in building the king's treasury. He then explained all the secret of the stone; its dimensions and position; the mode of removing it; and, if they used proper caution, the certainty of participating in the royal wealth. After the death of their father, they were not long before they availed themselves of the advice he had given them; and repairing by night to the palace, they found the stone as described, and having easily removed it, they carried away a large sum of money. When the king entered the apartment he observed a sensible diminution of the gold in the vases; but as he had no suspicions of any person, and the lock and its seals were intact, he was greatly perplexed. At length, finding the same diminution continue, the thieves constantly repeating their visits, he resolved on placing traps round the vases which contained the money. They returned as usual, and one of them on going to the spot was caught in the trap. He instantly called to his brother; and explaining his situation, he requested him without loss of time to cut off his head, as the only means of preventing detection and preserving his own life. The advice appeared good; and having overcome his scruples, he complied, replaced the stone, and ran home, carrying with him the head of his brother.

'As soon as it was light, the king entered the apartment; and seeing the body of a person without a head secured in the trap, the walls entire, and showing no place of exit or ingress, he was more astonished than ever. Still he hoped to unravel the mystery; and ordering the body to be exposed from the wall, he stationed guards on the spot, and directed them to seize and bring before him whoever should discover any symptoms of sorrow or compassion at the sight. The mother, exasperated at this treatment of her son's body, threatened the surviving brother if he did not contrive some means of removing and bringing it away, she would go herself to the king and accuse him as an accomplice in the robbery. In vain did he endeavour to excuse himself; at length, finding her determined, he had recourse to the following artifice. He loaded some asses with skins of wine, and drove them to the place where the guards were stationed to watch the

body of his brother. As soon as he approached them, he secretly drew the pegs from the mouths of two or three of the skins, and, when the wine gushed out, he began to beat his head and to cry vehemently, running to and fro with pretended confusion, as if uncertain to which of the asses he should go first. The soldiers perceiving the accident, ran with vessels; but instead of assisting him, all the wine they could save they considered themselves entitled to as their own. At first he abused them in apparent anger; then, feigning to be pacified by their endeavours to console him, he led his asses aside out of the road, put the skins in order, and began to enter into conversation with them. Affecting to be pleased with the drollery of one of them, he gave him a skin of wine; and having accepted their invitation to stay and drink with them, he sat down, and, to reward their civility, he added another. It was not long before the wine had its effect: the soldiers became intoxicated and fell asleep, and as soon as night came on, he took down the body of his brother; and having shaved the right cheek[1] of the guards, in derision, he put the body into a sack on one of his asses and drove home.

'When Rhampsinitus heard what had happened, he was enraged beyond measure; but being resolved on discovering the robber, he is said to have had recourse to this stratagem, which to me appears very improbable. He commanded his daughter to receive every man indiscriminately, on condition he would tell her the most artful as well as the most wicked thing he had ever done; and if anyone confessed the crime of which this robber had been guilty, she was to seize him and prevent his escape. The daughter obeyed the orders of her father; and the thief, guessing what was intended, prepared to thwart the artful scheme of the king. He cut off the arm of a body recently dead, which he concealed under his cloak during his visit to the princess; and when asked the same question as the rest, he replied "that the most wicked thing he had ever done was to cut off the head of his brother who had been caught in a trap in the king's treasury,—the most artful thing, his making the guards drunk and removing the body." She immediately endeavoured to apprehend him; but as it was dark, he held out the dead arm, and on her seizing it effected his escape. This being reported to

[1] This, like the rest of the story, is very questionable. The Egyptian soldiers had no beards, and Herodotus himself allows that the Egyptians shaved, and only allowed 'the hair of their head and beard to grow in mourning' (ii. 36). That this last is true is proved by the sculptures representing soldiers and other individuals.

the king, he was still more astonished at the art and audacity of the man, and issued a proclamation that if the offender would declare himself he should not only be pardoned, but rewarded handsomely. Trusting to his word, the thief presented himself before him, and Rhampsinitus, being much pleased with his address, gave him his daughter in marriage; for knowing the Egyptians to be superior in ingenuity to all other people, and finding he had surpassed even the Egyptians, he looked upon him as infinitely more clever than any other human being.'

Such is the story told by Herodotus; but we must do him the justice to say that he expresses his disbelief of it, as well as of the same king's visit to the lower regions, where Rhampsinitus was reported to have played at dice with the goddess Ceres, alternately winning and losing, and to have been presented on leaving her with a napkin embroidered with gold.[1] The period of his supposed return was celebrated by the Egyptians as a solemn festival, and continued even to the time of Herodotus: but what the real origin or import of the ceremony may have been, the historian is unable to inform us. 'The ministers,' he adds, 'who officiate on that occasion, wear a vest woven within the space of a day; and this is put on by one of them, whose eyes are blinded, and who is conducted to a path leading to the temple of Ceres, where he is left, and whence two wolves are said to take him to the temple, distant twenty stadia from the city, bringing him back to the same spot when the ceremony is concluded. But I leave every reader to judge for himself regarding the credibility of what I here relate.'

'Till the reign of Rhampsinitus, Egypt was fortunate, as well in the tranquillity and justice it enjoyed, as in the blessings of abundance. But Cheops,[2] his successor, abandoned himself to every kind of depravity. He closed all the temples, forbade the Egyptians to offer sacrifices, and ordered their labours to be confined to his own purposes. Having the project of building a pyramid, he compelled some to hew stones in the quarries of the Arabian mountains,[3] and to drag them to the bank of the Nile; others were appointed to receive them from the boats and transport them to the mountain of Libya; and for this service 100,000

[1] Rameses III., or Rhampsinitus, is represented playing at draughts in the bas-reliefs of his palace at Medeenet Haboo, with goddesses representing the upper and lower countries. (*See* Rhampsinitus and the Game of Draughts, 'Trans. Roy. Soc. of Literature,' vol. ix. pp. 256 and foll.—S. B.

[2] The Chemmis, Chembes, or Chemnis of Diodorus. This anachronism of placing Cheops after the Trojan war, must be obvious to every one.

[3] Conf. Plin. xxxvi. 17; Strabo, lib. xvii.

men[1] were employed, who were relieved every three months. In the operation of forming the road, by which the stones were carried, ten years were consumed; and this arduous undertaking appears scarcely inferior to the pyramid itself, which, independent of the time employed in preparing the hill where it stands, occupied twenty years.' The historian then proceeds to describe the pyramids: but as I have given an account of them in a previous work,[2] I think it unnecessary to repeat it here, and resume my history of the successors of this monarch.

After a reign of fifty years, Cheops, who, as I have already stated, appears to have been the Suphis of Manetho and the Chembes of Diodorus, was succeeded by Cephren his brother. He reigned fifty-six years, and erected a pyramid similar to that of his brother, but of rather less dimensions.

Mycerinus, the son of Cheops, was his successor. He was a good and religious prince; and his memory was revered by the Egyptians beyond that of all his predecessors, not only because of the equity of his decisions, but because his love of justice was so great that if complaint was made of his conduct he always showed a willingness to redress the injury. He had an only daughter, who died some time after he ascended the throne, which was the first misfortune he experienced; and being much afflicted by her death, and wishing to honour her funeral with more than ordinary splendour, he enclosed her body in a heifer made of wood, richly ornamented with gold. It was not buried, but remained even to the time of Herodotus in the palace at Saïs, in a magnificent chamber, where exquisite perfumes burnt before it every day, and brilliant illuminations continued throughout the night.[3]

Mycerinus afterwards met with a second calamity. The oracle of Buto sent to inform him he should live six years and die the seventh; and though he represented his piety and upright conduct, the same answer was returned, with this addition, that his early death was in consequence of his virtues.[4]

During this period of his reign he occupied himself in constructing a pyramid; and if we may believe Diodorus, he died

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[1] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. xii. s. 17.

[2] 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 323.

[3] It is very questionable if this heifer referred to the daughter of Mycerinus; and judging from what the historian adds of the Egyptians flagellating themselves in honour of a certain god (Osiris), it would rather seem to belong to Isis, or to Athor.

[4] Herodotus mentions a ridiculous story of his passing the night in revelry, and endeavouring to convict the oracle of falsehood, by turning night into day, and thus doubling the number of years.

before its completion. It stands near those of his father and his uncle; and though much smaller, was considered, when entire, far more elegant than the other two, being cased with red granite.[1] On the northern face he inscribed his name; and the entrance, though still closed and undiscovered, may be looked for on this side, like those of the other two pyramids. The Greeks erroneously attributed its erection to the courtesan Rhodopis; but, as Herodotus observes, it is improbable that a monument which cost several thousand talents should have been erected by her, and even impossible, since she did not live at the same epoch, but during the reign of Amasis.

The immediate successor of Mycerinus is uncertain. According to Herodotus, it was Asychis, who appears to have been a Memphite. Diodorus, however, here introduces the names of Tnephachthus and his son Bocchoris, both omitted by Herodotus, as Asychis and Anysis are in his catalogue of kings.

Tnephachthus, or as Plutarch calls him Technatis, the Neochabris of Athenæus,[2] is only known as being the father of Bocchoris,[3] and as having led an expedition into Arabia, where he endured great privations and hardships, owing to the loss of his baggage in so inhospitable a country. And being obliged to put up with the poor and slender diet he there met with, and finding his sleep in consequence much more sound and refreshing, he felt persuaded of the ill effects resulting from a luxurious mode of living, and was resolved on his return to Thebes to record his abhorrence of the conduct of Menes, who had induced the Egyptians to abandon their frugal and simple habits: he, therefore, erected a stele, with an inscription to that purpose, in the temple of Amunat Thebes, where his son also made considerable additions to the sacred buildings dedicated to the deity.

Bocchoris,[4] his son, a Saïte by birth, succeeded him. He is represented to have been despicable in his person, but the qualities of his mind fully compensated for any imperfections of the body; and so far did he surpass all his predecessors in wisdom and prudence, that he obtained the distinctive surname of 'the Wise.' He is reputed to have been one of the Egyptian law-

[1] Pliny, lib. xxxvi. c. xii. s. 17. Herodotus says, it was of Æthiopian stone, as far as the middle of its height.

[2] Athen. Deip. lib. x. p. 418.

[3] A leader or petty prince of Libyan troops of this name, called Tefnakht, who ruled the greater part of North Egypt, is mentioned in the account of the invasion of Egypt by the Ethiopian monarch Pianchi. (Rev. Canon Cooke, 'Inscription of Pianchi, Records of the Past,' vol. vi. p. 79, who cites the previous translators and works where published.)—S. B.

[4] Called in the hieroglyphic inscriptions Bakenranef: several monuments are known of his reign.—S. B.

givers, and in this capacity to have introduced many useful regulations in the ancient code respecting debt[1] and fiscal matters; though some have supposed his care of the revenue to proceed from a feeling of avarice, rather than from a desire to benefit the State.[2] He was said to have been taken prisoner by Sabaco the Ethiopian, and to have been burnt alive; but this assertion is destitute of probability, and there is great doubt whether Sabaco was his immediate successor, or whether, as I have already observed, several kings intervened between Bocchoris and that monarch.[3] To enable us to solve these questions,[4] we require more positive authority, either from the monuments or from history, and it is equally useless to inquire if Asychis was the same as Bocchoris. I therefore proceed to notice the reigns of Asychis and Anysis,[5] as given by Herodotus.[6]

The former was not only an encourager of art, but a benefactor to his country by the introduction of some salutary laws respecting debt. 'Finding that commercial interests suffered from an extreme want of money, he passed an ordinance that anyone might borrow money, giving the body of his deceased father as a pledge: by which law the sepulchre of the debtor fell into the power of the creditor; for if the debt was not discharged, he could neither be buried with his family in that or in any other tomb, nor was he suffered to inter any of his children.'

Among the monuments erected by Asychis[7] was a pyramid of brick, with this inscription engraved on a marble slab, 'Compare me not with the stone pyramids, for I am as superior to them as

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[1] Diodor. i. 79. *Vide infrà* on the Laws of Egypt.

[2] Diodor. i. 94.

[3] This is also the opinion of Diodorus, i. 65.

[4] Sabaco was the son of Kashta, and brother of the queen Ameritis, or Amenartas, and conquered Egypt and Bocchoris. Later, he allied himself with the Syrians, and was defeated by Sargon at Raphia, B.C. 714. (Maspero, 'Histoire Ancienne,' pp. 387–395, 487–8.)—S. B.

[5] Supposed to be a descendant of Bocchoris, who had fled to the Delta.

[6] [No mention is made by Herodotus of Bocchoris (nor of his father Tnephachthus, the Technatis of Plutarch); and the lists of Manetho, as well as of Diodorus, omit the Asychis and Anysis of Herodotus. Sethôs again, whom Herodotus calls a contemporary of Sennacherib, is unnoticed in Manetho's lists; and as Tirhakah was king of the whole country from Napata in Ethiopia to the frontier of Syria, no other Pharaoh could have ruled at that time in Egypt. We may therefore conclude that Herodotus has given to a *priest* of Pthah the title of *king*. The miraculous defeat of the Assyrian king mentioned both by the Egyptians and the Jews is remarkable. Some have attributed the destruction of his army to a plague; but plague does not destroy upwards of 185,000 men in one night. The omission of all notice of Tirhakah by the Egyptian informants of Herodotus may have been owing to jealousy of the Ethiopians. The Assyrians defeated by Tirhakah are represented at Medeenet Haboo in Thebes, and in his temple at Gebel Berkel, wearing cross-belts.—G. W., in Rawlinson's 'Herodotus.']

[7] Asychis is supposed to be a king Aserkaf, or Shepeskaf, of the 4th Dynasty, and there were no Egyptian pyramids after the 12th Dynasty.—S. B.

Jove is to the other gods. Thus was I made: men probing with poles the bottom of a lake drew forth the mud which adhered to them, and formed it into bricks.'

Four pyramids built of these materials still remain in Lower Egypt, independent of several smaller ones at Thebes, and it is probable that one of them is that alluded to by Herodotus as having been erected by Asychis. Two are close to Memphis and the modern town of Dashoor; the others stand at the entrance of the Fyoom. Near the former are two pyramids of stone; and this circumstance, and their vicinity to Memphis, induce me to believe one of them to be the crude brick monument in question; for it is reasonable to suppose it would be erected near the city where the prince resided, and in the vicinity of stone pyramids, to which it forbade the spectator to compare it. In what its superiority consisted, we are unable to decide. Dr. Richardson ingeniously ascribed it to the vaulted roofs of its chambers, whose construction was the result of the novel invention of the arch. But though chambers did exist in the brick pyramids, vestiges of which I have myself seen in one of those at Dashoor, and their roofs, as he justly concludes, were vaulted, other pyramids of similar materials had long before been erected at Thebes, with roofs of the same construction, and the arch was invented and used in Upper Egypt many centuries before the accession of this monarch.[1]

According to Herodotus, Asychis was succeeded by Anysis, a native of a town of the same name, who was blind. In his reign, Sabaco the Ethiopian invaded and conquered Egypt, of which he continued in possession fifty years; and during the whole of that period Anysis remained concealed in the lowlands of the Delta, at a place called the Isle of Elbo, which he is said to have formed for himself of ashes and earth, neither daring nor having the power to dispute the authority of the invader.

'Sabaco, while he ruled Egypt, refrained from punishing any crime with death; but, according to the magnitude of their offence, he condemned all criminals to raise the ground around the place to which they belonged: in order to elevate the different towns throughout the country, and to place them above the reach of the inundation. This had been previously done during the reign of Sesostris, when the canals were made; but the mounds now added by order of the Ethiopian were much more extensive:

[1] The arch was invented as early as the 5th Dynasty.—S. B.

so that every city was raised at this period, and particularly Bubastis.' Manetho differs from the historian of Halicarnassus in his character of Sabaco, and in the name of the prince whose throne he usurped, since he affirms that he took Bocchoris captive and burnt him alive; nor is Herodotus's own account consistent, when he mentions his having put to death 'Necos, the father of Psammitichus.'[1] Again, Manetho limits his reign to eight or eighteen years, while Herodotus allows him fifty; and states that he relinquished the throne of Egypt, and returned to Ethiopia, in consequence of a dream, in which 'a person appeared advising him to assemble all the priests of Egypt, and to inflict upon them the cruel death of cutting them asunder . . . but, rather than perpetrate such a deed, he resolved to retire from the throne, especially as the duration of his reign over Egypt, according to the oracles, was now fulfilled; for Sabaco, while in Ethiopia, having consulted them, was informed he should reign fifty years in Egypt; and this period being accomplished, the vision so alarmed him that he voluntarily withdrew.'

On the secession of Sabaco, Anysis was recalled from his place of concealment, and assumed the reins of government; but for what length of time Herodotus fails to inform us. He was succeeded by Sethos, a priest of Vulcan, who, as I shall presently have occasion to observe, was cotemporary with Tirhakah, and who, in consequence of the contempt with which he treated the military class, endangered the safety of the whole of Lower Egypt, when Sennacherib, king of Assyria, threatened to invade it. This, and the events which occurred in the reigns of Sabaco, Psammatichus, and succeeding monarchs, will also be noticed in my account of the 25th and 26th Dynasties; and having, as I proposed, introduced a comparative view of the history of the early Egyptian princes, from Menes to Sethos, from the works of Herodotus and Diodorus, I resume my chronological inquiry, which I had carried down to the end of the 19th Dynasty, and consequently now return to the kings who succeeded the sons of the third Rameses, and who composed the 20th, 21st, and the following Dynasties.

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[1] This I shall presently show to have been impossible. (Herod. ii. 152.)

The 20th and 21st Dynasties, on the authority of the Monuments,[1] *were composed of—*

Name from the Monuments.	Ascended the Throne. B.C.
Rameses VII.	1170
Rameses VIII.	1155
Rameses IX.	1140
Rameses X..	1125
Rameses XI.	1110
Amun-mai-Harhor	1095
Amun-meses?	1080
Reigned till about	1068

[*20th Dynasty, from the Monuments.*

Kings.	Monumental date.
1. Setnekht	
2. Rameses III.	
3. Rameses IV.	32 years.
4. Rameses V.	18 years.
5. Rameses VI.	
6. Rameses VII.	
7. Rameses VIII.	
8. Rameses IX.	16 years.
9. Rameses X.	2 years.
10. Rameses XI.	
11. Rameses XII.	33 years.
12. Rameses XIII.	17 years.
Total of kings 12	Total of known years 98 S. B.]

[*21st Dynasty, from the Monuments.*

Kings.	Monumental date.
1. Harhor	
2. Panetem I.	
3. Petukhana I.	
4. Panetem II.	
5. Harpasebsha	
Total of kings 5	Total of years unknown. S. B.]

22nd Dynasty, from the Monuments.

Kings.	Monumental date.
1. Shashanqa I.	21 years.
2. Uasarkan I.	
3. Takeloth I.	
4. Uasarkan II.	23 years.
5. Shashanqa II.	
6. Takeloth II.	14 years.
7. Shashanqa III.	28 years.
8. Pamai	2 years.
9. Shashanqa IV.	37 years.
Total of kings 9	Total of known years 135

[1] This table requires considerable revision; Rameses XII. and XIII. are omitted, and Harhor is of the 21st Dynasty.—S. B.

[*23rd Dynasty, from the Monuments.*

Kings.	Monumental date.
1. Petsibast	
2. Uasarkan	
3. Psamut	S. B.]

The succession is doubtful for a period of about ninety years, when a more interesting period opens to view, in the 22nd Dynasty, where we recognise a great similarity between the names [1] of Manetho's list, and those on the monuments.

22nd Dynasty, of Diospolitans.

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
			B.C.
Sesonchis	Sheshonk I. . . .	Shishak of S.S., who plundered the temple of Jerusalem, B.C. 971 . . .	981
Orsorthon	Osork	Cotemporary with Zerah, the Ethiopian king who fought with Asa, B.C. 941	945
Tacellothis . . .	Takelothe . . .		925

23rd Dynasty.

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
			B.C.
(Uncertain) . . .	Osorkon II.[2]	Homer flourished about 907	908.
. . . . .	Sheshonk II.		890 or to about 860, then a blank till the reign of Bocchoris, who ascended the throne in 812.
	(Then, probably, one or more kings, occupying a space of about 50 years.)		
Tnephachthus, the father of Bocchoris, according to Diodorus, the Technatis of Plutarch, ought to be one of this Dynasty?			

Sheshonk [3] was supposed by the learned Sir I. Marsham, and other distinguished chronologists, to be the same as Sesostris;

[1] Manetho begins with Sesonchosis or Sesonchis and Osorthon, but places three other uncertain kings between this last and Tacellothis, and with three others completes the 22nd Dynasty. In the 23rd, Manetho begins with Petubastes (Pet-Pasht), a name not yet met with, then Osorthon or Osorchon, and two other kings. (*Vide* his catalogue, at p. 23.)

[2] [Before this king, Manetho places Petoubastes, in whose time the Olympiads began, in B.C. 776; but this does not agree with the era of Shishak of the Bible.—G. W.]

[3] It was to this king that Jeroboam fled in 980. Solomon had married the daughter of Pharaoh, probably his immediate predecessor, about the year 1014. Josephus says that Egypt and Ethiopia were at that time under the same monarch; but he

but this untenable hypothesis has long since been abandoned, and Sesostris has resumed his place among the monarchs of an earlier dynasty. He was the Shishak of Scripture, who, in the fifth year of Rehoboam, B.C. 971, marched against Judæa with 1200 chariots and 60,000 horse, and a numerous body of infantry, composed of Libyans, Sukkiim,[1] and Ethiopians; took all the walled towns of Judah, and pillaged the temple of Jerusalem;[2] and though no very extensive buildings remain erected by him, the sculptures he added on the walls of Karnak suffice to show that this campaign is recorded with the names of the captured places. The king, as usual, presents his prisoners to the deity of the temple, and to each figure is attached an oval, indicating the town or district he represents: one of which M. Champollion concludes to be the Yooda Melchi, or kingdom of Judah, a name whose component letters agree with the hieroglyphics, though the place it holds is not sufficiently marked to satisfy the scruples of a rigid sceptic.[3]

The era of Sheshonk is the first fixed point for the establishment of chronological data; and we have been enabled, by reckoning backwards to the Exodus, and from inscriptions on the monuments, to fix the probable duration and date of each reign. From the accession of Thothmes III., about 1495 B.C., to the year 1068, twenty-three kings succeeded to the throne of Egypt, which gives about eighteen years to each reign; and the ninety years intervening at the end of the 21st Dynasty may readily be accounted for by assigning them to sovereigns whose names are lost.

A very favourable argument in support of the dates I have given is derived from the astronomical subject on the ceiling of the Memnonium at Thebes, erected by Rameses the Great: where the heliacal rising of Sothis is found to coincide with the beginning of Thoth, which could only have happened in the year 1322 B.C.; and this falls, according to my table, in the

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commits a great error in supposing that 'no Egyptian king bore the title of Pharaoh after the father-in-law of Solomon,' the reverse being proved by the Jewish books which he pretends to quote. Witness Pharaoh-Necho and Hophra. (Joseph. 'Antiq.' lib. viii. 6.)

[1] Some have supposed the Sukkiim to be the fabulous Troglodytes, and have placed them near the Red Sea. Others bring them from Central Egypt. Some who have seen or heard of the sepulchral grottoes hewn in the rocks at Thebes, have innocently fixed on these as the habitations of the live Troglodytes, previous to their appropriation for the dead Thebans.

[2] 2 Chron. xii. 9.

[3] *Iutaha Maluk* is now supposed to mean Jerusalem, which otherwise is not mentioned in the inscriptions, or else some town of that name. It occurs in connection with such names as Rabboth, Taanach, Sunem, Rehob, Hapharaim, Adoraim, Mahanaim, Gibeon, Bethoron, and Megiddo.—S. B.

middle of his reign.[1] But whatever I offer on such intricate questions is given with much deference, and I shall willingly yield to the sounder judgment of the scientific reader.

The aggressions of the Egyptian monarch in Judæa do not appear to have been repeated; and the Jewish Chronicles show that previous to the battle with Zerah,[2] king of Ethiopia,[3] the land of Judah was free from invasion, 'and had no war in those years,'[4] which gave Asa an opportunity of repairing and building fortified towns, for the protection of his country. Nor do we find the successors of Sheshonk undertaking any important military expedition; and little remains on the monuments relating to the other kings of the 22nd and 23rd Dynasties, except some tablets and religious subjects in the temple of Karnak.

24th Dynasty, of 1 Saïte.

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Ascended the Throne.
Bocchoris (the Wise), son of Tnephachthus.	Pehor, Bakhor, or Amun-se-Pehor.	B.C. 812

[*24th Dynasty, from the Monuments.*

Kings.	Monumental date.
1. Tafnakht	
2. Bekenranf	6 years
3. [Sêt]	
Total of kings 3	Total of years 6 S. B.]

The 25th Dynasty consisted of an Ethiopian Family.

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
Sabaco, So of S.S.	Sabakoph	Rome founded, 753 B.C.	B.C. 773
Sebechon, Sevechus	Shebek	Captivity of the ten tribes, 721	723
Teraces, Tearchus, Tearcon of Strabo, Tirhakah of S.S.	Tehraqa	Sennacherib attacks Judah	710 to 689

[1] [*Vide* paper by Mr. Tomlinson in 'R. Soc. Lit.' vol. iii. part i. pp. 84–93.—G. W.]

[2] [By some supposed to be Orsokon I.—G. W.]

[3] This indefinite name Ethiopia, the country of burnt or black faces, always perplexes. Zerah could not have come from Ethiopia to the south of the Cataracts while Sheshonk or Osorkon ruled Egypt. In the Arabic version he is styled King of India, and his name in the Septuagint is written Zare. In 2 Chron. xvi. 8 mention is made of the Ethiopians with the Lubims (Libyans).

[4] 2 Chron. xiv. 1, 6, 7.

[*25th Dynasty, from the Monuments.*

Kings.	Monumental date.
1. Shabaqa	12 years.
2. Shabataqa	
3. Taharqa	36 years.
Total of kings 3	Total of years 48 S. B.]

Bocchoris and his father Tnephachthus have been already mentioned; and if we are unable to decide whether this last should be introduced into the 23rd or 24th Dynasty, the same difficulty exists in the position of Asychis and Anysis.[1]

The reign of Sabaco has also been noticed; and Herodotus, as we have seen, supposes Anysis to have been restored to the throne after the secession of the invader, and to have been succeeded by Sethos,[2] a priest of Pthah or Vulcan, who was co-temporary with Sennacherib and Tirhakah. Manetho, on the contrary, states that Sabaco usurped the throne of Bocchoris, and Diodorus introduces other monarchs between this last and the Ethiopian. That he was not the Sabaco who put Neco to death is evident, from a comparison of the eras of Psammatichus and the Ethiopian monarchs; nor could the flight of Psammatichus have taken place during his reign; and unless we suppose the son of Neco to have lived to the age of more than 120 years, he could not have fled even from the second of that name, or Shebek, the predecessor of Tirhakah.

Sabaco is generally supposed to be the So[3] of Scripture, who made a treaty with Hoshea, king of Israel;[4] an event which led to the taking of Samaria, and to the captivity of the ten tribes by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria: and this I believe to have happened a few years before the close of his reign. Of Shebek, or Sabaco II., the name occurs only on the monuments of Thebes, and in the catalogue of Manetho. By some he has been considered the Sethos of Herodotus; but this name, which is properly Se-pthah,[5] bears so strong a stamp of Memphitic origin that we cannot feel disposed to assign it to the Ethiopian monarch.

With Tirhakah we are acquainted, both from sacred and profane records; and his successful opposition to the power of

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[1] *Vide suprà.*

[2] Se-pthah.

[3] So, Soa, Sua, or Sara סוֹא; Σήγωρ of the Septuagint.

[4] 2 Kings xvii. 4.

[5] Or the 'Son of Pthah.' According to Lepsius, the name Sethos has not been found on the Monuments.—S. B.

Assyria is noticed in the Bible,[1] may be traced in Herodotus,[2] and is recorded on the walls of a Theban temple.[3] It is possible that in the early part of his reign Sethos shared the kingdom with him, and ruled in Lower Egypt, while the Ethiopian monarch possessed the dominion of the upper country; and this would account for the absence of the name of Sethos on the monuments of Thebes. Whether Tirhakah's and Sabaco's claims to the throne of Egypt were derived from any right acquired by intermarriage with the royal family of that country, or whether their dominion was at first confined to the Thebaïd, it is difficult to determine; but the respect paid by their Egyptian successors to the monuments[4] they erected, argues the probability of their having succeeded to the throne by right, rather than by usurpation or the force of arms.

During the reign of Tirhakah, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, threatened an incursion into Lower Egypt; and owing to the disaffection of the troops of Sethos, Memphis and all that part of the country was in danger of falling a prey to the invader. Sethos, who had been a priest of Pthah, was more solicitous, even after his elevation to the throne, for the observance of religious ceremonies than the welfare of the State; and, induced by fanaticism to consider the services of the soldier unnecessary for the security of a country entrusted to the protection of the gods, 'he treated that class with extreme contempt, and, among other indignities, deprived them of their *aruræ*, or fields, which, by way of reward, his predecessors had allowed to each soldier. They, therefore, refused to march against the Assyrians; and in this dilemma the priest-king retired to the shrine of the god, before which he lamented his danger and misfortunes. He there sunk into a profound sleep; and the deity appearing to him in a dream, promised that if he marched to meet the enemy he should experience no injury, for that he would furnish him with assistance. Inspired with confidence from this vision, he put himself at the head of his adherents, and advanced to Pelusium, the entrance of Egypt, unaccompanied by a single soldier, his army being entirely composed of tradesmen and artisans.'[5] Nor was

[1] 2 Kings xix. 9: 'And when he (Sennacherib) heard say of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, Behold, he is come out to fight against thee;' Isaiah xxxvii. 9. El Berkel (formerly Napata) was his Ethiopian capital, where his name and monuments are found.

[2] Herod. ii. 141.

[3] At Medeenet Haboo are the figure and name of this king, and the captives he took.

[4] Sabaco's name is found at Abydus.

[5] Herodot. ii. 141. It might be supposed that the sections 164–168 of the same book were intended to have been introduced here.

it long before this assistance arrived. Tirhakah, having heard of the approach of Sennacherib, marched with a numerous army from the Thebaïd, and entering Palestine, defeated the Assyrians; thus delivering Lower Egypt as well as Judæa from the arms of this powerful invader. But the ingratitude, perhaps the jealousy of the Memphites, disguised the truth from the Greek historian, and the miraculous interposition of Pthah was affirmed to have been the cause of Sennacherib's defeat. Concealing the assistance received from the army of Tirhakah, the priests assured[1] Herodotus, that when the Assyrians or Arabians and the feeble party commanded by Sethos were encamped opposite each other, a prodigious number of rats infested the enemy's camp by night, and gnawed in pieces their quivers and bows, as well as the handles of their shields; so that in the morning, finding themselves without arms, they fled in confusion, and lost great numbers of their men. And in order to commemorate the event, a marble statue of Sethos was erected in the temple of Ptah at Memphis, representing the king holding a rat in his hand, with this inscription: 'Whoever thou art, learn from my fortune to reverence the gods.'

'From Menes to this prince,' adds the historian, 'was a period of 341 generations, in which there had been as many high priests, and the same number of kings. And as three generations are equal to 100 years, the total of these may be estimated at 11,340 years.' Such are the extravagant dates given by ancient writers.

That Tirhakah ruled at Napata and in the Thebaïd at the same period, is sufficiently proved by the additions he made to the temples of Thebes, and by the monuments he built in Ethiopia; nor did the Egyptians efface his records, or forget the gratitude they owed to the defender of their country. The name of Nectanebo has indeed usurped the place of Tirhakah's ovals in one or two instances among the sculptures at Thebes; but such substitutions are not uncommon, and the name of the

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[1] The Assyrian cuneiform records show that Tirhakah, who had been driven out of Egypt by Esarhaddon, retook Egypt from the Assyrians about the commencement of the reign of Assurbanipal, B.C. 668, who marched to Egypt and defeated the Ethiopian monarch at the battle of Karbanit. Tirhakah fled to Thebes, but the Assyrian and unled Egyptian army arrived there forty days afterwards, and Tirhakah left for Ethiopia. The Egyptians being subsequently discontented with the ruler of the Assyrians, again invited Tirhakah to regain the country, who died after being driven out a second time. (G. Smith, 'Assyria from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Nineveh,' 8vo. 1874, pp. 139–141.)—S. B.

Ethiopian has not been erased from any ill-will, so often evinced when an obnoxious monarch had ceased to reign. That he was a very potent prince, is evident from his defeat of the numerous army of Sennacherib,[1] as well as from the monuments he has left both in Egypt and Ethiopia, and his maintenance of the Egyptian possessions in Asia; and however Strabo may have exaggerated his power when he affirms that he extended his conquests, like Sesostris, into Europe, even as far as the Pillars of Hercules, yet his authority is of use, as it leads to the conclusion that Tirhakah, or, as he calls him, Tearcon,[2] ruled Lower as well as Upper Egypt, to which he, perhaps, succeeded on the death of the priest-king Sethos.

According to Herodotus, twelve kings, or rather nomarchs,[3] succeeded to the dominion of all Egypt; but it is probable they did not assume the title of Pharaoh, being only governors of the twelve provinces or nomes[4] into which the country

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[1] In the Syriac and Arabic versions he is called Sanherib.

[2] Strabo, lib. xv.

[3] Herodotus, ii. 147.

[4] [If this division took place, it was only temporary, as Egypt had been, at least as early as the time of Sesostris, composed of 36 nomes. The number of the nomes or cantons varied at different times. Herodotus mentions only 18; but in the time of Sesostris there were 36, and the same under the Ptolemies and Cæsars; 10, according to Strabo, being assigned to the Thebaïd, 10 to the Delta, and 16 to the intermediate province. This triple division varied at another time, and consisted of Upper and Lower Egypt, with an intervening province containing 7 nomes, and hence called Heptanomis. In after-times an eighth, the Arsinoïte, was added to Heptanomis; and the divisions were, 1. Upper Egypt, to the Thebaica phylaké (φυλακή), now *Daroot e' Shereef*. 2. Heptanomis, to the fork of the Delta. And 3. Lower Egypt, containing the northern part to the sea. Pliny gives 44 nomes to all Egypt, some under other than the usual names. Ptolemy mentions 24 in the Delta, or Lower Egypt, which under the later Roman emperors was divided into four districts — Augustamnica prima and secunda, Ægyptus 1ª and 2da, still containing the same nomes; and in the time of Arcadius, the son of Theodosius the Great, Heptanomis received the name of Arcadia. The Thebaïd was made into two parts, Upper and Lower, the line of separation being Panopolis and Ptolemaïs-Hermii; and the nomes were then increased to 58, of which the Delta contained 35, including the Oasis of Ammon. These nomes were as on the following pages, 98 and 99.

Each nome was governed by a Nomarch, to whom was entrusted the levying of taxes, and various duties connected with the administration of the province.

The Busirite nome was next to the Sebennytic, and to the south of it.

The tract between the Sebennytic, or Busiritic branch, and the Thermuthiac, ran to the east of Xoïs. It is singular that only two nomes of Upper Egypt are here mentioned, Thebes and Chemmis. But as Herodotus has mentioned so few of the nomes, it is more probable that he has overlooked some, than that no soldiers belonged to any nome in Upper Egypt but the Theban and Chemmite. The largest force was necessarily *quartered* in these northern nomes, being wanted for defence against the enemy from the eastward: but it does not follow that they were nearly all *raised* there. Besides the nome of Thebes on the east, was the Pathyritic on the opposite bank, which contained 'the Libyan suburb' of Thebes, or the 'Memnoneia.' (See Dr. Young, 'Disc. Eg. Lit.,' p. 66.) It was called Pa-Athor, 'belonging to Athor' (Venus), who presided over the West. The Theban and Chemmite may have been the two that furnished the troops of the Ethiopian frontier, and of the garrisons in Upper Egypt. According to Herodotus the whole force was 410,000 men. Diodorus

was divided.[1] On this occasion the historian sarcastically observes, that 'as the Egyptians were not capable of existing

(i. 54) makes it amount, in the time of Sesostris, to 600,000 foot, 24,000 horse, and 27 chariots; but he probably included in these the auxiliaries. The position of Aphthis (Herodot. ii. 166) is uncertain.—G. W.]

The Nomes of the Delta, or Lower Egypt, beginning from the East, were:

Province.	Nome.	Chief City.	Modern Name.
Augustamnica Prima et Secunda.	1. Heliopolis	Heliopolis	Matareëh.
	2. Bubastites	Bubastis.	Tel Basta.
	3. Anthribites (with the Isle of Myecphoris)	Athribis.	Benha-el-Assal.
	4. Heroöpolites.	Hero	Abookeshâyd (?).
	5. Phagroriopolites.	Phagroriopolis	Shekh Hanâydik (?).
	6. Arabia	Phacusa.	Tel Fakkoos.
	7. Sethroïtes	Sethrum, or Heracleopolis Parva.	Tel Sharéeg (?).
	8. Tanites	Tanis	San.
	9. Pharbæthites	Pharbæthus.	Harbayt, or Heurbayt.
	10. Leontopolites	Leontopolis	Tanbool (?).
	11. Neout (Neut)	Panephysis	Menzaleh.
	12. Mendesius	Mendes	Ashmoon (?).
	13. Papremites	Papremis.	
	14. Busirites.	Busiris	Abooseer (?).
	15. Sebennytes	Sebennytus.	Semenhood.
Ægyptus Secunda.	16. Anysis	Anysis, or Iseum (?)	Bebayt.
	17. Sebennytes Inferior	Pachnamunis.	
	18. Elearchia.		
	19. The Isle of Natho	Natho	Sahragt.
	20. Xoïtes	Xoïs	Sakha.
	21. Onuphites	Onuphis.	Banoob (?).
Ægyptus Prima.	22. Nitrites (Nitriotis)	Nitria	Zakeek (?).
	23. Prosopites	Prosopis, or Niciu	Menoof (?) or Ibshádeh (?).
	24. Phthemphites	Tava.	Shooni (?).
	25. Saïtes	Saïs (Ssa)	Sa-el Hágar.
	26. Phtheneotes	Butos.	
	27. Cabasites	Cabasa	Kom Shabas.
	28. Naucratites	Naucratis.	
	29. Metelites	Metelis	Fooah.
	30. Alexandrinorum.	Alexandria, Racotis	Iskenderéëh.
	31. Hermopolites	Hermopolis Parva	Damanhoor.
	32. Menelaïtes	Menelaïs.	
	33. Letopolites	Letopolis, Latonæ Civitas	Weseem (?).
	34. Marea, Libya	Marea	El Hayt (?).
	35. Hammoniacus	Hammonis	Seewah (Siwah).

(For the Delta, its towns, and branches of the Nile, *see* 'Egypt and Thebes,' vol. i. pp. 399–455.)

[*The Nomes*

[1] Esarhaddon divided Egypt into twenty governments, at the head of which was Necho, king of Saïs, and Memphis. These appear to have been subsequently reduced to twelve.—S. B.

a single instant without a king, they elected twelve,' each enjoying equal rank and authority.[1] 'They connected themselves by intermarriages, solemnly promising to promote their common interests, and never to engage in any acts of separate policy; their principal motive in this union being to guard against the declaration of an oracle, which had predicted that whoever among them should offer a libation in the temple of Vulcan from a brazen vessel, should be sole sovereign of

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The Nomes of Upper Egypt, or the Thebaïd, and of Heptanomis, beginning from the North, were:

Province.		Nome.	Chief City.	Modern Name.
Thebaïs, or Ægyptus Superior.	Heptanomis.	1. Memphites	Memphis	Mitrahenny.
		2. Aphroditopolites	Aphroditopolis	Atféëh.
		3. Arsinoïtes	Crocodilopolis, or Arsinoë	Medeénet el Fyóom.
		4. Heracleopolites	Heracleopolis	Ahnas el Medineh.
		5. Oxyrhinchites	Oxyrhinchus	Anásieh.
		6. Cynopolites	Cynopolis	Béhnesa.
		7. Hermopolites	Hermopolis Magna	El Kays.
		8. Antinoïtes ('in which are included the two Oases.' Ptol. 4, 5)	Antinoë	Oshmoonáyn. Shekh Abádeh, or Insiné.
	Low. Theb.	9. Lycopolites	Lycopolis	Sioót.
		10. Hypselites	Hypselis	Shodb.
		11. Antæopolites	Antæopolis	Gow (Kow) el Kebeér.
		12. Aphroditopolites	Aphroditopolis	Itfoo.
		13. Panopolites	Panopolis	Ekhmim, or Akhmeem.
	Upper Thebaïs.	14. Thinites	'This, near Abydus:' afterwards the capital was Ptolemaïs-Hermii	*Birbeh* (?) *or El Beerbeh* (?). Menshéëh.
		15. Diospolites	Diospolis Parva.	How.
		16. Tentyrites	Tentyris, Tentyra	Denderah.
		17. Coptites	Coptos	Koft, or Kebt.
		18. Thebarum	Thebæ, Diospolis Magna, 'Egyptian Thebes'	Karnak, and Luxor.
		19. Pathyrites	The Libyan, or Western part of Thebes.	Koorna.
		20. Hermonthites	Hermonthis.	ErménT.
		21. Latopolites	Latopolis	Esné.
		22. Apollinopolites	Apollinopolis Magna	Edfoo.
		23. Ombites	Ombos	Kôm-Ombo.

[1] [They were probably only governors of the twelve principal nomes, not of all Egypt but of the Delta, to which Strabo gives ten and Ptolemy twenty-four, and which in later times contained thirty-five, including the Oasis of Ammon. Pliny speaks of sixteen nomes of all Egypt who met in the Labyrinth (xxxvi. 13); and Strabo (xvii. p. 558) states that the number of nomes corresponded to that of its chambers when it was first built.—G. W.]

Egypt. For many years they continued the management of affairs in perfect amity and mutual confidence, and no administration was more eminent for justice and impartiality. An accident at length occurred to interrupt their friendship. 'On a certain occasion they were called upon to offer sacrifice in the temple of Vulcan; and when the last day of the festival came, they prepared to make the accustomed libation. For this purpose the chief priest presented the golden cups used on those solemnities; but having mistaken the number, he brought only eleven. Psammitichus,[1] who was the last, not having a cup, took off his helmet, which was of brass, and poured from it the libation. The other princes had similar helmets, and wore them on the present occasion, so that the circumstance of this one king using his was accidental and unpremeditated; but when they observed what Psammitichus had done, and remembered the prediction of the oracle, they examined him, suspecting he had acted designedly. Finding, however, that it was purely accidental, they did not think him worthy of death, but were satisfied with depriving him of his regal power; and confining him to the lowlands of Egypt, they forbade him to leave that district, or to hold any communication with the rest of the country.'

Things continued in this state for some time; the eleven kings having taken the whole direction of affairs, and the dethroned prince still remaining in exile. Psammatichus, however, could not passively submit to this uncalled-for treatment; and feeling the strongest resentment for the injury, he determined to be revenged upon his oppressors. With this view he sent to consult the oracle of Latona at Butos, which had among the Egyptians the highest character for veracity, and received for answer that the sea should avenge his cause by producing brazen men. He was little inclined to believe that such an event could ever occur; but some time afterwards a body of Ionians and Carians, who had been engaged in a voyage of plunder, were compelled by stress of weather to touch at Egypt, and landed there, clad in brazen armour.[2] Some Egyptians, alarmed at their appearance, hastened to carry the news to Psammatichus; and as they had never before

[1] This is Herodotus's mode of writing the name of Psamatik, or Psammatichus.

[2] According to the Assyrian cuneiform annals, these were the army sent by Gyges, who had entered into an alliance with Psammatichus against the Assyrians, whom the allies drove out of Egypt. (G. Smith's 'History of Assyria,' p. 147.)—S. B.

seen persons so armed, they described them as brazen men,[1] who had arisen from the sea, and were plundering the country. He instantly conceived this to be the accomplishment of the oracular prediction; and having entered into an alliance with the strangers, and engaged them by splendid promises to unite with his Egyptian adherents, he vanquished the eleven kings, and made himself master of the whole country.

Previous to this event, the twelve kings are said by Herodotus to have erected the famous labyrinth in the nome of Crocodilopolis, afterwards called Arsinoë; but since the prior claims of Mœris as the builder of that monument appear to be fully established, we can only suppose that Psammatichus and his coadjutors completed a work commenced many ages previously by one of their early predecessors.

'In acknowledgment,' continues the historian, 'of the assistance he had received from the Ionian and Carian strangers, Psammitichus conferred upon them certain lands termed the *camp*, which were situated opposite each other, on either bank of the river, and, having fulfilled all his engagements with them, he entrusted to their care some Egyptian children to be instructed in the Greek language; and from those the present interpreters of Egypt are said to be descended. The district they inhabited was near the sea-coast, a short distance below Bubastis, on the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and the same Greek settlers continued in possession of it for a considerable period; till Amasis, wishing to avail himself of their services against the Egyptians, removed them to Memphis. They were the first foreigners whom the Egyptians received among them;'[2] and Herodotus[3] affirms that, even in his time, 'the places they formerly occupied, the docks of their ships, and the vestiges of their houses, might still be seen.' Such is his account of the temporary reign of the twelve kings, and of the accession of Psammatichus to the throne.

According to Diodorus,[4] the anarchy which prevailed in Egypt, during two whole years, after the rule of the Ethiopian princes, and the commotions excited by popular frenzy,

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[1] The surprise of the Egyptians on seeing men clad in bronze or brass armour would seem to imply that they used *iron* for the same purpose. But can we trust this statement of Herodotus? Psammatichus's helmet was also of *bronze*, according to the same author.

[2] This is not correct, as the Mashuasha or Maxyes, the Shairetana or Sardinians, and Kahaka were established in Egypt as early as Rameses III.—S. B.

[3] Herodot. ii. 154.

[4] Diod. i. 66.

suggested to the chief men of the country the expediency of assuming the reins of government, and restoring order to the State. With this view, twelve of the most influential persons were chosen to preside with regal power. Each had a peculiar province allotted to him, in which his authority was paramount; and though independent of one another, they bound themselves by oaths of mutual concord and fidelity.

During fifteen years their relations were maintained with the greatest harmony; but as Psammatichus, whose sway extended to the Mediterranean, had availed himself of the opportunities offered by the seaports within his province of establishing commercial intercourse with the Phœnicians and Greeks, and had amassed considerable wealth by these means, his colleagues, jealous of his increasing power, and fearing lest he should eventually employ it against them, resolved to prevent his supposed designs, and to dispossess him of his province. They therefore prepared to attack him, and by this step obliged Psammatichus to adopt measures which his ambition might not have contemplated. Apprised of their resolutions, and finding himself threatened by the formidable army of all the upper provinces, he sent to Arabia, Caria, and Ionia, and, having succeeded in raising a considerable body of mercenaries, he was soon in a fit state to oppose them; and putting himself at the head of these and his native troops, he gave them battle at Momemphis, routed their combined forces, and, obliging those of the princes who had escaped the slaughter to fly to Libya, became possessed of an undivided throne. This account is more consistent with reason than that of Herodotus, which Diodorus afterwards notices, and which he had the good judgment not to adopt. The fortuitous arrival of any great number of Greeks is in itself improbable; but the necessity of believing that a party of pirates, driven upon the coast by adverse winds, paralysed a country so powerful and well garrisoned as Egypt then was, and uniting with the few adherents of the exiled Psammatichus, overcame the combined forces of the eleven kings, is alarming even to the credulous.

No mention is made of the accession and dethronement of the twelve kings in the catalogue of Manetho; and some might feel inclined to doubt the veracity of the two historians, did not some traces of these events appear in the sculptures.

Psammatichus was son of that Neco who is said by Herodotus to have been put to death by Sabaco, and perhaps the same who occurs as the third king in the 26th Dynasty of Manetho: but

there is no reason to suppose him one of the twelve kings; and if he really enjoyed the sovereign power, and ruled the whole of Upper and Lower Egypt, it is probable that his reign preceded the accession of those princes.

26th Dynasty, of Saïte Kings.

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Sculptures.	Observations.	Ascended the Throne.
			B.C.
Stephinathis Nechepsus Nechao I.	. . . .	The Twelve Kings.	
Psammitichus Psammatichus	Psamatik I.[1]	Josiah defeated and slain, 610 B.C.	664
Nechao II.	Neco	Neco's defeat by Nebuchadnezzar, 606. A stela in the museum of Florence gives 71 years from the 3rd of Neco to the 35th of Amasis.	610
Psammitichus Psammutis or Psammis	Psamatik II.	Captivity of Jehoiakim, 599 B.C.	600
Vaphres or Apries	Psamatik III.	Pharaoh Hophra of S. S.; probably not the same as Psamatik III.	596
Amasis or Amosis	Ames-Neit-se	Babylon taken by Cyrus, 538. Date of his 44th year on the monuments	571
Psammicherites or Psammenitus	. . . .	. . . . .	525

[*26th Dynasty, from the Monuments.*

Kings.	Monumental date.
1. Psametik I.	52 years
2. Nekau II.	8 years
3. Psametik II.	16 years
4. Uah-ab-ra	19 years
5. Aahmes II.	45 years
6. Psametik III.	1 year
Total of kings 6	Total of years 141 S. B.]

Psammatichus had no sooner become sole master of Egypt than he turned his attention to the internal administration of the country, and the suppression of party feeling consequent upon the late events. With this view he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the priesthood and the people, by erecting many splendid monuments, and beautifying the sacred edifices in the principal cities of Upper and Lower Egypt. At Thebes he made

[1] [The discovery of the stelæ in the Apis tombs by M. Mariette, now shows that Psammatichus I. was the immediate successor of Tirhakah.—G. W.]

considerable additions to the great temple of Amun, now called Karnak; and at Memphis the southern vestibule of the temple of Pthah was erected by him, and opposite to it a magnificent edifice for Apis, where he was kept when publicly exhibited. The walls were richly decorated with sculpture, and its roof was supported by colossal figures twelve cubits in height, which served the purpose of columns, and represented the king himself in the character of Osiris, whose emblems he bore in either hand; and in order to give the reader some idea of this building, I have made a view of the interior, restored according to the style and proportions of similar courts in the temple of Thebes.

In the meantime, a strong feeling of jealousy was excited among the troops, in consequence of the marked favour shown by the king to the foreign auxiliaries; and though they submitted patiently for many years, at length their secret discontent was openly manifested. That Psammatichus should have been indebted for the possession of his crown to the aid and interposition of strangers, who, viewed through the unfavourable medium of strong prejudice, appeared an inferior and impure race, was in the highest degree humiliating to the Egyptian army, however disposed they might have been to acknowledge his claims and the injustice of his previous exile; and more tact was required to soothe the ruffled feelings of the soldier than of the people or the priests. The precautions necessary under these circumstances were altogether neglected by the king, who either failed to observe their growing disaffection, or totally disregarded it, 'discovering on all occasions a preference of the foreigners, to the disparagement of his native troops:'[1] and he was not only guilty of injustice towards many of them, by prolonging their usual time of garrison duty,[2] in the frontier towns of Marea, Daphne of Pelusium, and Elephantine, where they continued three years without being relieved, but he even deprived them of the post of honour in the Syrian war, and assigned the right wing to the Greek troops, and the left to the Egyptians.[3] Upon this, their indignation knew no bounds; and, quitting the camp, they, joined by other regiments which had remained in Egypt, abandoned the service of Psammatichus, and, to the number of 240,000, retired into Ethiopia. As soon as the king received intelligence of it, he endeavoured to dissuade them from their

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[1] Diod. i. 67. [2] Herodot. ii. 30. [3] Diod. i. 67.

project; and having followed them himself as far as Elephantine,[1] he sent forward the Greek auxiliaries, and some of his most faithful Egyptian adherents, with instructions, if possible, to prevail on them to return. It was not till after they had passed Aboccis[2] in Ethiopia, that these emissaries of the Egyptian monarch overtook them; and using every kind of remonstrance and entreaty, they solemnly conjured them not to desert the gods of their country, their wives and families: but all without effect; and one of them tauntingly observed, that wherever they went, provided they had their arms and proved themselves to be men, they could always obtain both wives and children.

Continuing their march into Upper Ethiopia, 'they entered the service of the monarch of that country, and in return received a considerable extent of territory upon the confines, from which the Ethiopian prince ordered them to expel a tribe of people at that time in rebellion against him: and this migration of the Egyptian troops, introducing the arts and manners of a refined nation, had a very sensible effect in civilising the Ethiopians.'[3]

The exact position of the country they occupied is unknown. Herodotus places it on the Nile, at about the same distance beyond Meroë as this last is from Elephantine, or fifty days' journey;[4] and adds, that these Automoli (deserters) 'are known by the name of Asmach, which being translated signifies "standing on the left hand" of the king.' Strabo[5] states that 'they settled near Meroë, which was afterwards governed by their queen;' and calls them 'Sebritæ, a name implying strangers:' but Pliny,[6] on the authority of Aristocreon, reckons 'seventeen days from Meroë to Esar, a city[7] of the Egyptians who fled from Psammatichus, and who are reported to have lived there 300 years.'

A singular connection may be observed between the names given by different writers to this people and their country. 'Esar,' says Pliny, 'is called by Bion Sapen, and is supposed to mean strangers;' and the neighbouring Symbari, Semberitæ, Sambri, and Sembolitis, cannot fail to recall the Sebrites of

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[1] Diodorus says he first sent to them, and then followed by water to the confines of Egypt. The inscription at Aboosimbel, written by the Greeks who accompanied him, confirms this, stating positively that 'King Psammatichus went as far as Elephantine:' 'ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΕΛΘΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΣ ΕΛΕΦΑΝΤΙΝΑΝ ΨΑΜΑΤΙΧΟ.'

[2] Aboccis I suppose to have stood near Aboosimbel. They must have gone beyond this place before they overtook them.

[3] Herodot. ii. 30.

[4] This distance is unreasonable.

[5] Strabo, xvi.

[6] Plin. vi. 30.

[7] Strabo calls their country Tenesis.

Strabo, or the great similarity of the word *shemmo*, 'a stranger,' and *beri*, 'new,' in the ancient Egyptian language. It is not less remarkable that Esar is the pure Arabic word signifying 'the left hand,' synonymous with *shemal;* and this last is plainly pointed out in the ἄσμαχ of Herodotus, where the letter χ has been accidentally changed for the λ it so much resembles. It is highly improbable that 240,000 men could have had any duty 'on the left of the king;' a post, moreover, reserved for the sons of the monarch, or the chief persons of the country: and we may rather conclude this name to have been assumed in commemoration of the affront offered them by Psammatichus, and the cause of their desertion; or to have been given these strangers[1] in consequence of their coming from the left, or north, which was considered the left[2] of the world, and is still so called (*shemal*) by the Arabs of the present day.

The reign of Psammatichus continued fifty-four years, twenty-nine of which he employed in the siege and capture of a large town of Syria called Azotus;[3] and since Diodorus tells us that the defection of his troops happened during the Syrian war, it is probable that the taking of Azotus preceded that event.

It was in his reign, and by his order, that an idle experiment, since repeated in later times, was made to discover the language of nature, or at least to ascertain the oldest nation and the oldest tongue. The account is thus given by Herodotus:[4]—'Before the reign of Psammitichus, the Egyptians considered themselves the most ancient of men; but this prince having taken considerable pains to investigate the truth of the matter, the result was, that they reckoned the Phrygians more ancient than themselves, and themselves than the rest of mankind. Psammitichus himself suggested the following method of solving the question. A shepherd was ordered to take two children just born, of humble parentage, and to pay particular attention to their early habits and the mode of bringing them up. He was strictly enjoined never to speak in their presence, to place them in a sequestered hut, and at proper intervals to allow them to suck the milk of goats, whilst he was attending to other employments. By this means the king expected to ascertain what word they would of

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[1] They had, perhaps, the two names—'strangers' and 'people from the left.'

[2] The east was the front, the west the back, of the world. Plutarch supposes the north to be the right side of the world. (De Isid. s. 32.)

[3] Now Ezdod, or Eshdóod. Azotus (Ashdod) was on the coast between Gaza and Joppa.

[4] Herodot. ii. 2.

their own accord first articulate. The experiment succeeded to his wish: the shepherd complied with every particular of his instructions; and at the end of two years, on paying his usual morning visit and opening the door of their apartment, both the children extended their arms towards him, in an attitude of supplication, and pronounced the word "becos."[1] It did not at first excite his attention; but, on their repeating the same expression whenever he appeared, he thought it right to mention the circumstance to his master, who ordered the children to be brought before him. When Psammitichus heard them repeat the same word, he sought to discover among what people it was used, and found it was the Phrygian name for bread; and on this account the Egyptians, after they had seriously considered the matter, were led to the conclusion that the Phrygians were of greater antiquity than themselves. That this experiment was really made, I myself heard at Memphis from the priests of Vulcan; but the Greeks, in order to embellish the story, relate that Psammitichus caused the children to be nursed by women whose tongues had been previously cut out.'

During the whole of his reign, Psammatichus maintained a direct intercourse with the Greeks, and established commercial relations with them as well as the Phœnicians;[2] and so much encouragement was given to foreigners, that many settled in Lower Egypt; and by means of the constant communication between Europe and Egypt, the Greeks became acquainted with a country whose history and internal administration had been previously unknown to them. And the liberal policy of this monarch continued to be followed at a subsequent period, particularly by Amasis, who reigned before, and by Nectanebo who lived after, the Persian invasion.

In the reign of Psammatichus, the Scythians[3] having subjugated the whole of Asia, advanced towards Egypt with the intention of invading that country. They had expelled the Cimmerians

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[1] Or Bec; the *os* being a Greek termination. M. Larcher ingeniously supposes it to have been in imitation of the cry of the goats. [The word *βέκος* has been thought connected with the German 'backen' and our 'bake.' Lassen, however, throws doubt on this connection, and suggests a formation from the Sanscrit root *pac*, which becomes (he says) in Greek *πέπ-ω*, Latin *coq*-uo, German *coch-en*, our 'cook,' Servian *pec-en*, &c. (See his Essay 'Ueber die Lykischen Inschriften, und die Alten Sprachen Kleinasiens,' p. 369.) But this connection, which may be allowed, does not prevent the other from being also real. See on this point, and on the general subject of the Phrygian language, the Essays appended to Book i. Essay xi., 'On the Ethnic Affinities of the Nations of Western Asia,' § 12.—G. W.]

[2] Diod. i. 56.

[3] Herodot. i. 104, 105.

from Europe; and, led by their valiant king Madyas, they overran the provinces to the left of Mount Caucasus on their way from the Palus Mæotis, and defeated Cyaxares, the Median monarch, who was besieging Ninus (Nineveh), the capital of Assyria. They then penetrated into Syria; and Psammatichus, alarmed at their approach, went forward to meet them, and partly by presents, and partly by entreaty, prevailed upon them to desist from their project; thus saving Egypt from the aggressions of a dangerous foe.

Psammatichus was succeeded by his son Neco II., whose wars and successes in Syria are recorded by sacred as well as profane writers. Studious of military renown and the promotion of commerce, he had no sooner ascended the throne than he applied himself to the re-organisation of the army and the equipment of a powerful fleet; and, recollecting the imprudent conduct of his father, he avoided all innovations which might tend to alienate the good will of his people, or sow the seeds of discord among his troops; and while he courted the friendship of the Greeks, and appreciated the important services he received from auxiliaries of that nation, he laid aside every appearance of partiality, treating them with proper consideration, and giving them a post next to the Egyptian troops, as his wise predecessors had done to their allies in the wars of Asia.

In the Mediterranean[1] he fitted out a fleet of triremes, and another in the Red Sea; and, having engaged some expert Phœnician pilots and mariners, he sent them on a voyage of discovery along the coast of Africa. 'They were ordered to start from the Arabian Gulf, and come round through the Pillars of Hercules (now the Straits of Gibraltar) into the North Sea, and so return to Egypt. Sailing, therefore, down the Gulf, they passed into the Southern Ocean; and when autumn arrived they laid up their ships, and sowed the land. Here they remained till harvest time; and, having reaped the corn,[2] they continued their voyage. In this manner they occupied two years; and the third having brought them by the Pillars of Hercules to Egypt, they related (what to me appears incredible, however others may be disposed to believe it) that they had the sun on their right hand; and by these means was the form of Africa first

[1] Herodotus calls it the North Sea. The Arabs now style it the White Sea: [and also the North Sea.—G. W.]

[2] It may appear singular that they should carry grain for this purpose; but the same was done by Timûr in his march to China, who had with his army waggons laden with seed corn.

known.' The historian[1] then relates, on the authority of the Carthaginians, a second attempt to circumnavigate that continent, under Sataspes, the son of Teaspes, a Persian, who, being alarmed at the length of the voyage and the dreary solitude of those regions, returned without accomplishing his task. He had been condemned to the cross by Xerxes for offering violence to the daughter of Zopyrus, the son of Megabyzus; but his mother, the sister of Darius, obtained his pardon on condition of his going round Africa. He therefore repaired to Egypt; and having there engaged a ship and crew, he sailed to the Pillars of Hercules, entered the ocean, and passed the promontory of Soloeis on the coast of Africa.[2] He thence continued southwards; but, after spending several months at sea, he returned to Egypt, and endeavoured to exculpate himself to the king, saying he found it impossible to proceed. Xerxes, however, rejected this excuse, and inflicted upon him the punishment to which he had been previously condemned.

That similar expeditions round Africa were performed by other people is testified by ancient authors; and that of the Carthaginians under Hanno was described in Punic by the commander himself, and afterwards translated into Greek. Pliny states[3] that 'Hanno, a Carthaginian, circumnavigated the continent of Africa, from Gades to the extremity of the Arabian Gulf, and wrote all the details of his voyage, which was undertaken at the period when Carthage was most flourishing;' and 'founded several towns on the coast,' none of which remained in the reign of Vespasian. He also mentions a certain Eudoxus, a cotemporary of Cornelius Nepos and of Ptolemy Lathyrus,[4] who went round Africa from the Arabian Gulf to Gades: and others before him were reported to have performed the same journey for the purposes of commerce.[5]

The voyage of Hanno happened some time after that undertaken by order of Neco; the honour, therefore, of being the first to equip an expedition for the purpose of making this discovery belongs to the Egyptian monarch, who thereby ascertained the peninsular form of Africa, about twenty-one centuries before

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[1] Herod. iv. 42, 43.

[2] The promontory of Soloeis, or Soloentia, called also the Libyan headland; and supposed by some to be the Cape Cantin of modern Africa, at the western extremity of Mount Atlas.

[3] Plin. ii. 67, and v. 1; and Arrian's 'Rerum Indic.' *ad fin.*

[4] Strabo, ii. p. 67. Pliny says he fled from that king, 'cum Lathurum regem fugeret;' but forcibly sent by him is more probable. (Plin. ii. 67.)

[5] Plin. *loc. cit.* lib. ii.

the Cape of Good Hope was seen by Diaz,[1] or doubled by Vasco da Gama.

In mentioning the expedition sent by Neco, Herodotus makes one remark which is singular, from its confirming the truth of the statements detailed to him by the Egyptians: for it is evident they could not have passed the Cape of Good Hope without observing the phenomenon he mentions; and the assertion that the sun (when rising) was on their right hand, though so improbable to Herodotus, is highly satisfactory to his modern readers, who are indebted to him for thus expressing his doubts, and the proofs of a fact which might otherwise have been called in question.

Previous to projecting this voyage of discovery, Neco had commenced re-opening the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, which had been cut many years before by Sesostris, or Rameses the Great. The work, however, if we may believe Herodotus, was abandoned; an oracle warning the Egyptian monarch that he was labouring for the barbarian.[2] This may be true; but we cannot attach any credit to the statement that 120,000 Egyptians perished before he desisted from the undertaking, or that he was the first who commenced the canal;[3] and not only do Pliny,[4] Strabo,[5] and Aristotle attribute it to Sesostris, but the monuments which remain in the towns upon its banks afford a satisfactory testimony of the accuracy of those writers,[6] and of the erroneous information of Herodotus and Diodorus.

Neco also turned his attention to the Egyptian conquests in Asia, and, taking advantage of the falling power of the Assyrians, determined to attack the enemy on his own frontier. With this view he collected a powerful army, and, entering Palestine, followed the route along the sea-coast of Judæa previously taken by the Egyptians under various kings who had penetrated into Asia, intending to besiege the town of Carchemish[7] on the

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[1] Bartholomew Diaz discovered it in 1487, in the reign of John II., king of Portugal, but did not land. He named it Capo Tormentoso, from the storms he experienced there; but the king afterwards changed its name to Cape of Good Hope; and Emanuel, his successor, sent Vasco da Gama, in 1497, with orders to double it and proceed to India.

[2] The same may be applied to the projected communication by the Euphrates.

[3] *Vide suprà.* Herodotus and Diodorus mention Neco as the projector of the canal.

[4] Plin. vi. 33.

[5] Strabo (xvii.) says, 'The canal was commenced by Sesostris before the Trojan war. Some suppose by Psammatichus, the son, who only began the work, and died. It was afterwards finished by Darius.'

[6] Assuming him to be Rameses II.

[7] Called Manbeg منبج in the Arabic, and Mabog in the Syriac versions.

Euphrates.[1] But Josiah, king of Judah, offended at the passage of the Egyptian army through his territories, resolved to impede, if he was unable to prevent, their march. Neco,[2] learning the approach of the Jewish monarch and apprised of his intentions, sent messengers to engage him to desist from his uncalled-for interference, assuring him he had no hostile intentions against Judæa, but against an enemy with whom he was at war; that his expedition was undertaken by the sanction, and at the express command of God; and warning Josiah lest his imprudence should be fatal to him.[3] This conciliatory message was of no avail; and Josiah, having posted himself in the valley of Megiddo, prepared to oppose the Egyptians.

Megiddo was a city in the tribe of Manasseh, between forty and fifty miles to the north of Jerusalem, and within three hours of the coast, and is called by Herodotus Magdolus. In this valley the feeble forces of the Jewish king attacked the Egyptians; but they were routed with great slaughter, and Josiah being wounded in the neck with an arrow,[4] ordered his attendants to take him from the field. Escaping from the heavy showers of arrows with which their broken ranks were overwhelmed, they removed him from the chariot in which he had been wounded, and placing him in 'a second one that he had,' they conveyed him to Jerusalem, where he died.[5]

Intent upon his original project, Neco did not stop to revenge himself upon the Jews for the affront they had offered him; but continued his march to the Euphrates. Three months had scarcely elapsed, when, returning victorious from the capture of Carchemish and the defeat of the Babylonians, he learned that, though Josiah had left an elder son, Jehoahaz had caused himself to be proclaimed king on the death of his father, without intimating his intention, or soliciting him to sanction his election; and, considering this neglect as a token of hostile feeling, he was highly incensed, and resolved on punishing his insolence. With this view he ordered Jehoahaz to meet him 'at Riblah[6] in the land of Hamath;'[7] and having deposed him, and condemned the

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[1] 2 Chron. xxxv. 20.

[2] In the Targum or Chaldee Paraphrase, and the Syriac and Arabic versions, Neco is called 'the lame Pharaoh.'

[3] 2 Chron. xxx. 21.

[4] On the authority of the Arabic version; which also says he was killed at Megiddo, being wounded by Pharaoh with two arrows.

[5] 2 Chron. xxxv. 22 *et seq.*

[6] The Syriac and Arabic versions have Deblath. The Hebrew *d* and *r* are easily mistaken.

[7] 2 Kings xxiii. 33. Now Hamah.

land to pay a tribute of 100 talents of silver[1] and a talent of gold,[2] he carried him a prisoner to Jerusalem. On arriving there, Neco made Eliakim, the eldest son of Josiah, king, in the room of his father, and changed his name to Jehoiakim; and, taking the silver and gold which had been levied upon the Jewish people, returned to Egypt with the captive Jehoahaz, who there terminated his short and unfortunate career.

The victories and triumphant return of Seti, the Rameses, and many Egyptian monarchs, are represented on the walls of the Theban temples, or in other parts of Egypt and Nubia; and the conquerors are seen to present their prisoners to the deity, to whose special favour they supposed themselves indebted for the success of their arms. We might, therefore, reasonably expect to find some indication of the victory gained over the Babylonians and Jews, especially as the name of Neco occurs among the hieroglyphics in the great hall of Karnak: but this is the sole record of him at Thebes, and merely tends to show that he ruled both the upper and lower country. And though his ovals occur on vases and some small objects of art, no sculptures record his victories, or the glories of his reign; and a subject of such great interest as the defeat of the Jewish king is in vain looked for on the monuments of Egypt.

The success of Neco in his conflict with Josiah at Megiddo, and the taking of Jerusalem, are noticed by profane as well as by sacred writers. Herodotus,[3] who includes the Jews under the general name of Syrians, says that he routed them at Magdolus, and afterwards took Cadytis, a large city of Syria, in Palestine, which, he adds, in his opinion, 'is very little less than Sardis.'[4] And that by Cadytis he means Jerusalem is evident, from the ancient Jewish as well as the modern Hebrew and Arabic name of that city; Kadúsha,[5] 'the holy,' being an epithet applied by the Hebrews to Jerusalem, as el Qods or Cots is the name by which it is known to the Arabs at the present day. This title it received after the building of the Temple by Solomon.

Pleased with his successes, the Egyptian monarch dedicated the dress he wore in the campaign to the deity who was supposed to have given him the victory, whom Herodotus, with

[1] Reckoning the Hebrew silver talent at 353*l.* 11*s.* 10½*d.*, this sum is 35,359*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

[2] 5075*l.* 15*s.* 7½*d.* The total being 40,435*l.* 3*s.* 1½*d.*

[3] Herod. ii. 159.

[4] Ibid. iii. 5.

[5] The *sh* is easily converted into *th*, even in Eastern dialects, and still more readily is *t* substituted for *sh* by the Greeks, who had not the sound of the Hebrew and Arabic *sh*. El Qods also signifies 'the holy.'

the prejudices natural to a Greek, believed to be the Apollo of Miletus.[1] But Neco did not long enjoy the advantages he had obtained; and in the fourth year after that expedition, alarmed at the increasing power of the Babylonians, and desirous to check their incursions into those provinces which had long been tributary to Egypt and had cost his predecessors much trouble to subdue, he again marched into Syria, and advanced to the Euphrates.[2] The Babylonians were prepared for his approach: Nebuchadnezzar opposed him with a powerful army, completely routed the Egyptians, recovered the town of Carchemish,[3] and, pushing his conquests through Palestine, took from the Egyptian monarch all the territory belonging to the Pharaohs, from the Euphrates to the southern extremity of Syria.[4] Nor was it in the power of Neco to recover the provinces thus wrested from him; and he was obliged patiently to submit to these losses, and to content himself with the defence of his own frontier.[5]

Jerusalem now became subject to the victorious Babylonian; and some time after, being displeased with the Jewish king, Nebuchadnezzar carried away the sacred vessels from the temple, and led many noble youths, with Jehoiakim himself, prisoners to Babylon. The calamities of the Jews did not terminate here. The ensuing year Nebuchadnezzar[6] sent for Jehoiachin, the son of the deposed monarch, who, though only eight years of age,[7] had been chosen to succeed him, and appointed Zedekiah, 'his father's brother,' king in his stead. Ten thousand captives, among whom were the principal people of Jerusalem, 7000 fighting men, and 1000 smiths and artificers, with the treasures of the Temple and the palace, were carried to Babylon; and Zedekiah became a vassal of the Chaldean monarch.

A short time previous to the captivity of Jehoiakim Neco died, and was succeeded by Psammatichus II., whom Herodotus calls Psammis. Little worthy of remark took place during his reign, except an expedition into Ethiopia, and the arrival of an

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[1] 'The vest he consecrated to Apollo, and sent to the Milesian Branchidæ' (ii. 159). Nothing can be more improbable, considering the contempt in which the Greeks and their religious notions were held by the Egyptians, than that Neco should have preferred a Greek deity to the whole Pantheon of his own gods.

[2] Necho, in the first campaign allied with the Babylonians, marched on Carchemish, and was attacked by Josiah, who attempted to oppose his march.—S. B.

[3] B.C. 607.

[4] 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

[5] This defeat of Neco 'happened in the fourth year of Jehoiakim.' (Jer. xlvi. 2.)

[6] Or Nabuchodonosor II., the son of Nabopolazzar, who had associated him in the kingdom. The Arabs call him Bokhtonúsr.

[7] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, differing from the account in 2 Kings xxiv. 8.

embassy from the Eleans.[1] 'These people boasted that the regulations of the Olympic games were the most just and unobjectionable that had ever been instituted; and that even the Egyptians, who were considered the wisest of men, could not invent any of a more perfect kind. On their arrival in Egypt they explained the object of their mission; the king, therefore, convoked an assembly of men reputed for their wisdom and experience, before whom the Eleans stated the rules of their games, inquiring at the same time if they could suggest any improvements. After some consultation, the Egyptians asked whether any of their fellow-citizens were permitted to contend at the games; and upon being informed that every one, either of their own or any other Greek state, was at liberty to enter the lists, they decided that such regulations were directly at variance with every notion of justice; since it was impossible for them not to favour their fellow-citizens, to the prejudice of a candidate from another place.

'And they concluded by saying, "If you are really anxious for impartiality, and have come to Egypt to learn our opinion, we recommend you to exclude the Eleans, and to confine the games to foreign competitors."'

Psammatichus II. was succeeded by Apries. Of Apries, or Vaphres, we have some account in Herodotus and Diodorus, and he is styled in the Bible history Pharaoh-hophra.[2] His contemporary in Judæa was Zedekiah, who had been made king by Nebuchadnezzar, and who, thinking that a favourable opportunity now presented itself for throwing off the Babylonian yoke, made a treaty with the king of Egypt. But the war in which Apries was engaged with the Syrians, and afterwards with the Cyrenæans, prevented his affording any great assistance to his ally; and though his 'army,' by entering Judæa, obliged 'the Chaldeans' to raise the siege of Jerusalem[3] and retire from their positions, the king of Babylon, having again advanced to that capital, succeeded in taking it in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, razed it to the ground, and carried away the remainder of the people captives. And this momentary aid, and the inutility of placing reliance on the protection of Apries, led Ezekiel to compare the Egyptians to a broken reed,[4] which was to pierce the hand of him who leaned upon it.

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[1] Herod. ii. 160. Diodorus (i. 95) says they sent to Amasis.

[2] Phrāh Hophrā, פַּרְעֹה חָפְרַע. In the Chaldee Paraph. חַבּוּרָא.

[3] Jer. xxxvii. 8, 11.

[4] Ezek. xxix. 6, 7.

Many other prophecies respecting the calamities consequent upon this treaty with Egypt, and the rebellion of the Jews against the Babylonians, are met with in the Bible; and Egypt itself was threatened by the arms of the victorious Nebuchadnezzar. But it is difficult to determine in what time and in what manner the last prophecy was accomplished, or to discover the extent of the calamities which happened to Egypt from the conquests of the Babylonians, though the scriptural account appears to fix those events to the time of Nebuchadnezzar. They may, however, refer to the reverses of Apries, and to the subsequent confusion which prevailed in Egypt after the rebellion of Amasis.

The commencement of the reign of Apries was prosperous, and he was considered 'the most fortunate monarch who had hitherto ruled in Egypt, next to his grandfather Psammatichus.'[1] He sent an expedition against the island of Cyprus; besieged and took Gaza[2] and the city of Sidon; engaged and vanquished the king of Tyre by sea; and, being uniformly successful, he made himself master of Phœnicia and Palestine, recovering much of the territory, and that influence in Syria which had been taken from Egypt by the victories of Nebuchadnezzar. He next sent an army against the Cyrenæans of Libya; but here fortune deserted him: his troops were defeated, and, mortified by this severe and unexpected check, they attributed their disgrace to Apries himself, imagining that so disastrous a project could only have been devised by one who was desirous of their destruction. They felt persuaded that his views were to weaken the power of the military class, and thus to remove the only barrier to that ambition which aimed at nothing less than absolute dominion, and the subversion of the liberty of his subjects: and excited by these feelings, and meditating revenge for the sufferings and disgrace they had already endured, the recurrence of which could only be prevented by a timely declaration of their sentiments, they refused to acknowledge his authority; and being joined by the friends of those who had been slain, they openly raised the standard of revolt. The news of this event greatly surprised and exasperated the king; but deeming it more prudent to adopt mild and conciliatory measures, he sent Amasis, one of his ablest generals, with orders to use every endeavour to appease the tumult, and to persuade the mutineers to return to their duty.

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[1] Herod. ii. 161.

[2] Foretold by Jeremiah, xlvii. 1.

Amasis, having arrived at the camp, addressed the soldiers in an appropriate speech; begging them to desist from their purpose, and to pay respect to the royal authority, as they had previously done, and as was due to one who had their interest at heart. While he was speaking, an Egyptian, who stood behind him, placed a helmet on his head, proclaiming him king, and affirming, in the name of his comrades, that they were willing to acknowledge him as their master and the ruler of Egypt. Though far from expecting such a proceeding, Amasis required little persuasion to accept the honour conferred upon him by so powerful a body; and being sensible that further attempts to recall their allegiance to Apries would be fruitless, and to sacrifice his own advantage would not benefit his sovereign, he acquiesced in the resolutions of those who had elected him as their chief, and put himself at their head.

Apries, on receiving intelligence of what had happened, despatched Patarbemis, one of the most eminent men of his court, with directions to bring Amasis alive to his presence. Having arrived at the camp, he told Amasis the purport of his mission, and the order of the king to appear before him. Amasis, who was seated on horseback, treated Patarbemis with indignity, and sent an insulting message to his master; adding, that he intended to go of his own accord, and hoped Apries would not take any trouble in looking for him, as he should soon present himself to his majesty with several companions. Patarbemis, fully comprehending his intention, from his manner of speaking, and seeing the preparations he was making, returned without loss of time to acquaint his sovereign with the state of affairs. No sooner had he arrived than Apries, finding he had failed to bring Amasis, without either inquiring the reason or listening to his statement, commanded his nose and ears to be cut off: an order which was immediately carried into execution. This barbarous and uncalled-for outrage, committed upon one so much esteemed by all classes, exasperated even those who had hitherto sided with Apries, and the greater part without hesitation deserted him and went over to Amasis. Finding himself thus abandoned by the Egyptians, he collected the auxiliary troops who were about him, consisting of 30,000 Ionians and Carians, and prepared to oppose the enemy. The hostile armies met at Momemphis, Apries leading his small band of Greeks and the few Egyptians who had remained faithful to him, and Amasis at the head of the native troops. The foreigners fought bravely, but, greatly

inferior in numbers, they were obliged at length to give way; and Apries, falling alive into the hands of the Egyptians, was carried prisoner to Saïs, where he was confined in the palace he had previously inhabited as king, which now belonged to his rival.

Amasis did not show himself unworthy of the success he had obtained, and the singular favour of fortune. He treated his royal prisoner with great kindness, and used all his influence to preserve his life, in opposition to the representations and wishes of the Egyptians; nor did he yield to their urgent request, till they accused him of treating them with injustice, by showing favour to one who was their enemy. Unable, therefore, to oppose demands put forth under colour of a right, Amasis consented, with reluctance, to deliver up his captive to their resentment: and 'having strangled the unfortunate Apries, they buried him in the tomb of his ancestors, which was in the sacred enclosure of Minerva's temple, very near the principal edifice, on the left, entering. In this building all the princes of the Saïte house were interred, and among the number Amasis also; but his sepulchre is more remote from the principal building than those of Apries and his predecessors.'

Such, according to Herodotus, was the tragical end of Apries; a monarch who, in the zenith of his glory, felt persuaded it was not in the power of a deity to dispossess him of the kingdom, or to shake the stability of his sway.[1] And this account of his arrogance satisfactorily accords with the Bible, where Ezekiel[2] speaks of 'the king of Egypt' as 'the great dragon that lieth in the midst of the rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself;' and his overthrow and subsequent captivity and death are foretold by Jeremiah, with remarkable precision, in the following words:—'I will give Pharaoh-hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life.'[3]

The slight acquaintance we are able to obtain of the state of Egypt prevents our discovering the precise mode in which the fulfilment of the other predictions took place. Amun-No,[4] or Thebes, and Egypt, with their gods and kings, were to be punished,

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[1] Herod. ii. 169.
[2] Ezek. xxix. 3.
[3] Jer. xliv. 30.
[4] Jer. xlvi. 25. In the Hebrew version it is 'Amun of No,' or Nay; in the Syriac, 'Amun of the waters;' in the Targum, or Chaldee Paraph., 'Alexandria,' which was not yet founded.

and Pharaoh, and all that trusted in him, to be delivered into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, and of his servants; Egypt was to be given into the hands of the people of the north,[1] and afterwards to be inhabited as in the days of old.

Still more severely is it denounced in the prophecies of Ezekiel.[2]

The Deity threatens to make the land of Egypt 'utterly waste and desolate, from the tower of Syene[3] even unto the border of Ethiopia.[4] No foot of man shall pass through it, nor foot of beast shall pass through it, neither shall it be inhabited forty years. And I will make the land of Egypt desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities among the cities that are laid waste shall be desolate forty years: and I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will disperse them through the countries. Yet . . . . at the end of forty years will I gather the Egyptians from the people whither they were scattered: and I will bring again the captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to return into the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation; and they shall be there a base kingdom. It shall be the basest of the kingdoms; neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations: for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations. And it shall no more be the confidence of the house of Israel.' 'And the sword shall come upon Egypt. . . . . Ethiopia, Libya, and Lydia,[5] and all the mingled people,[6] and Chub,[7] and the men of the land that is in league, shall fall with them by the sword. . . . I will also make the multitude of Egypt to cease by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon; . . . . they shall draw their swords against Egypt, and fill the land with the slain.[8] . . . . I will also destroy their idols, and cause their images to cease out of Noph;[9] and

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[1] Jer. xlvi. 24–26.

[2] Ezek. xxix. 10 *et seq.*

[3] In the Septuagint and Arabic versions it is 'from Migdol and Syene (E'Sooan) unto the borders of Ethiopia.' The Hebrew and Syriac, as well as the Targum, have 'from the tower of Syene,' or 'from Migdol to Syene (סְוֵנָה), and to the confines of Ethiopia' (Cush). Syene being on the borders of Ethiopia, the sense seems to require 'from the towers of Syene,' or 'from Migdol to Syene,' (which is) 'on the confines of Ethiopia.' Migdol is a 'tower' in Hebrew (*vide* Gen. xi. 4).

[4] Syene, Elephantine, and Philæ continued to be the frontier towns of Egypt, even in the time of the Romans, though their dominions in the Pharaonic time extended beyond. (Lucan, x. 313; *vide* also Strabo and Procopius.)

[5] In Hebrew, Cush, Phut, and Lud.

[6] In Hebrew, עֵרֶב, *erab.* The same word is used for the 'mixed multitude' which went out with Moses at the Exodus.

[7] Hebrew, Cub. Probably the Cubii of Ptolemy, a people who lived in Mareotis.

[8] Ezek. xxx. 4 *et seq.*

[9] Noph was Memphis; called by the Egyptians Memfi, Mefi, Menfi, or Menbe, and Men-nofri, or Ma-nofri, 'the place of good,' as well as Pthah-êï, 'the abode of Pthah.' In Hosea ix. 6 it is styled Moph.

there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt: . . . . and I will make Pathros [1] desolate, and will set fire in Zoan,[2] and will execute judgments in No.[3] And I will pour out my fury upon Sin,[4] the strength of Egypt; and I will cut off the multitude of No. . . . The young men of Aven[5] and of Pibeseth[6] shall fall by the sword: and these cities shall go into captivity. At Tehaphnehes[7] also the day shall be darkened, when I shall break there the yokes of Egypt: and the pomp of her strength shall cease in her, ... and her daughters shall go into captivity; . . . and I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and disperse them through the countries.'[8]

I shall now endeavour to show how these predictions were accomplished, and to explain the probable reason of Herodotus's silence upon the subject of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion.

The defeat and death of Apries, before mentioned, are given on the authority of Herodotus; who represents Amasis as a rebel chief, taking advantage of the disaffection of the army to dethrone his sovereign. This information he received from the Egyptian priests; but no mention was made of the signal defeat their army experienced, or of that loss of territory in Syria which resulted from the successes of the victorious Nebuchadnezzar. It is therefore reasonable to conclude they disguised the truth from the Greek historian; and, without mentioning the disgrace which had befallen their country and the interposition of a foreign power, attributed the change in the succession, and the elevation of Amasis to the throne, solely to his ambition and the choice of the Egyptian soldiery. Megasthenes and Berosus affirm that Nebuchadnezzar conquered a great part of Africa, and, having invaded Egypt, took many captives, who were committed to the

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The Arabs call it Ma-nouf, or Menouf. In hieroglyphics it is written Men-nofri, followed by a *pyramid*.

[1] Pathros or Pathures, in the Septuagint Φαθωρής, is Pa-athyris, 'belonging to Athor,' or Aphrodite. It might be supposed to refer to Aphroditopolis, or *Athribis*, or *Atarbechis;* but there is more reason to believe it to be Pathyris, or the district of Western Thebes, which was afterwards made into a separate nome of that name, and so called from the same goddess.

[2] Tanis.

[3] No, or No Amun, Thebes, Diospolis Proper, on the east bank. It is also written Na-Amun [or Amun-na]; the Egyptian Amun-ēī, the abode of Amun. (*Vide* Nahum iii. 8.) The Septuagint gives ἐν Διοσπόλει.

[4] The Septuagint has Σάϊς; the Latin translation of the Hebrew, 'Pelusium;' the Arabic, 'San;' the Hebrew version and Targum, 'Sin.' Pelusium, which was the bulwark of Egypt on the N.E. frontier, is to be preferred. It is now called Tineh.

[5] Aon, אָוֶן, Heliopolis, or On, as in Gen. xli. 45.

[6] Bubastis, Pa-bast.

[7] In the Septuagint ἐν Τάφναις [In the original spelt differently in different places—G. W.]; or, as Herodotus calls it, Δάφνῃσι τῇσι Πελουσίῃσι. (Herod. ii. 107 and 30.) Daphne was a little distance from Pelusium, and higher up that branch of the Nile.

[8] Ezek. xxx. 13 *et seq.*

charge of persons appointed to conduct them after him to Babylon. But as this is said to have happened at the period of his father's death, and consequently in the reign of Neco, it cannot refer to the point in question. Josephus, however, expressly states that the Assyrian[1] monarch "led an army into Cœle-Syria, of which he obtained possession, and then waged war on the Ammonites and Moabites. These being subdued, he invaded and conquered Egypt; and, having put the king of that country to death, he appointed another in his stead.'[2] If Josephus be correct in this statement, there is reason to suppose he alludes to Apries being deposed and succeeded by Amasis; and we can readily imagine that the Assyrians, having extended their conquests to the extremity of Palestine, would, on the rumour of intestine commotions in Egypt, hasten to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded them of attacking the country. And the civil war, and the fatal consequences of the disturbed state of Egypt, appear to be noticed by Isaiah[3] in the following prophecy: 'I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians: and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour; city against city, and kingdom against kingdom; . . . and they shall seek to the idols, and to the charmers, and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards.[4] And the Egyptians will I give over into the hand of a cruel lord; and a fierce king shall rule over them.'

From a comparison of all these authorities, I conclude that the civil war between Apries and Amasis did not terminate in the single conflict at Momemphis, but lasted several years; and that either Amasis solicited the aid and intervention of Nebuchadnezzar, or this prince, availing himself of the disordered state of the country, of his own accord invaded it, deposed the rightful sovereign, and placed Amasis on the throne, on condition of paying tribute to the Babylonians. The injury done to the land and cities of Egypt by this invasion, and the disgrace with which the Egyptians felt themselves overwhelmed after such an event, would justify the account given in the Bible of the fall of Egypt:[5] and to witness many of their compatriots taken captive to Baby-

[1] [Meaning perhaps Babylonian.—G. W.]

[2] Joseph. Antiq. lib. x. c. ix. 7.

[3] Isaiah xix. 2 *et seq.*

[4] That is, consult the oracles, as Amasis is said to have done previous to his obtaining the sovereignty of Egypt. The account given by Herodotus (ii. 174) of Amasis' early conduct, and the answers of the oracles, is ridiculous.

[5] [It is frequently unnecessary to interpret prophecies literally; and it is more consistent to take the general sense than to bind them to the minutiæ of each word, as may be observed in examining many of them.—G. W.]

lon, and to become tributary to an enemy[1] whom they held in abhorrence, would be considered by the Egyptians the greatest calamity, as though they had for ever lost their station in the scale of nations.

Athenæus attributes the previous rise of Amasis to the circumstance of his having presented Apries[2] with a chaplet of flowers on his birthday, which so delighted the king that he invited him to the feast, and admitted him among the number of his friends. Diodorus, however, who is more to be depended upon in this instance, asserts that Amasis was a person of considerable consequence, which accords with his rank as a general and a distinguished member of the military caste, as well as with monumental record, and his marriage with the daughter of his sovereign. And the idle tales told by the priests respecting his rise and the fall of Apries seem only to have been intended to deceive Herodotus, and to conceal from him the real state of Egypt at that period.

According to the same historian, the reign of Amasis was the epoch at which Egypt was most flourishing, both 'with regard to the advantages conferred by the river on the soil, and by the soil on the inhabitants;' and that country 'could boast no less than 20,000 well-inhabited cities.'[3] The former assertion, indeed, if not fully proved, gains considerable weight, from the appearance of public and private buildings raised during the reigns of this monarch and his two predecessors, from the number of splendid monuments erected by Amasis, and from the immense booty carried out of Egypt by the Persians. That private persons enjoyed unusual affluence is evident from the style and richness of their sepulchres, far exceeding in extent and ornamental detail any of those executed during the flourishing era of the 18th Dynasty: and this can only be attributed to an increase of wealth. In order, therefore, to reconcile that fact with the state of Egypt mentioned in the prophecies, we may suppose the tributary condition to which it was reduced by the Babylonian conqueror, though severely wounding the pride of the Egyptians and degrading them as a nation, did not affect the riches of individuals, which might continue to increase through the immense resources of a fertile country, or, to repeat the words of Herodotus, through 'the advantages conferred by the

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus says, the Carthaginians also invaded Egypt; but this statement is very improbable.

[2] Whom he calls Partamis, on the authority of Hellenicus.

[3] Herodot. ii. 177. Plin. v. 11.

river on the soil, and by the soil on the inhabitants:' and the historian may refer to the latter end of Amasis' reign, when he had been freed from the humiliating necessity of paying tribute to the Babylonians, themselves at length conquered by the arms of Cyrus. It is very possible that the prophecies may *partly* relate to the intervention of Nebuchadnezzar, and the degraded condition of Egypt, as tributary to the Babylonians; and *partly* to the final downfall of the country, when the Persians invaded it under Cambyses: for so remarkable an event would scarcely be omitted in a prophecy announcing the 'desolation of Egypt;' and, if this last and the previous invasion of the Babylonians are not distinctly described, we may conclude that both are included in the general prediction.[1]

Nor was the military power of Egypt annihilated by the civil war between Apries and Amasis, or by the unfortunate intervention of Nebuchadnezzar; and though Amasis did not think it prudent, by refusing the tribute he had promised to pay, and by invading Syria, to provoke a powerful enemy, or to engage in a doubtful struggle with that prince, yet he was sufficiently strong to make himself feared and respected by his neighbours, and to extend his arms beyond the frontiers of Egypt. And so confident was he of his power towards the close of his reign, that he defied the mighty Persia, little expecting he would thereby entail great and real calamities upon his country. [The Egyptians had, indeed, assisted Crœsus in his struggle with Cyrus.—G. W.]

After remedying the evils which civil commotion and the other events already alluded to had caused, at the close of his predecessor's reign, his attention was directed to the improvement of the military strength, as well as the commercial interests of Egypt; and having fitted out a formidable expedition against Cyprus, he succeeded in taking the cities of that island,[2] and subjecting it to his power; being the first who had made it tributary[3] to the Pharaohs. He also gave great encouragement to foreigners who were willing to trade with his subjects; and as an inducement to them he favoured their interests, and showed them marked indulgence upon all occasions. 'Such Greeks as wished to maintain a regular com-

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[1] Xenophon pretends that Cyrus even invaded Egypt; but his mode of expressing himself is as vague as the circumstance is improbable. (Xen. Cyropæd., preliminary section.)

[2] Diod. i. 68. [3] Herodot. ii. 182.

munication with Egypt, he permitted to have a settlement at Naucratis: and to others, who did not require a fixed residence, being only engaged in occasional commerce, he assigned certain places for the construction of altars and the performance of religious rites; and the Greeks,' says Herodotus,[1] 'still possess a very spacious and celebrated temple in Egypt, called Hellenium. It was built at the joint expense of the Ionians of Chios, Teos, Phocæa, and Clazomenæ; of the Dorians of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis; and of the Æolians of Mitylene. Hellenium is the common property of all these cities, who appoint proper officers for the regulation of their commerce; and the claims of other cities to these distinctions and privileges are totally unfounded. The Æginetæ, however, constructed for themselves a temple to Jupiter, as did the Samians to Juno, and the Milesians to Apollo.

'Naucratis soon became a flourishing town, in consequence of the exclusive privileges it enjoyed, being the sole emporium of the Greeks in Egypt; and not only was every merchant required to unload his cargo there, but if he came to any other than the Canopic mouth of the Nile, he was obliged to swear it was entirely accidental, and was compelled to go thither in the same vessel; or, if contrary winds prevented his making that passage, his goods were taken out and conveyed in boats of the country by inland navigation, through or round the Delta to Naucratis.'

'Many other marks of favour and liberality were bestowed by Amasis on the Greeks. When the temple of Delphi was consumed by fire, he presented the Delphians with a very large contribution towards rebuilding it; and, having made an amicable confederacy with the Cyrenians, he sent a golden statue of Minerva, with a portrait of himself, to their city. To a temple of that goddess at Lindus he gave two marble statues, with a linen corslet, deserving of admiration:' and a thorax of the same materials was dedicated by him to the Minerva of Rhodes, which, according to Pliny, was of remarkably fine texture.[2] He also presented two figures of himself, carved in wood, to the temple of Juno at Samos; which were placed immediately behind the gates, where they remained till the time of Herodotus.[3]

'The kindness shown by Amasis to Samos was owing,' says

[1] Herodot. ii. 178.

[2] 'CCCLXV filis singula fila constare.' (Plin. xix. 2.)

[3] Herodot. ii. 182.

the historian, 'to the friendship which subsisted between him and Polycrates, the son of Æaces; but he had no such motive of attachment to Lindus, and was only moved by the report of the temple of Minerva having been erected there by the daughters of Danaus, when they fled from the sons of Ægyptus;' and his affection for the Cyrenians, according to the same author,[1] arose from his having married Ladice, a native of that country, who was afterwards sent back by Cambyses to her parents, when he conquered Egypt.

The friendship of Amasis and Polycrates commenced at the period of the war between the Lacedæmonians and the latter, who had forcibly possessed himself of Samos. It had been cemented by various presents on both sides, and appeared to promise a long continuance; 'but the wonderful prosperity and uninterrupted successes of Polycrates excited the attention and anxiety of Amasis; and as they were observed by him invariably to increase, he was induced to write him the following letter:—

'"*Amasis to Polycrates.*

'"To learn that a friend and ally is blessed with prosperity, cannot fail to give me the greatest satisfaction; but, knowing the invidiousness of fortune, your extraordinary success excites my apprehension. For my own part, if I might be allowed to choose for myself or those I regard, I should prefer prosperity on some occasions, and on others disappointment; and thus pass through life with an alternation of good and evil, rather than be fortunate in every undertaking. For I never remember to have heard of a man blessed with unceasing felicity, who did not end his career overwhelmed with calamities. Take, therefore, my advice, and apply this counterpoise to your prosperity; endeavour to discover some favourite object whose loss would occasion you the deepest regret; and as soon as this has been ascertained, remove it from you in such a manner that it can never be recovered. If then your good fortune still continues unchequered by adversity, I strongly recommend you to repeat the remedy I propose."'[2]

Polycrates, having received his letter and deliberated on its contents, felt persuaded that Amasis had given him excellent

[1] Herodot. ii. 181.

[2] Ibid. iii. 40.

advice, and therefore determined to follow it. Accordingly he searched among his treasures for something whose loss would most afflict him, and at length fixed upon a signet-ring which he was in the habit of wearing. It was an emerald, set in gold, the work of Theodorus the Samian, beautifully engraved.[1] Resolved on sacrificing this precious jewel, he went on board a fifty-oared vessel, and ordered the men to pull out into the open sea; and when they were a considerable distance from land, Polycrates, taking off the ring, in the presence of his attendants, cast it into the sea, and then gave orders for their return to Samos.

The sacrifice he had made, though voluntary, afflicted him much; and, returning to his palace, he gave way to an excess of grief. Five or six days after, a fisherman having caught a fish of very great size and beauty, repaired to the palace, and requesting admission into his presence, presented it to Polycrates in these words: 'Although, Sire, I live by the produce of my industry, I thought so fine a fish ought not to be exposed for sale in the public market-place; and deeming it worthy of your majesty's table, I have brought it for your acceptance.' Pleased with his conduct, Polycrates replied, 'My good man, not only is your present, but the manner in which you have expressed yourself, highly gratifying to me; and I invite you to supper at the palace.'[2] The fisherman, delighted with this mark of favour, returned home.

Shortly after, the servants, on opening the fish, discovered the ring, and with great eagerness and joy carried it to the king, relating in what manner it had been found. Polycrates, concluding that such a circumstance could only be the effect of Divine interposition, carefully noted down every particular, and sent it to Egypt. Amasis no sooner perused his letter, than he felt convinced it was out of the power of one mortal to deliver another from the fate which awaited him; and that Polycrates, who had been so uniformly lucky, and who had even re-

[1] The word *σφρηγίς* answers exactly to the Khâtom of the Arabs; a ring with an engraved stone, or entirely of gold, with a name or device cut upon it. Pliny and Solinus say the ring of Polycrates was a sardonyx; and the former adds, that in his time they showed one at Rome, in the Temple of Concord, given by Augustus, which was said to be of the Samian king. Clement of Alexandria, Pædagog. lib. iii. p. 106, supposes a lyre was figured upon it. The Arabs have the story of Polycrates's ring, but they omit his name, and the reason of its loss; relating that it fell into the sea by accident. (*Vide* Plin. xxxvii. 2, and Solin. c. xxxiii. p. 63.)

[2] It is not necessary that the fisherman should have eaten at the same table as his royal host. Herodotus (iii. 42) uses the expression, 'I invite you to supper,' *σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέομεν*. Many persons are invited to sup at the house of a great man in the East, without sitting at table with him.

covered what he had taken pains to lose, could not terminate his days in tranquillity. He therefore sent a herald to Samos, disclaiming all connection with him for the future, in order that, when any grievous calamity befell Polycrates, he might not have to bewail the misfortunes of a friend.

Such is the account given by Herodotus of Amasis's desertion of Polycrates; which took place previous to the difficulties he experienced from the disaffection of his subjects and the intervention of the Lacedæmonians, and some time before his cruel murder by the treacherous Orœtes.[1] Diodorus,[2] however, assigns a different reason for the conduct of Amasis. He affirms that the Egyptian monarch was offended with the tyrannical conduct of Polycrates, and foresaw, from the feeling excited against him, both amongst his subjects and foreigners, that his fate was inevitable; and, indeed, the flight of many Samians to Crete,[3] and numerous instances of their discontent and of his oppression, are recorded by Herodotus and many ancient writers.[4]

Polycrates has been represented as a great encourager of learning, and the patron of eminent men, spending great part of his time in the company of persons of talent, among whom were Anacreon and Pythagoras. And his friendship with Amasis enabled him to recommend the latter to that monarch,[5] when he visited Egypt, and to obtain for him those facilities in studying the mysterious sciences and profound secrets of the Egyptians, which few foreigners were permitted to enjoy. Some,[6] however, deny that his journey was undertaken at the suggestion, or even with the approbation, of Polycrates; and affirm, on the contrary, that Pythagoras abandoned his native country, being unable to endure the tyranny of his sovereign.

Solon also visited Egypt during the reign of Amasis;[7] and

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[1] Herodot. iii. 125. Valer. Max. calls him Orontes. vi. 9.

[2] Diod. i. 95.

[3] Herodot. iii. 44.

[4] Valer. Max. vi. 9. Plin. xxxvii. 2. Diogenes, Porphyry, Gellius, Eusebius, Diodorus, &c.

[5] Pliny says the name of the king who reigned in Egypt when Pythagoras visited it was Semnepserteus. Can this have been corrupted from Neit-se, or Se-Neit, 'the Son of Neith,' which was the cognomen of Amasis, Ames-Neit-se, or Ames-se-Neit? It rather resembles the name Sen-Osiri. (Plin. xxxvi. 14.) Another reading gives Semneserteus, perhaps mistaken for, or corrupted from, the name of Psammenitus, the son of Amasis.

[6] The authors mentioned in a preceding note.

[7] Herodot. i. 30. Thales is said, by Plutarch, in his Banquet of the Seven Sages, to have been in Egypt in the reign of Amasis; and he mentions the improbable story of his showing the Egyptians how to measure the height of the pyramid by its shadow.

being much pleased with the laws of the Egyptians, which, through the liberality of the king, he had every facility of studying, he introduced many of them into the code established by him at Athens.

That Amasis was a great encourager of art, we have ample testimony from the monuments which remain, as well as from the statements of ancient writers; and being a native of Saïs, or, as Herodotus affirms, of Siuph, in the Saïte nome, his attention, as is reasonable to suppose, was directed more particularly toward the embellishment of that city. With this view he erected at Saïs a magnificent propylæum in honour of Minerva, —a splendid building, far excelling any other of the kind, as well in size and grandeur as in the quality and magnitude of the stones used in its construction; and before it were placed several large colossi, with a series of immense androsphinxes, which formed the avenue or dromos leading to the main entrance. The propylæum was a large court, open in the centre, and surrounded in the inside by rows of columns, with the usual pyramidal towers in front, forming one of the approaches to the temple of Minerva, in the same manner as the propylæa attached to the temples at Thebes constitute the entrance-halls of those edifices.[1] Portions of the same building which had been erected by his predecessors, requiring some repairs, Amasis collected for this purpose a quantity of stones of amazing thickness, part of which were brought from the quarries of Memphis,[2] and part from the cataracts of Syene. 'But what, in my opinion,' says Herodotus, 'deserves the greatest admiration is an edifice of a single stone, brought from the city of Elephantine, a distance of about twenty days' journey.[3] Two thousand men, chosen from the class of boatmen, were employed for the space of three years in transporting it to Saïs. Its external length is twenty-one cubits, its breadth fourteen, and height eight: and in the inside it measures eighteen cubits and twenty digits in length, twelve in breadth, and five in height. It stands near the entrance of the temple; and the reason of its being left in this

[1] At Karnak, in Thebes, are some instances of the avenues of sphinxes; they only differ in being criosphinxes, or surmounted with the head of a ram instead of a man.

[2] Herodotus means the mountains opposite Memphis, of the Troici lapidis mons, which he mentions in the same manner on another occasion, when speaking of the canal to the Red Sea. (Lib. ii. s. 158.) Inscriptions recording the opening of the quarries there are known to have been found.—S. B.

[3] From Elephantine or E'Sooan, where the granite quarries may still be seen, to Saïs, is about 700 miles by land. It must have crossed the river once at least.

spot was that the architect, wearied with the tedious duration of the undertaking, had been heard to fetch a deep sigh while they were employed in dragging it forward; upon which Amasis, who happened to be present, gave orders they should stop, and carry it no farther. Some, however, affirm that one of the men while moving it with a lever was crushed to death, and that on this account they were ordered to desist.

'Amasis made many and magnificent presents to other temples, both in Upper and Lower Egypt. At Memphis, he placed a colossal recumbent figure, seventy-five feet long, before[1] the temple of Vulcan; and on the same basement two other colossi of Ethiopic stones, or granite, each twenty feet in height, one on either side of the principal part[2] of the building. There is at Saïs another statue similar to that of Memphis, and lying in the same position:[3] and this prince erected the grand temple of Isis at Memphis, which deservedly claims universal admiration.'

Many monuments still exist in different parts of Egypt, bearing the name of Amasis, one of which, a red granite monolith, at Tel-et-mai, resembles in form[4] that described by Herodotus as having been brought from Elephantine to Saïs. Thebes and other places also present memorials of the encouragement he gave to architecture and other branches of art; and at the quarries of Syene several inscriptions indicate the removal of granite blocks for the construction or decoration of edifices raised by him in the valley of the Nile.

Pliny[5] affirms that some imagined him to have been buried in the celebrated Sphinx:[6] but this erroneous notion arose from the similarity of the names, Amosis and Thothmosis,[7] and readily obtains that indulgence which cannot be extended to an assertion of Lucan, burying Amasis in the pyramids them-

[1] Strabo says, 'Before the dromos of the temple lies a colossus of a single stone; and in this dromos are held the bull-fights' (lib. xvii.).

[2] Probably by the *μέγαρον* Herodotus means the temple, properly speaking, independent of the outer court; or the isolated sanctuary in the centre of the temple, which was independent of the inner adytum, as at Luqsor, and the smaller temple of Medeenet Haboo at Thebes.

[3] They were very uncommon in Egypt.

[4] I am indebted to Mr. Burton for its dimensions, which are 21ft. 9in. high, 13ft. broad, and 11ft. 7in. deep, outside; and 19ft. 3in., 8ft., and 8ft. 3 in. inside.

[5] Plin. xxxvi. 17.

[6] The Sphinx is, from recent discoveries, supposed to be as old as the 4th Dynasty. (De Rougé, 'Six premières Dynasties,' pp. 46–50.) The first representation of a sphinx is, however, not older than the 18th Dynasty.

[7] This is still more striking when we consider that A, Aah, or Ioh, the moon, and Thoth, are the same deity; and that Amosis, the leader of the 18th Dynasty, has been called by some Tethmosis. Amosis, or Amasis, are the same; the real name being Ames. Thoth is also the first month.

selves.[1] To Lucan, however, accuracy was never imputed; and no one after reading his extravagant description of the cataracts at Philæ[2] is surprised to find him deposit the remains of the Ptolemies in the same monuments.[3]

The situation of Amasis' tomb is mentioned by Herodotus.[4] It stood, like all those of the Saïte monarchs, within the precincts of the temple of Minerva, in the chief city of that nome; which, during the reign of the princes of the 26th Dynasty, had become the royal residence and nominal metropolis of Egypt; though Thebes and Memphis still retained the titles of capitals of the upper and lower countries.

Towards the latter end of the reign of this monarch, Cambyses sent to Egypt to demand his daughter in marriage; a step to which he had been prompted by a certain Egyptian, an enemy of Amasis. This man was a physician; and when Cyrus had requested of the Egyptian king the best medical advice he could procure, for a disorder in his eyes, Amasis forced him to leave his wife and family and go into Persia. Meditating revenge for this treatment, he instigated his successor to require the daughter of Amasis, that he might either suffer affliction at the loss of his child, or, by refusing to send her, provoke the resentment of Cambyses. Amasis detested the character of the Persian monarch; and persuaded that his treatment of her would neither be honourable nor worthy of a princess, he was unwilling to accept the overture: but fearing to give a positive refusal, he determined on sending the daughter of the late king. Her name was Neitatis, or, as Herodotus calls her, Nitetis. She was possessed of great personal attractions; and Amasis, having dressed her in the most splendid attire, sent her into Persia as his own child. Not long after, Cambyses happening to address her as the daughter of Amasis, she explained the manner in which he had been deceived, by a man who had dethroned and put Apries her father to death, and had seized upon the throne, through the assistance of a rebellious faction: upon which Cambyses was so enraged that he resolved to make war upon the usurper, and immediately prepared to lead an expedition into Egypt.[5]

[1] Lucan, Phars. ix. 155. Diodorus, i. 64, says some attribute the second pyramid to Amasis, the first to Armæus, and the third to Inaron, as well as to Rhodope.

[2] Lucan, lib. x. 315 *et seq.*

[3] Ibid. viii. 696.

[4] The lake mentioned by Herodotus still exists at Saïs (now Sa-el-Hagar), as well as its extensive and solid crude brick walls. (Herodot. ii. 170.)

[5] Other reasons are given by Herodotus, iii. 2. That of Cambyses being born of the daughter of Apries is quite Eastern, and resembles the Persian account of Alexander the Great.

Such is the principal cause alleged by Herodotus for his invasion of that country; but it will not bear the test of examination. Nitetis is represented to have been sent to Persia towards the close of the reign of Amasis, which, according to the historian, lasted forty-four years; and allowing her to have been born immediately before Apries was dethroned, she would have been of an age which in Egypt and Persia is no longer a recommendation, or the associate of beauty.[1]

But whatever may have been the real motive for this war, it is certain that Cambyses was greatly exasperated against Amasis; and Egypt, when invaded by the Persian monarch, was treated with unusual barbarity.[2]

Temples and public buildings were destroyed; tombs were violated, and the bodies burnt; religion was insulted, private property pillaged or destroyed, and everything which could tempt the avarice or reward the labour of the spoiler was seized and appropriated either by the chief or his troops.[3] Gold and silver statues and other objects of value were sent to Persia; and it appears that numerous Egyptian captives were also transported to that country.

The death of Amasis, which happened six months before the arrival of the Persians, prevented Cambyses from satiating his meditated revenge on the Egyptian monarch; and judging from the savage rage which the Persian conqueror vented upon his body it was fortunate for Amasis that he had not fallen alive into his hands, and had died unconscious of what was about to happen.

Many circumstances occurred to induce Cambyses to undertake the invasion of Egypt and the overthrow of Amasis, independent of any insult he may have offered him, or the ambition of a rising empire; one of which is thus detailed by Herodotus:[4]—Among the auxiliaries of Amasis was a man named Phanes, a native of Halicarnassus, greatly distinguished by his mental as well as his military accomplishments. This person being for some reason incensed against Amasis, fled in a vessel from Egypt, for the purpose of having a conference with

[1] [It is more probable that the assistance given by Amasis to Crœsus against Cyrus was the cause of the hatred of Cambyses. —G. W.]

[2] It is remarkable that the officers of the French frigate *Luxor*, who removed the obelisk from Thebes, found the sarcophagus of the queen of Amasis in a pit at El Qoorneh, the body entirely burnt, though placed in its original repository. The tomb had been violated, probably, by the Persians, who burnt the body, and was afterwards reclosed by the Egyptians with masonry. The body had been gilded.

[3] *Vide* Herodot. i. 77; and Xenophon, Cyrop. vi., who says the Egyptian allies amounted to 120,000.

[4] Herodot. iii. 4.

Cambyses. As he possessed considerable influence, and was perfectly acquainted with the affairs of Egypt, it was of paramount importance that his designs should be prevented. Amasis, therefore, despatched the most faithful of his eunuchs in a trireme, with orders to overtake and bring him back. The pursuit was successful, and Phanes was taken in Lycia: but having circumvented his guards, he effected his escape, and fled to Persia. Cambyses readily accepted his services, and listened to the valuable information and advice he gave respecting the affairs of Egypt, and the precautions necessary for passing the desert on the frontier. At his suggestion a treaty was made with the Arabians, to supply the Persians with guides and abundance of water, and thus enable the army to pass a barren and inhospitable tract which would have been fatal to numbers of the invaders: 'and the Arabian prince having ordered all his camels to be laden with skins, filled with water, retired into the desert, and there awaited the arrival of Cambyses and his army.'[1]

At the death of Amasis, Psammenitus,[2] his son, succeeded to the throne. Conscious of the great danger to which his empire was exposed, from the threatened invasion of Cambyses, he made great preparations for the defence of the frontier; and advancing with his Egyptian troops, and the Ionian and Carian auxiliaries, to Pelusium, he encamped in a plain near the mouth of the Nile. The Persians, having passed the desert, took up a position opposite the Egyptian army, and both sides prepared for battle. The Greeks, irritated with the treachery of 'Phanes, who had introduced a foreign invader into Egypt,'[3] and wishing to show their resentment against him, brought his two sons forward into a conspicuous place, and slew them over a large vase in the sight of their father. This being done, they mingled wine and water with the blood; and having all drunk of it they rushed against the enemy. The conflict soon became general throughout the whole line, and the battle was for a long time obstinately disputed; till at length, a considerable slaughter having been made on both sides, the Egyptians gave way, and fled.

From Pelusium to Memphis was now open to the invader, and with rapid marches he hastened towards the ancient capital of Lower Egypt. Hoping, however, to obtain advantageous terms without the necessity of another battle, Cambyses sent a Persian

[1] Herodot. iii. 9. [2] Psammatichus III. [3] Herodot. iii. 11.

up the river in a Mitylenian vessel, to treat with the Egyptians: but as soon as they saw the vessel enter Memphis, they rushed in a crowd from the citadel, destroyed it, and tore the crew to pieces. At the news of this outrage, the indignation of Cambyses was excessive: he immediately laid siege to Memphis, and, having succeeded in reducing the place, he indulged his resentment by putting many of the inhabitants to the sword:[1] the king was taken prisoner, and 2000 Egyptians of the same age as the son of Psammenitus, preceded by the young prince, being compelled to march in procession before the conqueror, were condemned to death as a retaliation for the murder of the Persian and Mitylenian heralds; ten of the first rank among the Egyptians being chosen for every one of those who suffered on that occasion.[2] Psammenitus himself was pardoned; and such was the respect entertained by the Persians for the persons of kings[3] that he would in all probability have been restored to a tributary throne, if he had not entered into an ill-timed conspiracy against the monarch who had spared his life.[4]

Egypt now became a province of Persia; and Cambyses and his seven successors compose the 27th Dynasty.[5]

A visitor to the slate and breccia quarries on the road from Coptos to the Red Sea, has, at a later period, recorded the name of this monarch in hieroglyphics, adding to it the date of his sixth year. Two other ovals also occur: one of Darius, with the

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[1] Diodorus, i. 46, says that at this time numerous artificers and immense wealth were carried off to Persia; and that the palaces and splendid buildings of Persepolis, Susa, and the cities of Media, were erected by them at the command of the victors. The statues of the gods carried off by the Persians are mentioned in the decree of Canopus; some were brought back in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II. about B.C. 238.—S. B.

[2] There were, therefore, 200 Mitylenians in the vessel destroyed at Memphis.

[3] Herodot. iii. 14, 15. 'The Persians,' says the historian, 'are accustomed to honour the sons of kings, and to restore the throne to those whose parents have rebelled against them.' The same feeling is evinced by the Turks and other Asiatics; and respect for the person of a king was strongly marked in the case of Charles XII.

[4] The conduct of Cambyses is described by the sacred scribe and high officer Utaharsun, in the hieroglyphic inscriptions on his statue of black basalt at present in the Vatican. After describing how the Persian monarch had confirmed his appointments, the Egyptian proceeds to say: 'After that, I informed his majesty of the dignity of Saïs, which is the abode of Neith the great mother of Ra (the sun), who is the first born, not begotten but brought forth, also all the information about the greatness of the principal temple of Neith in all its extent,' &c. He then states: 'I made a complaint before his majesty against the people who had established themselves in the temple of Neith, in order that they might be chased out, so that the temple of Neith should be re-established in all its rights, as it was before. His majesty ordered all who had established themselves to be chased out, and all their houses to be destroyed.' Subsequently Cambyses ordered the great sacrifices to be renewed, and the festivals to be celebrated as formerly, and himself made offerings in the temple. (De Rougé, 'La Statuette Naophore,' in the Revue Archéologique, vol. iii. 1851.)—S. B.

[5] See Table, p. 133.

27th Dynasty, of Persian Kings.

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Monumental Date.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
				B.C.
Cambyses .	Kanbutha .	6 years .	Conquers Egypt in his 4th year	525[1]
Darius, son of Hystaspes	Ntareeusha Ndareush .	36 years .	Battle of Marathon, 490; Egypt revolts, 486 .	521
Xerxes the Great . .	Khsheersha .	12 years .	Xerxes reconquers Egypt 484; birth of Herodotus	485
Artabanus .	. . . .	. . . .	Artabanus reigns 7 months	472
Artaxerxes .	Artkhshashas	36 years .	Egypt revolts, and Inarus and Amyrtæus are elected kings, 463; Herodotus visits Egypt, 460 .	472
Xerxes II. .	. . . .	. . . .	Reigns 2 months . .	425
Sogdianus .	. . . .	. . . .	Reigns 7 months . .	425
Darius Nothus, the son of Xerxes .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . . .	424 to 414

number 36; the other of Xerxes, with the year 12, showing the inscription to have been written in the twelfth of Xerxes; and the date 36, intended as the full extent of Darius's reign, accords with the authority of ancient history. On another rock, at the same place, are the twelfth year of Xerxes, and the fifth and sixteenth of Artaxerxes (Longimanus); and these four are the only monarchs of the 27th Dynasty whose names I have seen in Egypt.[2] In the principal temple at El Khargeh, in the Great Oasis, that of Darius again occurs, a considerable portion of the building having been erected by him; and it is remarkable that he is the only Persian king whose phonetic name is accompanied by a prenomen, like those of the ancient Pharaohs of Egypt: a circumstance satisfactorily confirming the remark of Diodorus, 'that he obtained while living the appellation of Divus,[3] which was applied to no other of the (Persian) kings, and received after death the same honours which it had been customary to bestow upon the ancient sovereigns of the country.'

The rule of Darius was mild and equitable;[4] and he was not

[1] At present the date of the conquest of Egypt has been raised two years, to B.C. 527.—S. B.

[2] The recent journey of the Grand Duke of Oldenburg, accompanied by Captain Philippsborn and Brugsch-Bey, to the temple of the oasis, has discovered the names of Darius Hystaspes and another on the site. They had different prenomens. (H. Brugsch, 'Ueber die Oase Khargeh,' Zeitschrift f. ägypt. Spr. 1875, p. 51.)—S. B.

[3] The title 'Good God,' *neter nefer*, was given by the Egyptians to the Pharaohs.

[4] Diodor. i. 25. Utaharsun states on his statue that Darius ordered him to go to Egypt when Darius was in Aram or Elam, and appointed him a kind of nomarch, with orders to restore to the temple of Neith at Saïs all its rights and dues. (De Rougé, Rev. Arch. *loc. cit.*)

only careful to avoid everything that might offend the religious prejudices, or hurt the feelings, of his foreign subjects; but having made diligent inquiry respecting the jurisprudence and constitution of the Egyptians, he corrected some abuses, and introduced many salutary laws, which continued to form part of their code, until, in common with many of those enacted by his Pharaonic predecessors, they were altered or abrogated by the Ptolemies, after the Macedonian conquest.[1]

Impatient, however, of foreign rule, and anxious to free their country from the presence of a people whose cruelties at the time of Cambyses' invasion they could never pardon or forget, the Egyptians, thinking the reverses of Persia during the Greek war offered a favourable opportunity for throwing off the yoke, revolted towards the close of Darius's reign,[2] and succeeded in expelling the Persians from the whole valley of the Nile. For upwards of a year they continued in open rebellion, and defied the power of his successor; but in the second year of Xerxes they were again subdued, and treated with increased severity, Achæmenes, the brother of the king, being appointed governor of the country.

Affairs remained in this state one-and-twenty years, until the death of Xerxes, when considerable confusion took place in Persia; which being augmented by the intrigues of Artabanus,[3] and the rebellion of Bactria, afforded the Egyptians another opportunity for asserting their independence; and prevailing on the Athenians to assist them with a fleet of forty sail, they attacked and overwhelmed the Persian garrisons. Upon intelligence of this, an army of 400,000 foot and a fleet of 200 sail[4] were equipped by Artaxerxes, and placed under the command of Achæmenes. Inarus the son of Psammatichus, a native of Libya, and Amyrtæus[5] of Saïs, who had been invested with sovereign power and were charged with the defence of the country, made every effort to resist him; and the two armies having met, the Persians were defeated with the loss of 100,000 men, and

[1] Diodor. *loc. cit.*

[2] Herodotus (vii. 1, 7) says Darius reigned 36 years, and that the revolt of the Egyptians took place in the fourth year after the battle of Marathon, the year before his death.

[3] Ctesias, in Pers., calls him Artapanus, and makes Achæmenes a brother of Artaxerxes.

[4] Ctesias, Persica, s. 32, says 80 ships. Diodorus considers Achæmenes the son of Darius (lib. xi.).

[5] Ctesias, Pers. s. 32, only says, 'Inarus the Lydian and another Egyptian.' Thucydides (lib. i.) and other authors mention Amyrtæus. Some consider Inarus a Libyan; and Thucydides styles him 'king' of that country.

Achæmenes received a mortal wound from the hand of Inarus, of which he died.

Enraged at the failure of an expedition which he had undertaken contrary to the advice of his friends,[1] Artaxerxes resolved on sending an overwhelming force, under the combined command of Megabyzus and Artabazus, consisting of 200,000 men and a fleet of 300 sail, independent of the remnant of the former army, which swelled the amount to 500,000. Both armies fought valiantly, and many were slain on either side; at length Megabyzus having wounded Inarus in the thigh, obliged him to leave the field, and the route became general. Inarus, with a body of Greek auxiliaries, having taken refuge in Byblus, which was strongly fortified, obtained for himself and companions a promise of pardon from Megabyzus, upon condition of their surrendering themselves to the Persian monarch; but the remembrance of the death of Achæmenes overcame the regard he owed to the promise of his general, and Inarus, by the command of Artaxerxes, was treacherously crucified. Amyrtæus was more fortunate: he escaped to the Isle of Elbo, and, remaining concealed there, awaited better times; the Persian troops again taking possession of the fortified towns, and Sarsamas being appointed satrap or governor of Egypt.

No attempts to throw off the Persian yoke were made by the Egyptians during the remainder of this reign; and though the Athenians sent them a fleet of sixty sail,[2] in the fifteenth year of Artaxerxes, and some hopes were entertained of restoring Amyrtæus to the throne, these projects were abandoned, and the Persians continued in undisturbed possession of the country till the tenth year of Darius Nothus.

Perceiving that the Egyptians bore with great reluctance the presence of a foreign governor, and anxious to allay as much as possible the turbulent spirit and prejudices of that people, the Persians had permitted Thannyras the son of Inarus, and Pausiris the son of Amyrtæus,[3] to hold the office and nominal power of governors, or tributary kings; but nothing could conciliate the Egyptians. They beheld their fortified towns garrisoned by Persian troops; the degradation of paying tribute to a people they detested was insupportable; and nothing but the restoration of an independent monarch could satisfy them.

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[1] Ctesias, in Pers. s. 32.

[2] Thucyd. lib. i. The same sixty ships are mentioned by Plutarch in his Life of Cimon, as having been sent by him to the coast of Egypt.

[3] Herodot. iii. 15. This must have happened previous to the year 445, since Herodotus had then completed his history.

They therefore made secret preparations for expelling the Persians; and Amyrtæus being invited to put himself at their head, advanced from his place of concealment, routed the Persians, and finally succeeded in obtaining possession of Memphis and the whole country.

Amyrtæus now became independent master of Egypt; and he is stated in Manetho's list to have been the only monarch of the 28th Dynasty. His reign continued six years, during which period he laboured to repair the many losses sustained by his country from the hostile aggressions of Persia. Numerous restorations were made to the temples of Thebes and other cities, many of which had suffered from the sacrilegious fury of Cambyses. In order still further to weaken their power, and to remove the Persians to a distance from his territories, he engaged the Arabians, by a treaty, to assist him, and advanced into Phœnicia. His conquests, however, in that quarter, were not extensive, and his efforts were chiefly confined to the defence of his own frontier.

According to Manetho, he was succeeded by Nepherites,[1] the first king of the 29th Dynasty: though Diodorus mentions another, called Psammatichus, descended from the first of that name, whom he supposes to have preceded Nepherites or Nephreus; but it is uncertain whether he really ruled at this time, or whether he was confounded by the historian with the father of Inarus.[2]

Of the character of Psammatichus, Diodorus draws a very unfavourable picture,[3] representing him to have been guilty of an act of cruelty and meanness unequalled in the history of his country. Tamus, a Memphite by birth, had been appointed by the Persians prefect of Ionia; and having held that post some time, he was obliged to leave his province, in order to avoid the resentment of Tissaphernes, and fly to his own country. Feeling persuaded he had nothing to fear from Psammatichus, whom he had formerly obliged by many friendly offices, he scrupled not to take with him all his riches, and to confide in the protection of the Egyptian monarch; but no sooner had Psammatichus become acquainted with this circumstance, than, regardless of the laws of humanity and of the indulgence he owed to a friend, he perfidiously seized his treasures, and deprived him of life.

For the name[4] of this Psammatichus it is needless to look on

[1] His Egyptian name is Naifaurut; it occurs on some monuments at Thebes, and on a clay seal in the British Museum.—S. B.

[2] Herod. vii. 7.

[3] Diodor. lib. xiv.

[4] Manetho makes no mention of this Psammatichus.

Egyptian monuments; nor do the sculptures of Inarus appear on any of the temples at Thebes, or in the lower country: and Manetho omits the mention of Inarus[1] in his catalogue of kings. But that he was an independent, though not the sole, monarch of Egypt, during the short period which elapsed between the commencement of their second revolt and the victory of Megabyzus, is proved by the authority of several ancient historians; and as the unsettled state of affairs during the whole of his reign, and the preparations required in order to resist the expected attack of the Persians, deprived the Egyptians of that tranquillity necessary for the encouragement of art, the absence of monuments bearing the name of Inarus is readily accounted for. By some writers he is supposed to have been a king of Libya, by others an individual of Libyan origin; but as Libya was included within the dominions of Egypt, it appears more probable that he was the rightful heir to the throne, and had taken refuge there to avoid the tyranny of the Persians, and await an opportunity, which afterwards offered, of liberating his country from a foreign yoke. And the fact of his being a native of Egypt is still further confirmed by the name of his father, Psammatichus, which is purely Egyptian.

The 28th and 29th Dynasties, according to Manetho and the monuments, are as follow:—

28th Dynasty, of 1 *Saïte King.*

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
Amyrteus . . / Amyrtæus . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	B.C. 414

29th Dynasty, of Mendesian Kings.

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
Nepherites . . / Nephreus of Diodorus . .	Naifaurut . .	. . . . .	B.C. 408
Achoris . . / Acoris . .	Hakor . .	Death of Cyrus the younger, 401	402
Psammouthis . .	Pse-maut . .	. . . . .	389
Nepherites . .	Not met with on the monuments .	. . . . .	388
Mouthis . .			388

[1] Diodorus omits Amyrtæus.

Few monuments of this period occur in Egypt. The arts, which had long been on the decline, received a severe blow from the Persian invasion; and many of the finest buildings were mutilated or destroyed. Numerous artificers were sent to Persia, and, with the encouragement required for the very existence of art, Egypt had lost the skill for which she was once so conspicuous. Of Nepherites the phonetic name once occurs amidst the ruins of Thebes; and if some additions were made by his two successors to the temples[1] there and in Lower Egypt,[2] the style of the sculpture, like the scale of their monuments, was degraded, and unworthy of a Pharaonic era. Egypt, however, free from a foreign yoke, enjoyed that tranquillity which had been so long denied, and Nepherites was even enabled to join in active hostilities against the enemies of his country. He therefore entered into a confederacy with the Lacedæmonians, and sent a fleet of 100 ships to their aid, with a supply of corn for their army: though this last fell into the hands of the enemy, in consequence of the transports putting into Rhodes, which had lately submitted to the Persians.

Achôris, who succeeded Nepherites, reigned thirteen years. He made a treaty with Euagoras, king of Cyprus, against the Persians, and endeavoured, by every means in his power, to weaken the strength and thwart the schemes of his adversary; and the defection of Gaus, the son of Tamus,[3] who had been for some time commander of the Persian fleet, and now, abandoning their service, had entered into a league with Achôris and the Lacedæmonians, added to the intrigues of Orontes, so embarrassed the affairs of Artaxerxes, that Egypt was enabled to enjoy perfect security, and to defy his threatened projects of invasion.

Nothing of consequence transpired during the reign of Psammouthis, which lasted only one year. Of the short period occupied by his two successors, Nepherites II. and Mouthis, little can be learned either from the monuments or from the accounts of ancient writers, but that the Persians, intent upon the recovery of a country they had long possessed, prepared to make a descent upon Egypt, which was attempted without success in the reign of the succeeding monarch.

Mouthis was the last of the 29th or Mendesian Dynasty; and

[1] The name of Acoris occurs in the temple of Medeenet Haboo.

[2] During his reign many stones were taken from the quarries of the Troici lapidis Mons, opposite Memphis, probably for the erection of buildings in that city.

[3] Diodor. xv. c. 9, 18.

the 30th was composed, according to Manetho, of three kings from Sebennytus.

30th Dynasty, of Sebennyte Kings.

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Ascended the Throne.
Nectanebes . . } Nectabis of Pliny . }	Nakhtharheb .	. . . . .	B.C. 387
Teos . . . } Tachos of Diodorus }	. . . . .	. . . . .	369
Nectanebes . . } Nectanabis of Plutarch . . }	Nakhtnebef .	{Defeated by the Persians, and flies to Ethiopia, B.C. 340 . }	362 to 340

In the commencement of Nectanebo's reign, the Persian monarch equipped a formidable expedition, by land and sea, and sent it to Egypt under the command of Pharnabazus and Iphicrates. He confidently expected that so imposing a force would speedily reduce the strongholds, and firmly establish his authority throughout the country; but the jealousy of the two commanders prevented that union which was necessary to insure success. Pelusium was found to be impregnable, and all the fortified towns had been put into a proper state of defence. Pharnabazus, therefore, despairing of making any impression upon them, advanced into the interior; but being opposed by the Egyptian king with a considerable force, and, in consequence of the want of boats, being constantly impeded in his movements by the various channels of the rising Nile, he was obliged to retreat, and relinquish the hope of driving Nectanebo from his throne, and of subjecting his country to the yoke of Persia.

The Egyptian monarch, now free from the dread of foreign aggression, directed his attention towards the internal administration of affairs and the encouragement of art. Many temples in various parts of the country, from Philæ to the sea-coast, were repaired or enlarged; a fine obelisk was cut, and transported from the quarries of Syene:[1] and the name of Nectanebo still occurs in Upper and Lower Egypt, as a lasting testimony of his munificence in the erection of public buildings. If he was censured, in a dream, by the god Mars, for allowing his temple at Sebennytus to remain unrepaired during the early part of his

[1] Pliny says it was without hieroglyphics. He calls him Nectabis.

reign, he made ample amends for this unintentional neglect by the manner in which the commands of the deity were obeyed, the building being restored with great splendour; and this circumstance, unnoticed by any ancient writer, is recorded in a curious Greek papyrus, which chance has preserved and modern researches have discovered in an Egyptian tomb.[1]

Nectanebo, after a reign of eighteen years, was succeeded by Teos or Tachos. He had scarcely ascended the throne when he was alarmed by the warlike preparations of the Persian monarch, who threatened once more to invade his country. He therefore applied to Sparta for assistance; and Agesilaus, eager to assist a nation which had previously befriended the Lacedæmonians, repaired himself to Egypt with a strong force of Greek auxiliaries.

On the arrival of the Spartan prince, Tachos, whose expectations had been raised by his high military reputation, and who looked for a person of striking exterior, was greatly disappointed by the appearance of a little old man, whose figure and habits seemed contemptible, and unworthy of a king. Treating him, therefore, with scorn and disrespect, he refused him the post of generalissimo which had been promised; and reserving it for himself, appointed Agesilaus to the command of the auxiliaries, and entrusted the fleet to Chabrias the Athenian. Nor did he regard the counsels of the Spartan general relative to the movements of the army; and, contrary to his advice, led his troops in person into Phœnicia, committing the whole direction of affairs at home to the hands of a viceroy. He had no sooner quitted the country than Nectanebo, his uncle, aided by one of his principal generals, conspired against him:[2] and Agesilaus, partly from resentment at his previous conduct, and partly from an interested motive, having basely deserted him, the Egyptian monarch was obliged to fly to Sidon. Mendesius,[3] however, whom Tachos had designed as his successor, resolved on opposing the usurper, and marched to attack him with an army of 100,000 men. In number they were very superior to the troops of Nectanebo, but, being composed principally of townsmen and artificers, were inferior in military skill: and being opposed by the experience of Agesilaus,

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[1] From a Greek papyrus of the Anastasi collection at Paris.—S. B.

[2] According to Plutarch. This is differently related by Diodorus; who says that, instigated by the viceroy he had left, his son Nectanebo conspired against him, and was defeated by Agesilaus, who thus restored Tachos to the throne.

[3] Or the Mendesian chief of the town of Mendes.—S. B.

they were routed at the first onset; and thus, through the Spartan general, Nectanebo obtained undisputed possession of the Egyptian throne.[1]

On the death of Artaxerxes Mnemon, which happened about the second year of Nectanebo II.,[2] Ochus or Artaxerxes III. ascended the throne of Persia.

During his reign, the Sidonians and Phœnicians having revolted from the Persians, entered into a confederacy with the Egyptians, and, assisted by 4000 Greeks, sent by Nectanebo under Mentor the Rhodian, succeeded in expelling the Persians from their territories. This event seemed to have removed the enemy, and every prospect of an attack, to a convenient distance from the frontier, and the Egyptian monarch felt secure against their aggressions. Shortly after, a formidable army, led by Ochus in person, having reduced all Phœnicia, and Mentor treacherously deserting to the enemy, the affairs of Nectanebo began to wear an alarming aspect, and Egypt was itself invaded. Every precaution which skill or courage could suggest was taken by the Egyptian monarch: the passes were well guarded; all the fortified towns were strongly garrisoned; and, though inferior in numbers, his troops, both natives and Greek auxiliaries, were animated with that enthusiasm which valour, confidence, and a good cause can alone impart. The soldiers were eager to meet the enemy, and boldly rushed to battle. The fight was obstinate; but numbers prevailed. After a severe contest, the Persians were victorious; and Nectanebo, having abandoned his positions, in order to retire upon and secure Memphis, his army became dispirited, Pelusium surrendered, and resistance was no longer offered to the arms of Ochus. Flying, therefore, from Memphis, Nectanebo retired into Upper Egypt, and at length withdrew to Ethiopia; the Delta and all Lower Egypt falling a prey to the conqueror, who finally succeeded in reducing the whole country, about the year 340, in the 21st of his reign.[3]

During the previous occupation of Egypt by the Persian troops, the inhabitants had been exposed to cruel persecutions. They were now doomed to greater sufferings. If Cambyses had

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[1] Agesilaus received 220 talents from Nectanebo, for his aid in obtaining the kingdom. According to the same author, Chabrias was recalled by the Athenians, in consequence of a representation made to them by the Persian monarch. He calls Tachus Thamus, and, in another place, Thacus (Cornelius Nepos, Agesilaus and Chabrias.)

[2] Diodorus only allows 43 years for the reign of Artaxerxes II.

[3] From a sepulchral figure recently found, Nectanebo seems to have been buried at Memphis. (Mariette - Bey, 'Monuments divers,' 1872, pl. 32.)

committed unheard-of enormities; if he had derided the religion and insulted the deities of Egypt; if he had ordered the bull Apis to be brought before him, and had stabbed it with his dagger,[1]—had been guilty of every species of oppression,—these were trifling compared with the enormities of Ochus. Wanton injustice, murders, profanation of religious rites, and continual persecutions, seemed to delight him. The sacred Apis was slain, and served up at a banquet, of which Ochus and his friends partook; and all Egypt groaned under the tyranny of this inhuman despot. Two years, however, fortunately relieved them from his caprices; and the Egyptians, to show their abhorrence for him and their hatred of his name, substituted for it the representation of a sword, the emblem of destruction, in their catalogue of kings.[2]

Ochus and his two successors constituted the 31st Dynasty of Manetho: during which period nothing happened worthy of notice; and the invasion of the Macedonians in the year 332 put an end to the dominion of the Persians in Egypt.

31st Dynasty, of Persians.

Name from Ancient Authors.	Name from the Monuments.	Events.	Began to reign.
Ochus (or Artaxerxes III.)	Not met with on the monuments.	In his 20th year. Death of Philip, 338	B.C. 340
Arses			338
Darius Codomanus		Alexander makes himself master of Egypt, 332; dies, 323: Ptolemy Lagus becomes governor and king of Egypt, 322–305	336

The arrival of Alexander was greeted with universal satisfaction. Their hatred of the Persians, and their frequent alliances with the Greeks, who had fought under the same banners against a common enemy, naturally taught the Egyptians to welcome the Macedonian army with the strongest demonstrations of friendship, and to consider their coming as a direct interposition of the gods; and so wise and conciliatory was the conduct of the early Ptolemies, that they almost ceased to regret the period when they were governed by native princes.

To detail the events of the Ptolemaic history is not my

[1] Herodot. iii. 29. [2] Plut. de Iside et Osiride, s. ii.

present intention, nor is it necessary to introduce any account of their reigns in a work which purposes to relate solely the history and manners of the *ancient* Egyptians; but if the reader is desirous of consulting a chronological notice of those princes, I refer him to that work [1] from which I have taken the dynasties inserted in the preceding pages.

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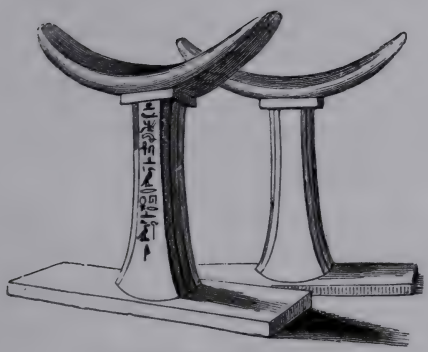
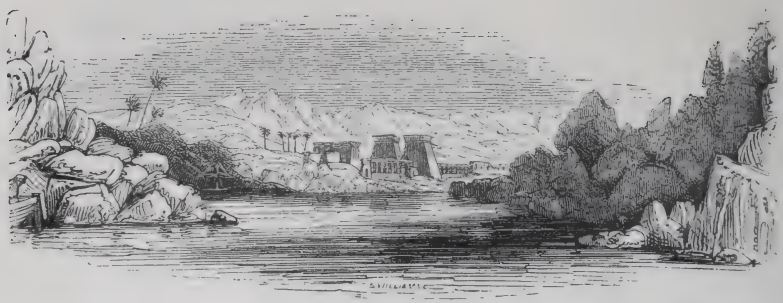
[1] My 'Egypt and Thebes,' pp. 508 *et seq*



No. 5. Alabaster pillow for the head. *Alnwick Museum.*



VIGNETTE C.—View of the ruins and vicinity of Philæ.

CHAPTER III.

Extent of the Country—Revenue and Commerce—Seaports—The Castes of the Egyptians—The Sacerdotal Order—Kings—First Caste—The Priests—Second Caste—Military Class—Troops—Auxiliaries—Arms—The Enemies and Conquests of the Egyptians—March to War—Their Humanity—Triumph—Captives—Military Laws and Punishments—Other Members of the Second Caste—Third Caste—Fourth Caste—Laws and Government—The Kings—Judges—Laws—Passports—Murder—Right of Fathers—Minor Offences—Theft—Debt—Deeds—Marriages—Slaves—Children—Respect for Old Age, and for their Kings—Gratitude of the Egyptians—Uniformity of their Laws—Different Lawgivers—Governors of Provinces.

EGYPT, properly so called, is that portion of the valley of the Nile lying between latitude 24° 3′ and 31° 37′, or between the island of Philæ at the cataracts of E'Sooan [1] and the Mediterranean Sea.[2] With the exception of the northern part about the Delta, its breadth is very limited; and the cultivated, and consequently inhabited portion, is frequently confined to less than half the distance between the eastern and Libyan chains. The average breadth of the valley from one mountain range to the other, between Cairo in Lower and Edfoo in Upper Egypt, is only about seven miles; and that of the cultivable land, whose limits depend on the inundation, scarcely exceeds five and a half, being in the widest part ten and three quarters, and in the narrowest two miles, including the river.[3]

The extent in square miles of the northernmost district between

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[1] According to the Oracle of Ammon, all those who drank the water of the Nile and lived to the north of Elephantine were Egyptians. (Herodot. ii. 18.)

[2] At Cape Boorlos.

[3] That is, in Middle Egypt, and to the north of Edfoo; between which town and E'Sooan the valley is so narrow that in some places there is scarcely any soil on either side of the river, so that this part does not enter into the general average I have given.

the pyramids and the sea is considerable, and that of the Delta alone, which forms a portion of it, may be estimated at 1976 square miles; for though it is very narrow about its apex, at the junction of the modern Rosetta and Damietta branches, it gradually widens on approaching the coast, where the base of this somewhat irregular triangle is eighty-one miles. And as much irrigated land stretches on either side E. and W. of the two branches, the northern district, with the intermediate Delta included, will be found to contain about 4500 square miles, or double the whole arable land of Egypt, which may be computed at 2255 square miles, exclusive of the Fyoom, a small province consisting of about three hundred and forty.

The number of towns and villages reported to have stood on this tract, and in the upper parts of the valley of the Nile, appears almost incredible; and Herodotus affirms that 20,000 populous *cities* existed in Egypt during the reign of Amasis.[1] Diodorus, with more caution and judgment, calculates 18,000 large villages and towns; and states that, under Ptolemy Lagus, they amounted to upwards of 30,000, a number which remained even at the period when he wrote, or about forty-four years before our era. But the population was already greatly reduced, and of the seven millions who once inhabited Egypt, about three[2] only remained in the time of the historian.

Josephus,[3] in the reign of Vespasian,[4] still reckons seven millions and a half in the valley of the Nile, besides the population of Alexandria, which amounted to more than 300,000 souls; and, according to Theocritus,[5] the number of towns at an earlier period was 33,333: we may here, however, include some of the neighbouring provinces belonging to Egypt, as he comprehends Ethiopia, Libya, Syria, Arabia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Caria, and Lycia within the dominions of Ptolemy Philadelphus: and other authors may occasionally have extended the name of Egypt to its possessions in Libya, Ethiopia, and Syria; since, making every allowance for the flourishing condition of this highly fertile country, the number of towns they mention is too disproportionate for the sole valley of Egypt lying between the cataracts and the sea.

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[1] Herodot. ii. 177.

[2] Diod. i. 31. There are two readings of this passage: according to the other, Diodorus reckons 7,000,000, and in his own time a no less number.

[3] De Bello Jud. ii. 16, 4.

[4] Or he may allude to the period when Egypt was conquered by the Romans.

[5] Theocr. Id. xvii. 82.

The produce of the land was doubtless much greater in the earlier periods of its history than at the present day, owing as well to the superior industry of the people as to a better system of government, and sufficed for the support of a very dense population; yet Egypt, if well cultivated, could now maintain many more inhabitants than at any former period, owing to the increased extent of the irrigated land: and if the ancient Egyptians enclosed those portions of the uninundated edge of the desert which were capable of cultivation, the same expedient might still be resorted to; and a larger proportion of soil now overflowed by the rising Nile offers additional advantages. That the irrigated part of the valley was much less extensive than at present, at least wherever the plain stretches to any distance east and west, or to the right and left of the river, is evident from the fact of the alluvial deposit constantly encroaching in a horizontal direction upon the gradual slope of the desert; and as a very perceptible elevation of the river's bed, as well as of the land of Egypt, has always been going on, it requires no argument to prove that a perpendicular rise of the water must cause it to flow to a considerable distance over an open space to the east and west.

Thus the plain of Thebes, in the time of Amenophis III., or about 1430 before our era, was not more than two-thirds of its present breadth; and the statues of that monarch, around which the alluvial mud has accumulated to the height of nearly seven feet, are based on the sand that once extended some distance before them.[1] How erroneous, then, is it to suppose the drifting sands of the encroaching desert[2] threaten the welfare of this country, or have in any way tended to its downfall; and how much more reasonable is it to ascribe the degraded condition to which Egypt is reduced, to causes of a far more baneful nature,—foreign despotism, the insecurity of property, and the effects of that old age, which it is the fate of every country, as well as every individual, to undergo.

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[1] The ancient Egyptians were constantly obliged to raise mounds round the old towns to prevent their being overwhelmed by the inundation of the Nile, from the increased height of its rise after the lapse of a certain number of years. (Herod. ii. 137.)

[2] It is true that the sand has accumulated about Bahnasa, and the edge of the irrigated land in its vicinity, as well as about Kerdasseh and a few other places, owing to the form of the valleys which open on those spots from the Libyan desert, but it is not general throughout the valley of the Nile, even on this side of the river; and the progress of the sand can never be very great in any part of Egypt, however it may extend itself in Nubia over the exposed and narrow strip of land which the west bank presents above the cataracts of E'Sooan.

Besides the numerous towns and villages in the plain, many were prudently placed by the ancient Egyptians on the slope of the desert, at a short distance from the irrigated land, in order not to occupy more than was necessary of soil so valuable for its productions; and frequently with a view of encouraging some degree of cultivation in the desert plain, which, though above the reach of the inundation, might be irrigated by artificial ducts, or by water raised from inland wells. Mounds and ruined walls still mark the sites of these villages in different parts of Egypt; and in a few instances the remains of magnificent temples, or the authority of ancient authors, attest the existence of large cities in similar situations. Thus Abydus, Athribis, Tentyris, parts of Memphis[1] and Oxyrhynchus, stood on the edge of the desert; and the town that once occupied the vicinity of Qasr Kharóon, at the western extremity of the Fyoom, was far removed from the fertilising influence of the inundation.

When towns or villages were surrounded with sand, the constant attention of the inhabitants prevented their being encumbered by it; but, so soon as they were deserted, it began to accumulate around them, and we sometimes find their monuments half buried in large drifts collected by the wind.[2] As population and industry decreased, the once cultivated spots of land on the desert plain were gradually abandoned, and the vestiges of canals or artificial watercourses, the indication of fields once portioned into squares, or the roots of fruit trees, only now serve to attest the unremitting exertions of a civilised people. It is not, however, to be inferred that the irresistible encroachments of moving dunes have curtailed the limits, or threatened the existence, of this fertile country; and the fearful picture drawn by M. de Luc[3] must rather be looked upon as a composition than a study from nature. 'The sands of Egypt,' he observes, 'were formerly *remote* from that country; and the *oases*, or habitable spots, still appearing in the midst of them, are the remains of soil which formerly *extended the whole way to the Nile;* the sand, transported thither by the western winds, having overwhelmed and buried this extensive tract, and doomed to sterility a land *once* remarkable for its fruitfulness.' This singular statement is partly

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[1] Strabo says the Serapeum was 'in a very sandy spot.'

[2] As at Abydus; but considering the length of time this city has been deserted, and its position, the state of the ruins there is not surprising.

[3] In the 'Mercure de France,' September 1809, on the Moving Sands of Africa.

founded on the report of Denon, who, in his visit to Bahnasa,[1] Oxyrhynchus, observed some buildings near the town so much encumbered with sand that their summits were scarcely visible above it, and who consequently concluded the Libyan desert had made proportionate encroachments along the whole of the western side of the valley. The opening here formed by the accidental position of the hills and neighbouring ravines, and the quantity of drifted sand in the interior of the desert to the westward, have been the cause of its accumulation, and of the partial formation of downs in the vicinity; but neither these, nor any other sand drifts in similar exposed situations, could, after a careful examination of the whole valley, be deemed of such a nature as to endanger the fertility of Egypt; though it is possible that, if no inundation of the Nile counteracted its effects, or if the alluvial deposit did not continue to increase in height, the sand might then interfere with the extent of the arable land and gradually tend to narrow its limits. For the satisfaction of those who are contented with simple facts, it will be sufficient to state that the breadth of the irrigated portion of the valley is much more extensive than it was at any former period, and this increase will continue in spite of the very few local impediments which the drifted sand may accidentally offer; and it may not be irrelevant to observe that no soil is better suited to many kinds of produce than the irrigated edge of the desert,[2] even before it is covered by the fertilising deposit of the inundation.

M. de Luc's idea respecting the oases is novel and amusing; and if Egypt once extended to that distance westward, instead of considering the accounts of ancient writers on its former populousness at all exaggerated, we should be inclined to think they had failed to ascribe an adequate number of inhabitants to so extensive a region. So far from being the remains of a once cultivated and level tract, extending to the valley of the Nile, the oases are surrounded by limestone mountains, rising to the height of several hundred feet, and generally bounding them on all sides; whose level summit is part of the same table land, or

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[1] The proper orthography of this name is Bahnasa, Behnasa, or Behneseh, and is said to have been given it from one of its queens (or the wife of the governor of the place), signifying Bahanissa, 'the beauty of woman,' or 'the most beautiful of women.' Such is the account given in an Arabic MS. history of that city, written by Aboo Abdillah Mohammed Ebn Mohammed el Mukkari.

[2] It generally consists of a clay mixed with sand.

mountain plain, extending to and bordering the western side of Egypt, which is overlooked by these precipitous cliffs in the same manner as the similarly depressed though less extensive tracts of the oases.[1] Like other provinces of Egypt, they were much more densely peopled than at present; and remains of towns and villages attest their flourishing condition, even to the late period of the Roman dominion.

Nubia, or that part of Ethiopia lying between the cataracts of E'Sooan and Wadee Halfeh, was at all times a thinly inhabited and unproductive province; and the vicinity of mountains, frequently reaching to the water's edge, prevented its receiving those benefits from the inundation which the very great rise of the water would have afforded to a more level and extensive tract.[2] It is in this narrow strip of land that the noxious approach of moving sand is more particularly felt, since its advances are more sudden and overwhelming than on a gradual slope; and the ancient towns and temples on the west side of the Nile are therefore frequently surrounded or partially buried by its accumulating drifts.[3] They are mostly built on this bank; and it is not improbable that the unproductive nature of the soil was the principal reason for placing the towns there; the land on one side, which they were taught to consider so valuable, not being thus unnecessarily wasted, and the religious respect due to the abode of their gods, and regard for their own comfort, being sufficient motives for industriously striving to prevent the encroachments of the desert on the other. For that they were aware of the danger threatened by the sand is evident from the crude brick walls frequently erected there as a protection to the monuments; and the fall of one of those barriers gave ingress to the torrent which has overwhelmed and concealed the entrance of the great temple at Aboosimbel.

That the conquests of the ancient Egyptians extended beyond the limits of their valley, is abundantly proved by ancient authors and monumental records; but as I have already noticed this fact in the foregoing chapter, I shall proceed to the consideration of

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[1] The oases look very much like a portion of the valley of the Nile surrounded by the same kind of limestone mountains, but without any river.

[2] The more southward the greater the perpendicular rise of the Nile. It decreases, of course, gradually towards the mouth; and while in Nubia it is upwards of ten yards, at Rosetta it is only a very few feet.

[3] Anciently the Nile rose much higher than the present level in Nubia. (Professor Lepsius, in the 'Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia,' vol. ii. 1845, pp. 193–5.)—S. B.

the revenues arising from them, as well as the commerce and other fiscal resources of the country.

Judging from the sculptures of Thebes, the tribute annually received by the Egyptians from nations they had subdued in Asia and Northern Ethiopia was of immense value, and tended greatly to enrich the coffers of the State; and the quantity of gold and silver in rings and ingots, the various objects of luxury, vases of porcelain and different metals, ivory, rare woods, precious stones, horses, dogs, wild animals, trees, seeds, fruits, gums, perfumes, spices, and other foreign productions there described, perfectly accord with the statements of ancient authors.[1] And though they are presented to the king, as chief of the nation, we may conclude they formed part of the public revenue,[2] and were not solely intended for his use; especially in a country where royalty was under the restraint and guidance of salutary laws, and where the welfare of the community was not sacrificed to the caprice of a monarch. According to Strabo, the taxes, even under Ptolemy Auletes, the father of Cleopatra, the most negligent of monarchs, amounted to 12,500 talents, or between three and four millions sterling; and the constant influx of specie resulting from commercial intercourse with foreign nations, who purchased the corn[3] and manufactures of Egypt, during the very careful administration of its native sovereigns, necessarily increased the riches of the country, and greatly augmented the revenue at that period.

Among the exports were yarn,[4] fine linen cloth, and embroidered work,[5] purchased by the Tyrians and Jews; chariots and horses,[6] bought by the merchants of Judæa in the time of Solomon at 600[7] and 150[8] shekels of silver; and other commodities, produced or manufactured in the country.

The Egyptians also derived important advantages from their intercourse with India and Arabia;[9] and the port of Philoteras—which, there is reason to believe, was constructed at a very remote

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[1] Tacitus, Ann. ii. 60.

[2] The conquered nations paid an annual tribute, *htar renpa*, in the time of Thothmes III. and his successors of the 18th and 19th Dynasties, and the mines of mineral wealth both in Egypt and its dependencies belonged to the Pharaoh, who worked them by commission. The spoil taken in war also belonged to the king, as did certain crown lands, which he bestowed on distinguished military officers. Besides these productive sources, the king, it appears, levied taxes in kind upon the temples and probably upon the proprietors. —S. B.

[3] Gen. xli. 57.

[4] 1 Kings x. 28; 2 Chron. i. 16.

[5] Ezek. xxvii. 7.

[6] 2 Chron. i. 16, 17; and 1 Kings x.

[7] 70*l.* sterling.

[8] 17*l.* 10*s.*

[9] The *mafqa* turquoise and copper came

period,[1] long before the exodus of the Israelites—was probably the emporium of that trade. It was situated on the western coast of the Red Sea, in latitude 26° 9′; and though small, the number of ships its basin would contain sufficed for a constant traffic between Egypt and Arabia, no periodical winds there interfering with the navigation, at any season of the year.

Whether they had a direct communication with India at the same early epoch, or were supplied through Arabia with the merchandise of that country, it is not possible now to determine: but even an indirect trade[2] was capable of opening to them a source of immense wealth; and that the productions of India did actually reach Egypt we have positive testimony from the tombs of Thebes.

The Scripture history shows the traffic established by Solomon with India, through the Red Sea, to have been of very great consequence, producing, in one voyage, no less than 450 talents of gold,[3] or 3,240,000*l.* sterling; and to the same branch of commerce may be ascribed the main cause of the flourishing condition of Tyre itself. And if the Egyptian trade was not so direct as that of Solomon and the Tyrians, it must still be admitted that *any* intercourse with India at so remote a period would be highly beneficial to the country, since it was enjoyed without competition, and consequently afforded increased advantages.

The other harbours in this part of the Arabian Gulf—Myos Hormos, Berenice, Arsinoe, Nechesia, and Leucos Portus—were built in later times; and the lucrative trade they enjoyed was greatly increased after the conquest of Egypt by the Romans: 120 vessels annually leaving the coast of Egypt for India, at midsummer, about the rising of the dog-star,[4] and returning in the month of December or January. 'The principal objects of Oriental traffic,' says Gibbon, 'were splendid and trifling: silk, a pound of which was esteemed not inferior in value to a pound

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from the mines of the Wady Magarah and Mount Sinai. From Arabia came incense, and from Punt, supposed to be the modern Somali, on the eastern coast of Africa, were brought incense, gums, monkeys, cosmetics, panther-skins, apes, and hounds. (Chabas, 'Études sur l'Antiquité historique,' Paris, 1872, pp. 149–176.) —S. B.

[1] It was previously called Ænnum. It received the name of Philoteras from the sister of the Philadelphus Ptolemy. (Strabo, lib. xvii. Plin. vi. 29.)

[2] Strabo thinks that in former times a fleet of twenty ships never passed the Straits of Babelmandeb; but the Indian trade might have been carried on through Arabia. (Strabo, lib. xvii., on Alexandria.)

[3] 2 Chron. viii. 18; 1 Kings ix. 26.

[4] The Periplus gives 'the month of July, which is Epiphi;' and Pliny, lib. vi. 26, 'before the dog-star,' about July 26.

of gold, precious stones, and a variety of aromatics.' When Strabo visited Egypt, Myos Hormos seems to have superseded Berenice, and all the other maritime stations on the coast; and indeed it possessed greater advantages than any other, except Philoteras and Arsinoe, in its overland communication with the Nile: yet Berenice, in the later age of Pliny, was again preferred to its rival. From both ports the goods were taken on camels[1] by an almost level road across the desert to Coptos,[2] and thence distributed over different parts of Egypt; and, in the time of the Ptolemies and Cæsars, those particularly suited for exportation to Europe went down the river to Alexandria, where they were sold to merchants who resorted to that city at a stated season.

At a subsequent period, during the reigns of the Arab caliphs, Apollinopolis Parva, or Qoos, succeeded Coptos as the rendezvous of caravans from the Red Sea; and this town flourished so rapidly, in consequence of the preference it enjoyed, that in Aboolfidda's time it was second only to Fostat, the capital of Egypt; until it ceded its place to Qeneh, as Myos Hormos was destined to do in favour of Kossayr. Philoteras, however, continued to be resorted to after the Arab conquest; and it was during the reigns of the Egyptian caliphs that the modern Kossayr[3] took the place of that ancient port.

The Myos Hormos, called also Aphrodite,[4] stood in latitude 27° 22′, upon a flat coast, backed by low mountains, distant from it about three miles; where a well, the Fons Tadnos,[5] supplied the town and ships with water. The port was more capacious than those of Berenice and Philoteras; and though exposed to the winds, it was secure against the force of a boisterous sea. Several roads united at the gates of the town, from Berenice and Philoteras on the south, from Arsinoe on the north, and from Coptos on the west; and stations supplied those who passed to and from the Nile with water and other necessaries.

Berenice owed its foundation to Ptolemy Philadelphus, who called it after the name of his mother, the wife of Lagus or Soter.[6] The town was extensive, and was ornamented with a small but elegant temple of Serapis; and though the harbour

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[1] At the time of Rameses III., asses were used for the purpose.—S. B.

[2] Plin. v. 9. Strabo, xvii.

[3] Philoteras, now in ruins, is known by the name of Old Kossayr.

[4] Now called Abooshar. (Strabo, lib. xvii.) Agatharcides says, it was afterwards called the Port of Venus.

[5] Plin. vi. 29.

[6] Ibid.

was neither deep nor spacious, its position in a receding gulf[1] tended greatly to the safety of the vessels lying within it, or anchored in the bay. A road led thence direct to Coptos, furnished with the usual stations, or hydreumas; and another, which also went to the emerald mines, joined, or rather crossed it, from Apollinopolis Magna.

Arsinoe, which stood at the northern extremity of the Red Sea, near the modern town of Suez, was founded by the second Ptolemy, and so named after his sister.[2] Though vessels anchored there rode secure from the violence of the sea, its exposed situation, and the dangers they encountered in working up the narrow extremity of the gulf, rendered its position[3] less eligible for the Indian trade than either Myos Hormos or Berenice; and had it not been for the convenience of establishing a communication with the Nile by a canal, and the shortness of the journey across the desert in that part, it is probable it would not have been chosen for a seaport.

The small towns of Nechesia and the Leucos Portus were probably of Roman date, though the natural harbours they possess may have been used at a much earlier period. Their positions are still marked by the ruins on the shore, in latitude 24° 54′ and 25° 37′, where I discovered them in 1826, while making a survey of this part of the coast from Suez to Berenice. The former stands in, and perhaps gave the name to, the Wadee Nukkaree; the latter is called E'Shoona, or 'the Magazine,'[4] and, from being built of very *white* limestone, was readily indicated by the Arabs when I inquired of them the site of the White Harbour.

Many other ports, the 'Portus multi' of Pliny,[5] occur along the coast, particularly between Berenice and Kossayr; but though they all have landmarks to guide boats in approaching their rocky entrances, none of them have any remains of a town, or the vestiges of habitations.

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[1] Strabo. The headland of Cape Nose stretches out on the east of it to the distance of 21 miles from the line of the shore, agreeing with another remark of the geographer, that 'an isthmus projects into the Red Sea near the city of Berenice, which, though without a port, affords a convenient shelter, from the vicinity of the headland.'

[2] Plin. vi. 29.

[3] It probably succeeded to some more ancient town. It is not certain that Clysma stood there; but Qolzim appears to have occupied the site of Arsinoe and part of the modern Suez. ('Egypt and Thebes,' p. 540, note †.) Herodotus, ii. 158, says the canal entered the Red Sea near to Patumos; we may therefore conclude that town stood on the same spot as Arsinoe. We again trace in Patumos the name Pi-thom. It was common to many towns.

[4] This word is taken from the Arabic Mukhzen, of similar import.

[5] Plin. vi. 29.

The principal objects introduced in early times into Egypt, from Arabia and India, were spices and various Oriental productions required either for the service of religion, or the purposes of luxury; and a number of precious stones, lapis lazuli, and other things brought from those countries, are frequently discovered in the tombs of Thebes, bearing the names of Pharaohs of the 18th Dynasty. The mines of their own desert did, indeed, supply the emeralds they used; and these were worked as early, at least, as the reign of Amenophis III., or 1425 B.C., but many other stones must have come from India; and some plants, as the *Nymphæa Nelumbo*, could only have been introduced from that country.[1]

Though we cannot ascertain the extent or exact quality of the various imports, of goods re-exported from Egypt, or the proportion which these last bore to the internal consumption, it is reasonable to conclude that every article of luxury was a source of revenue to the government; and that both native and foreign productions coming under this denomination, whether exported or sold in Egypt, tended to enrich the State, to which they belonged, or paid a duty.

That the riches of the country were immense is proved by the appearance of the furniture and domestic utensils, and by the great quantity of jewels of gold, silver, precious stones, and other objects of luxury in use among them in the earliest times: their treasures became proverbial throughout the neighbouring states,[2] and a love of pomp and splendour[3] continued to be the ruling passion of the Egyptians till the latest period of their existence as an independent state, which is fully demonstrated by the history of the celebrated Cleopatra.

Another source of wealth was derived from the gold mines in the desert of the upper country. Their position,[4] still known to the Arabs, is about S.E. from Baháyreh, a village opposite the town of Edfoo,[5] or Apollinopolis Magna, and at a distance of nearly ten days' journey from that place, in the mountains of the

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[1] It was evidently not indigenous to Egypt, from the care that was necessary in planting it, and is now totally unknown in the valley of the Nile. Before they introduced it, would they not have seen the plant? and who was likely to bring the roots but some of their own people?

[2] [The love of riches was, according to Plato (Repub. iv. p. 642), inherent in the character of the Egyptians and Phœnicians. —G. W.]

[3] Exod. xii. 35; Ezek. xxxii. 12; Heb. xi. 26.

[4] Visited by Monsieur Linant and Mr. Bonomi, who found the account of the Arabs to agree very well with their position.

[5] Edfoo is in latitude 24° 58′.

Bisharéëh. The Arab authors, Edrisi, Ebn-Saïd, and Aboolfida,[1] place them at Gebel Ollágee, a mountain situated in the land of Begá; and this last word at once points out the Bisháree desert, being still used by the tribe as their own name. The gold lies in veins of quartz,[2] in the rocks bordering an inhospitable valley and its adjacent ravines: but the small quantity they are capable of producing by immense labour, added to the difficulty of procuring water, and other local impediments, would probably render the re-opening of them at the present day an unprofitable speculation; and indeed in the time of Aboolfida they only just covered their expenses, and have never been worked since they were abandoned by the Arab caliphs. According to the account of Agatharcides, the toil of extracting the gold was immense: it was separated from the pounded stone by frequent washings, and this process appears to be represented in the paintings of tombs executed during the reign of Usertesen, and other ancient Pharaohs. We have no positive notice of their first discovery, but it is reasonable to suppose they were worked at the earliest periods of the Egyptian monarchy;[3] and the total of their annual produce is stated by Hecatæus[4] to have been recorded in a temple founded by a monarch of the 18th Dynasty. He also notices an immense sum annually produced from the silver mines of Egypt, which amounted to 3,200 myriads of minæ. Besides these, were valuable mines of copper, lead, iron, and emeralds,[5] all of which still exist in the deserts of the Red Sea; and the sulphur which abounds in the same districts, was not neglected by the ancient Egyptians.

The riches, then, of the country were principally derived from taxes, foreign tribute, monopolies, commerce, mines, and, above all, from the productions of a fruitful soil. The wants of the poorer classes were easily satisfied; the abundance of grain, herbs, and esculent plants afforded an ample supply to the inhabitants of the valley of the Nile, at a trifling expense, and

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[1] Or Emad-e'deen-Aboolfeda Ismail-ben-Nasser. He was king of Hamah in Syria, and lived about the year 730 of the Hegira, A.D. 1334.

[2] Mohammed Ali had an idea of re-opening them. Wherever the ancients met with veins of quartz in the desert, I observed they invariably broke up portions of it, doubtless to try if it contained gold.

[3] The gold mines at Rhedesieh and Koûban were worked in the reigns of Seti I., or Sethos, and Rameses II. of the 19th Dynasty; and a plan of the mines on a papyrus of the period exists in the Museum of Turin. (Birch, in the 'Archæologia,' xxxiv. p. 357. Chabas, 'Une Inscription historique de Seti I.,' Chalon-sur-Saône, 1856; 'Les Inscriptions des Mines d'Or,' Paris, 1862.)—S. B.

[4] Diodorus, i. 49.

[5] At Zabarah. (Cailliaud, 'Voyage à l'Oasis de Thèbes,' Paris, 1821. Prisse, Mon. Egypt, pl. xxxix., and the amount given by Rameses III. to the different temples.)—S. B.

with little labour; and so much corn was produced in this fertile country, that after sufficing for the consumption of a very extensive population, it offered a great surplus for the foreign market;[1] and the quantity on hand enabling the peasant to sell it at a low rate necessarily afforded considerable profit to the government, being exported to other countries, or sold to the traders who visited Egypt for commercial purposes.

Though the lower classes of the people appear to have been contented with their condition, there is no evidence of their having participated in the affluence enjoyed by the higher orders; and the very great distinction between them and the richer classes is remarkable, as well in the submissive obeisance to their superiors as in their general appearance, their dress, and the style of their houses. Some, indeed, seem to have been little better lodged and fed than those of the present day;[2] and the degrading custom of prostration before those in authority argues that they were subject to severe discipline and punishment, though, doubtless, only administered according to the rules of justice. That they were happy under their native princes, and contented with the laws and early institutions of the Pharaohs, is strongly argued by the constant feeling of dissatisfaction evinced by them against foreign rule, not only in the time of the despotic Persians, but of the Ptolemies, who sought, on many occasions, to flatter their religious prejudices, to content the priesthood, and even to court the good will of the people. And though some allowance must be made in these cases for the effect of change, the influence of the priests, and the impatience common to all people under a foreign master, we may fairly conclude that the spirit of their laws, under the original system, was dictated by a scrupulous regard to justice and the benevolence of a paternal government.

The great distinction of classes[3] maintained in Egypt was characteristic of the East, and custom naturally removed every unpleasing impression which so readily occurs to men educated with different habits and ideas; and provided justice was regarded, it offered no cause of discontent in an Eastern nation.

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[1] The quantity of corn may be imagined from the produce offered to Amenophis III., in the 30th year of his reign. ('Records of the Past,' vol. vi. p. 21. Eisenlohr, 'Der grosse Papyrus Harris,' Leipzig, 1872. 'Zeitschrift f. ägypt. Spr.' 1872, p. 119; 1873, pp. 9, 34; 1874, pp. 23–25, etc.)—S.B.

[2] Herodotus, ii. 47. Diod. i. 80.

[3] The Etruscans were also divided into four castes; but this institution appears rather to have been derived from the East than to have taken its rise in Italy. They were, 1. the Larthes, Tyrani, or lords; 2. the Tusci, or priesthood; 3. the Rasenæ, or warriors; and, 4. the people, or popular caste.

The division of Egyptian society into separate classes, or castes, has been noticed by many authors. Herodotus [1] says they were divided into seven tribes, one of which was the sacerdotal, another of the soldiers, and the remaining five of the herdsmen, swineherds, shopkeepers, interpreters, and boatmen. Diodorus [2] states that, like the Athenians, who being an Egyptian colony derived this institution from the parent country, they were distributed into three classes—the priests, the peasants or husbandmen (from whom the soldiers were levied), and the artisans, who were employed in handicraft and other similar occupations, and in common offices among the people; but in another place [3] he extends the number to five, and reckons the pastors, husbandmen, and artificers, independent of the soldiers and priests. Strabo [4] limits them to three—the military, husbandmen, and priests; and Plato [5] divides them into six bodies—the priest, artificers, shepherds, huntsmen, husbandmen, and soldiers; each peculiar art, or occupation, he observes, being confined to a certain subdivision of the caste, and every one engaged in his own branch, without interfering with the occupation of another: as in India and China, where the same trade or employment is followed in succession by father and son.

From the statements above noticed, the exact number of classes into which the Egyptians were divided appears uncertain; but as there is reason to conclude that some authors have subdivided the main castes into several of their minor branches, while others have been contented with the collective divisions, I shall endeavour to point out (as I have already had occasion to do in a former work [6]) the four great comprehensive classes, and the principal subdivisions of each.

The first caste was the sacerdotal order; the second, the soldiers and peasants, or agricultural class; the third was that of the townsmen; and the fourth, the *plebs*, or common people. The first was composed of the chief priests or pontiffs,[7] as well as minor priests of various grades belonging to different deities, prophets, judges, hierophants, magistrates, hierogrammats or sacred scribes, basilicogrammats or royal scribes, sphragistæ,[8]

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[1] Herod. ii. 164.
[2] Diod. i. 28. [3] Ibid. i. 74.
[4] Strabo, xvii. p. 541.
[5] Plato, in Timæo, *ad init.*
[6] 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 230.
[7] 'Each deity has several priests and a high-priest.' (Herod. ii. 37.)
[8] Plutarch, de Isid. s. xxxi., says the sphragistæ were a class of priests whose office was to examine the victims, and to put a seal upon them, previous to their being sacrificed. Herod. ii. 38.

hierostoli[1] or dressers and keepers of the sacred robes, doctors, embalmers, hierophori,[2] pterophori,[3] præcones (who appear to have been the same as the pastophori[4]), keepers of the sacred animals,[5] hierolaotomi or masons of the priestly order, sacred sculptors and draughtsmen, beadles, sprinklers of water, and apomyoi (mentioned by Hesychius, who drove away the flies with *chowries*), and several inferior functionaries attached to the temples.

The second was divided into the military, farmers, husbandmen, gardeners, huntsmen, boatmen, and others; the third consisted of artificers, tradesmen, shopkeepers, musicians, builders, carpenters, masons, sculptors, and probably potters, public weighers,[6] and notaries; and in the fourth may be reckoned pastors, poulterers, fowlers, fishermen, labourers, servants, and, generally speaking, the common people. Many of these were again subdivided, as the artificers and tradesmen, according to their peculiar trade or occupation, and as the pastors, into oxherds, shepherds, goatherds, and swineherds; which last were, according to Herodotus, the lowest grade, not only of the class but of the whole community, since no one would either marry their daughters or establish any family connection with them; and so degrading was the occupation of tending swine, that they were looked upon as impure, and were even forbidden to enter a temple without previously undergoing a purification. Herodotus, indeed, affirms, 'they could not *enter* a temple;'[7] and the prejudices of the Indians against this class of persons almost justify our belief of the historian.

[As the information afforded by the monuments upon the castes of Egypt does not agree with the statements of Herodotus, Plato, and Diodorus, it is necessary to consider here how far hereditary castes existed in that country. That certain important classes of society prevailed, as in modern civilisation, there is not the least doubt; and that the sacerdotal or priestly order, that of scribes, of the military, and a host of functionaries comprising a vast bureaucracy, existed from the earliest period, is attested by the monuments. Of the lowerorders, slaves, labourers, and mechanics, less information is afforded, but the condition

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[1] Plutarch, de Isid. s. iii.

[2] The bearers of sacred emblems in the religious processions.

[3] Those who bore the flabella and fans in the processions in which the statues of the gods were carried.

[4] Bearers of the small statues, or shrines, of the gods. (*Vide* Diod. i. 29.) [Apul. Metam. xi. 250.—G. W.]

[5] Herod. ii. 68.

[6] The *Gabbáneh* of the present day; who are also public scribes.

[7] Herod. ii. 47.

of the middle and upper classes, who could afford more expensive sepulchres and embalmment, is well known from the monuments which have been discovered. The three great classes of society, priests, scribes, and warriors, were by no means castes in sense of hereditary succession; for though a son often followed the profession of his father, owing to habit, thoughts, education, or patronage and connection, which have existed at all times and in all countries, these three orders were not so distinct from each other as at the present day. The priest of a god was often a military or naval commander, exercised the office of scribe, and invested with the supervision of public works or local government. A general in the army could marry the daughter of a priest, and his children could be scribes, priests, or public functionaries. Whence the Greek authors derived their notions of Egyptian castes is uncertain; it was probably due to imperfect information or misconception, and in Egypt, as elsewhere, it was without doubt difficult if not almost impossible for members of the poorer classes of society to elevate themselves to the higher grades. There is reason to believe that there was an hereditary territorial aristocracy, but even they were re-invested by the sovereign with their lands, either on account of a kind of feudal tenure, or that the crown was the great landlord of the whole country, and the monarch presented lands to distinguished military officers. Public employments were monopolised by a few great families, considered by some to be an advantageous arrangement of civil government, but the keystone of caste, the limitation of marriage to the women of the same order, is unknown to monumental Egypt. The hereditary transmission of handicraft and trades is so common to nations that have no caste, that it does not enter into the question.[1]—S. B.]

It was also from one or other of those two orders that the king was obliged to be chosen; and if he had been a member of the military class, previous to his ascending the throne, it was peremptorily required by the laws[2] that he should then be admitted into the sacerdotal order, and be instructed in all the secret learning of the priests.

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[1] See Ampère, 'Des Castes et de la Transmission héréditaire des Professions dans l'ancienne Égypte,' in the 'Journal de l'Instruction publique,' 1848. The thesis of castes has been sustained by Meiners, 'De causis ordinum sive castarum in veteri Ægypto,' in the 'Comment. Soc. Reg. Gott.' x. pt. iii. pp. 184 and fol., and the 'De veterum Ægyptiorum origine,' Ibid. p. 74; and O. Müller, 'Handb. d. Archäologie d. Kunst,' s. 219.

[2] Plutarch, de Isid. ix.

He was the chief of the religion and of the State;[1] he regulated the sacrifices in the temples, and had the peculiar right of offering them to the gods[2] upon grand occasions; the title[3] and office of 'president of the assemblies' belonged exclusively to him, and he superintended the feasts and festivals in honour of the deities. He had the right of proclaiming peace and war; he commanded the armies of the State,[4] and rewarded those whose conduct in the field, or on other occasions, merited his approbation; and every privilege was granted him which was not at variance with good policy or the welfare of his people. [The immense difference of rank between the king and the highest nobles of the land is shown by their all walking on foot in attendance on the chariot of the king. And part of the great honour conferred on Joseph was his being placed in the second chariot that the king had; giving him, in fact, the attendance of a king, as no one had a chariot or car while attending on a king.—G. W.]

The sovereign power descended from father to son; but in the event of an heir failing, the claims for succession were determined by proximity of parentage, or by right of marriage.[5] Nor were queens forbidden to undertake the management

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[1] Like the caliphs and Moslem sultans.

[2] Psammatichus offered libations with the other eleven kings. (Herod. ii. 151.) In the sculptures the kings always make the offerings in the temples. At Rome, the sovereign held the office of Pontifex maximus.

[3] The king had five names and titles. 1. The Horus or 'Harmachis' title which was enclosed in a rectangular front or building, sometimes bolted. 2. The diadem title 'lord of the diadems of the cities of the north and south.' 3. The Horus, or 'Hawk of gold' title 4. The official or divine title of 'king of the south or upper and the north or lower Egypt,' enclosed in a cartouche. 5. The family name, also enclosed in a cartouche, and generally preceded by 'The Son of the Sun,' or the god Ra. The 6th name was not introduced till the 5th Dynasty; and from the 1st to the close of the 12th, the same expressions were uniform in the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd titles of the same king. The four titles are as old as Seneferu of the 3rd Dynasty, and till the 12th a kind of 6th title or pyramid appellation is added after the 5th title. (Cf. Brugsch-Bey, 'Histoire d'Égypte,' Leipzig, 1875, p. 46.) —S. B.

[4] The king received also all foreign tributes and deputations or embassies, and gave direct answers to requests preferred for public works, improvements, and other civil matters. He appears to have been attended in war by the council of the thirty, composed apparently of privy councillors, scribes, and high officers of State. He appointed royal commissions, and all religious offerings were made in his name. —S. B.

[5] This I conclude from the mode of deriving their right from ancient kings, sometimes passing over many intermediate names, when they mention their predecessors.

of affairs,[1] and on the demise of their husbands they assumed the office of regent; but, though introduced into the annals of Manetho, and Nitocris is mentioned by Herodotus as a queen, their names do not appear in the lists of sovereigns sculptured in the temples of Thebes and Abydus.[2]

In some instances the kingdom was usurped by a powerful chief, as in the case of Amasis, or by some Ethiopian prince, who either claiming a right to the Egyptian crown from relationship with the reigning family, or taking advantage of a disturbed state of the country, secured a party there, and obtained possession of it by force of arms; but there are no grounds for supposing that the Egyptian monarchy was elective, as Synesius would lead us to conclude. He affirms that the candidates for the throne of Egypt repaired to a mountain at Thebes, on the Libyan side of the Nile, where all the voters assembled, and according to the show of hands and the proportionate consequence of each voter, who was either of the sacerdotal or military order, the election of the king was decided. But his authority is not of sufficient weight on so doubtful a question, and, from being at variance with all that history and monumental record have imparted to us, cannot possibly be admitted.

We find the kings recorded on the monuments as having succeeded from father to son for several generations; and if the election of a king ever took place in Egypt, it could only have been when all lawful aspirants were wanting. Diodorus[3] says, 'In ancient times kings, instead of succeeding by right of inheritance, were selected for their merits:' but whether this really was the case at the commencement of the Egyptian monarchy it is difficult to determine. Indeed, both Herodotus and Diodorus mention the first kings being succeeded by their children; and we have positive authority from the sculptures that this was the case during the eighteenth and succeeding dynasties: nor did Plutarch,[4] in saying 'the kings were chosen from the priests or the warriors,' mean that the monarchy was

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[1] The Egyptians, at a later period, do not seem to have been favourable to female government, and obliged Cleopatra to marry her younger brother, on the death of the elder Ptolemy; and even afterwards we find the name of her son, Neocæsar or Cæsarion, introduced into the sculptures with her own.

[2] It was the maternal descent that gave the right to property and the throne. The same prevailed in Ethiopia. If the monarch married out of the royal family, the children did not enjoy a legitimate right to the crown. From the time of the 1st Dynasty, a female, probably in default of male issue, or during a regency, could succeed, and many did so. (Brugsch-Bey, 'Histoire d'Égypte,' p. 44.)—S. B.

[3] Diod. i. 43.

[4] Plut. de Isid. ix.

elective, except when an heir was wanting. And this is further confirmed by the formula in the Rosetta stone: 'The kingdom being established unto him and unto his children for ever.' But they did not presume, in consequence of the right of succession, to infringe the regulations enacted for their public and private conduct; and the laws of Egypt, which formed part of the sacred books, were acknowledged to be of divine origin, and were looked upon with superstitious reverence. To have called them in question, or to have disobeyed them, would have been considered rebellion against the Deity, and the offender would have paid the forfeit of his presumption and impiety.[1]

That their laws were framed with the greatest regard for the welfare of the community is abundantly proved by all that ancient history has imparted to us; and Diodorus[2] observes, 'This unparalleled country could never have continued throughout ages in such a flourishing condition, if it had not enjoyed the best of laws and customs, and if the people had not been guided by the most salutary regulations.' Nor were these framed for the lower orders only; for their kings, says the same author,[3] so far from indulging in those acts of arbitrary will, unrestrained by the fear of censure, which stain the character of sovereigns in other monarchical states, were contented to submit to the rules of public duty, and even of private life, which had been established by law from the earliest times. Even their daily food was regulated by prescribed rules, and the quantity of wine was limited with scrupulous exactitude. The king was distinguished from his subjects by his attire, principally the *uræus* or asp diadem, which no subject could assume; he wore also the crowns of the various gods, and special and royal robes, but had no distinguishing sceptre. In war he appears with a particular kind of helmet, *khepersh*, on his head. [Princes were distinguished by a badge hanging from the side of the head, which enclosed, or represented, the lock of hair emblematic of 'a son;' in imitation of the youthful god 'Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris,' who was held forth as the model for all princes, and the type of royal virtue. For though the Egyptians shaved the head, and wore

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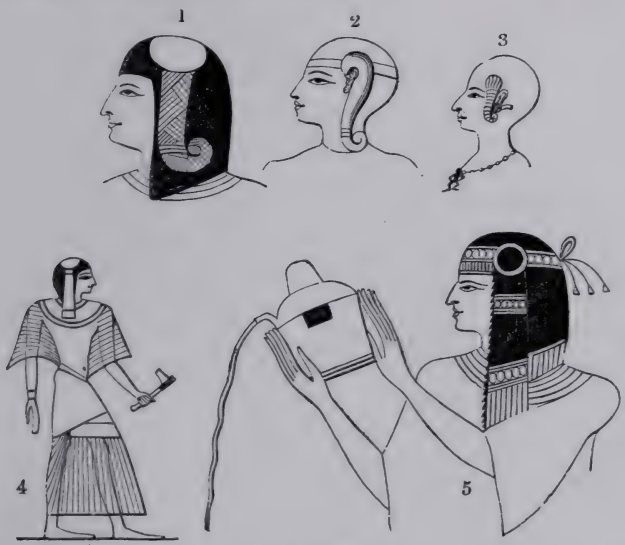
[1] The monuments show that the monarchy was hereditary, and the monarch supposed to be descended from the gods, in the male and female line. The idea of election is expressed in some of the royal names, but then it is a divine election. The monarch nominated or appointed *tehan* during life an heir apparent or *repai*; there were, of course, disputed successions. —S. B.

[2] Diod. i. 69.

[3] Ibid. i. 70.

wigs or other coverings to the head, children were permitted to leave certain locks of hair; and if the sons of kings, long before they arrived at the age of manhood, had abandoned this youthful custom, the badge was attached to their head-dress as a mark of their rank as princes; or to show that they had not, during the lifetime of their father, arrived at *kinghood:* on the same principle that a Spanish prince, of whatever age, continues to be styled 'an infant.'—G. W.]



No. 6. Princes and children. *Thebes.*
1. Head-dress of a prince. 2 and 3. Lock of hair worn by children. 4. Dress of a son of Rameses III. 5. Head-dress of a prince, Rameses.

When a sovereign, having been brought up in the military class, was ignorant of the secrets of his religion, the first step, as I have already observed, on his accession to the throne, was to make him acquainted with those mysteries, and to enrol him in the college of the priests. He was instructed in all that related to the gods, the service of the temple, the laws of the country, and the duties of a monarch; and, in order to prevent any intercourse with improper persons, who might instil into his mind ideas unworthy of a prince, or at variance with morality, it was carefully provided that no slave or hired servant should hold any office about his person, but that the children of the first families of the priestly order,[1] who had arrived at man's estate,

[1] Diod. i. 70.

and were remarkable for having received the best education and profited by it, should alone be permitted to attend him. And this precautionary measure was dictated by the persuasion that no monarch gives way to the impulse of evil passions, unless he finds those about him ready to serve as instruments to his caprices, and to encourage his excesses.

It was not on his own will that his occupations depended, but on those rules of duty and propriety which the wisdom of his ancestors had framed, with a just regard for the welfare of the king and of his people.[1] They argued that he was an officer of the State; that the situation he held had not been made for his sole benefit, but for that of the nation, which he was bound to serve as well as to govern; and the king was thought rather to belong to the nation than the nation to the king. Impressed with these ideas, the Egyptian monarchs refused not to obey those lessons which the laws had laid down for their conduct: their occupations, both by day and night, were regulated by prescribed rules; a time was set apart for every duty, and a systematic method of transacting business was found to lead to those results which a disregard of order usually fails to produce. At break of day [2] public business commenced, all the epistolary correspondence was then examined, and the subject of each letter was considered with the attention it required. The ablutions for prayer were then performed, and the monarch, having put on the robes of ceremony, and attended by proper officers, with the insignia of royalty, repaired to the temple to superintend the customary sacrifices to the gods of the sanctuary. The victims being brought to the altar, it was usual for the high priest to place himself close to the king, while the whole congregation [3] present on the occasion stood round at a short distance from them, and to offer up prayers for the monarch,[4] beseeching the gods to bestow on him health and all other blessings,[5] in return

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[1] A few injunctions for the conduct of a Jewish king are given in Deut. xvii. 16.

[2] Diod. i. 70. Herodotus, ii. 173, says that Amasis employed himself about public business from daybreak till market time, or about the third hour of the day.

[3] This ceremony must have taken place in the court of the temple and not in the sanctuary, since the people were admitted to it. The entrance into the holy of holies, or the sanctuary, was only on particular occasions, as with the Jews. (Exod. xxviii. 29; Ezek. xlii. 13, 14.)

[4] As in the Moslem mosques, from the times of the caliphs to the present day. On the conquest of Egypt by Soltan Seleem, the aristocracy of the Memlooks was left, on condition of annual tribute to the Osmanlis, obedience in matters of faith to the Mooftee of Constantinople, and the insertion of the name of the soltan in the public prayers and on the coin. Mohammed Ali had an idea of introducing his own instead of Soltan Mahmood's name during the war of Syria in 1832–33.

[5] Conf. the Rosetta stone: 'In return

for his respect to the laws, his love of justice, and his general conduct towards the people he ruled. His qualities were then separately enumerated; and the high priest particularly noticed his piety towards the gods, and his clemency and affable demeanour towards men. He lauded his self-command, his justice, his magnanimity, his love of truth, his munificence and generosity, and, above all, his entire freedom from envy and covetousness. He exalted his moderation in awarding the most lenient punishment to those who had transgressed, and his benevolence in requiting with unbounded liberality those who had merited his favours. These and other similar encomiums having been passed on the character of the monarch, the priest proceeded to review the general conduct of kings, and to point out those faults which were the result of ignorance and misplaced confidence. And it is worthy of remark, that this ancient people had already adopted the principle that the king should be exonerated from blame,[1] while every curse and evil was denounced against his ministers, and those advisers who had given him injurious counsel. The object of this oration, says Diodorus, was to exhort the sovereign to live in fear of the Deity, and to cherish that upright line of conduct and demeanour which was deemed pleasing to the gods; and they hoped that, by avoiding the bitterness of reproach and by celebrating the praises of virtue, they might stimulate him to the exercise of those duties which he was expected to fulfil. The king then proceeded to examine the entrails of the victim, and to perform the usual ceremonies of sacrifice; and the hierogrammateus, or sacred scribe, read those extracts from the holy writings which recorded the deeds and sayings of the most celebrated men.

It was recommended that the prince should listen to that good advice which was dictated by experience, and attend to those lessons which were derived from the example or history of former monarchs; and he was particularly enjoined to conform to a line of conduct which in other instances had proved beneficial to the State. But it was not in public alone that he was warned of his duty; and the laws subjected every action of his private life to as severe a scrutiny as his behaviour in the administration

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for which, the gods have given him health, victory, power, and all other good things, the kingdom being established unto him and unto his children for ever;' which is, perhaps, the real formula here alluded to by Diodorus.

[1] That the king could do no wrong is a much older notion than we generally imagine. (Diod. i. 70.)

of affairs. The hours of washing, walking, and all the amusements and occupations of the day, were settled with precision, and the quantity as well as the quality of his food were regulated by law: simplicity was required both in eating and drinking, and Diodorus affirms that their table only admitted the meat of oxen and geese.[1] A moderate allowance of wine was also permitted; but all excess was forbidden and prevented, upon the principle that food was designed for the support of the body, and not for the gratification of an intemperate appetite. And though we cannot admit the opinion of Plutarch,[2]—who, on the authority of Eudoxus, affirms that wine[3] was not allowed to the kings previous to the time of Psammatichus,—this statement of Diodorus derives from it an additional testimony that the kings at all times conformed to the laws in private as well as in public life. In short, he adds, the regulations concerning food and temperance were of such a salutary nature, that one would rather imagine them the regimen of some learned physician, who anxiously consulted the health of the prince, than an extract from a legislative code.

But the most admirable part of their institutions, says the same historian, did not consist in sanitary regulations, which forbade the sovereign to transgress the rules of temperance, nor has the conduct of the princes who submitted themselves to such laws the chief claim upon our admiration; our praise is mainly due to those wise ordinances which prevented the chief of the State from judging or acting thoughtlessly, and from punishing anyone through the impulse of anger, revenge, or any other unjust motive. And as he was thus constrained to act in obedience to the laws, all punishments were inflicted according to real justice and impartiality.

To persons habituated to the practice of virtue, these duties became at length a source of gratification, and they felt convinced that they tended as well to their own happiness as to the welfare of the State. They acknowledged the mischief which would arise from allowing the passions of men to be unbridled, and that love, anger, and other violent impulses of the mind, being stronger than the recollection of duty, were capable of leading away those

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[1] They were the most usual meats; but they had also the wild goat, gazelle, oryx, and wild fowl of various kinds, as we learn from the sculptures.

[2] De Isid. et Osir. s. vi.

[3] We find that as early as the time of Joseph the Egyptian kings drank wine; since the chief *butler* of Pharaoh is mentioned in virtue of his office pouring out wine to the monarch. (Gen. xl. 11.)

even who were well acquainted with the precepts of morality. They, therefore, willingly submitted to those rules of conduct already laid down and sanctioned by competent legislators; and by the practice of justice towards their subjects, they secured to themselves that good will which was due from children to a parent; whence it followed that not only the college of priests but the whole Egyptian nation was as anxious for the welfare of the king as for that of their own wives and children, or whatever was most dear to them. And this, Diodorus observes, was the main cause of the duration of the Egyptian state, which not only lasted long, but enjoyed the greatest prosperity, waging successful wars on distant nations, and being enabled by immense riches, resulting from foreign conquest, to display a magnificence, in its provinces and cities, unequalled by that of any other country.

Love and respect were not merely shown to the sovereign during his lifetime, but were continued to his memory after his

No. 7. People throwing dust on their heads, in token of grief. *Thebes.*

demise; and the manner in which his funeral obsequies were celebrated tended to show that, though their benefactor was no more, they retained a grateful sense of his goodness and admiration for his virtues. And what, says the historian, can convey a greater testimony of sincerity, free from all colour of dissimulation, than the cordial acknowledgment of a benefit, when the person who conferred it no longer lives to witness the honour done to his memory?

On the death[1] of every Egyptian king, a general mourning was instituted throughout the country for seventy-two days,[2]

[1] The king on his death was said to ascend to heaven.—S. B.

[2] Diodor. i. 72. Conf. the custom of the Jews, and Gen. l. 3: 'The Egyptians mourned for Jacob threescore and ten days.'

hymns commemorating his virtues were sung, the temples were closed, sacrifices were no longer offered, and no feasts or festivals were celebrated during the whole of that period. The people tore their garments,[1] and, covering their heads with dust and mud, formed a procession of 200 or 300 persons of both sexes, who met twice a day in public to sing the funeral dirge. A general fast was also observed, and they neither allowed themselves to taste meat nor wheaten bread, and abstained, moreover, from wine and every kind of luxury.

In the meantime, the funeral was prepared, and on the last day the body was placed in state within the vestibule of the tomb, and an account was then given of the life and conduct of the deceased. It was permitted to anyone present to offer himself as an accuser, and the voice of the people might prevent a sovereign enjoying the customary funeral obsequies; a worldly ordeal, the dread of which tended to stimulate the Egyptian monarchs to the practice of their duty far more than any feeling inculcated by respect for the laws or the love of virtue. [The same was customary amongst the Jews, who deprived wicked kings of the right of burial in the tombs of their ancestors.[2] Josephus says this was continued to the time of the Asmoneans.[3]—G. W.]

The Egyptians, as I have already observed, were divided into four principal castes: the sacerdotal order, the peasants, the townsmen, and the common people. Next to the king, the priests held the first rank, and from them were chosen his confidential and responsible advisers,[4] the judges, and all the principal officers of State. They associated with the monarch, whom they assisted in the performance of his public duties, and to whom they explained, from the sacred books, those moral lessons which were laid down for his conduct, and which he was required to observe; and by their great experience, their knowledge of the past, and their skill in augury and astronomy,[5] they were sup-

[1] A common custom to the present day in rage and grief. (Conf. the Scriptures, *passim*.) They have different modes of rending their garments, according to the degree of anger, the excess of grief, or the display of feeling requisite upon each occasion; and thus, when bewailing the loss of a parent, the rent is proportionably greater than when mourning the death of an acquaintance.

[2] After death some monarchs were deified and had prophets, *neter pent* or flamens, attached to their worship. At the time of the 4th Dynasty Seneferu appears to have been thus honoured, and Cheops and Chephren received the same honours, and other monarchs are found on the inscriptions so deified till the time of the Ptolemies, when the leading priest was the flamen of Alexander the Great.—S. B.

[3] Joseph. Ant. xiii.–xv. p. 367.

[4] Isaiah xix. 11. Diodorus, i. 73.

[5] The *her seshta en pa*, 'over the secrets of the heaven;' there were also the *her seshta en ta*, 'over the secrets of the earth,' and others of the same class over the depths or mines, cellars, etc.; but it is uncertain if they belonged to the order of priests.—S. B.

posed to presage future events, and to foresee an impending calamity, or the success of any undertaking. It was not one man or one woman, as Diodorus observes, who was appointed to the priesthood, but many were employed together in performing sacrifices and other ceremonies; and each college of priests was distinguished according to the deity to whose service it belonged, or according to the peculiar office held by its members.

The principal classes into which the sacerdotal order was divided have been already enumerated;[1] there were also many minor priests of various deities, as well as the scribes and priests of the kings, and numerous other divisions of the caste. Nor should we omit the priestesses of the gods, or of the kings and queens, each of whom bore a title indicating her peculiar office. Of the former, the Pellices, or Pallakides, of Amen, are the most remarkable, as the importance of their post sufficiently proves; and if we are not correctly informed of the real extent and nature of their duties, yet, since females of the noblest families, and princesses, as well as the queens themselves, esteemed it an honour to perform them, we may conclude the post was one of the highest to which they could aspire in the service of religion.[2]

They are the same whom Herodotus mentions as holy women,[3] consecrated to the Theban Jove, whose sepulchres, said by

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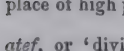
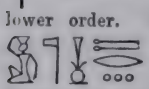
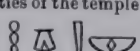
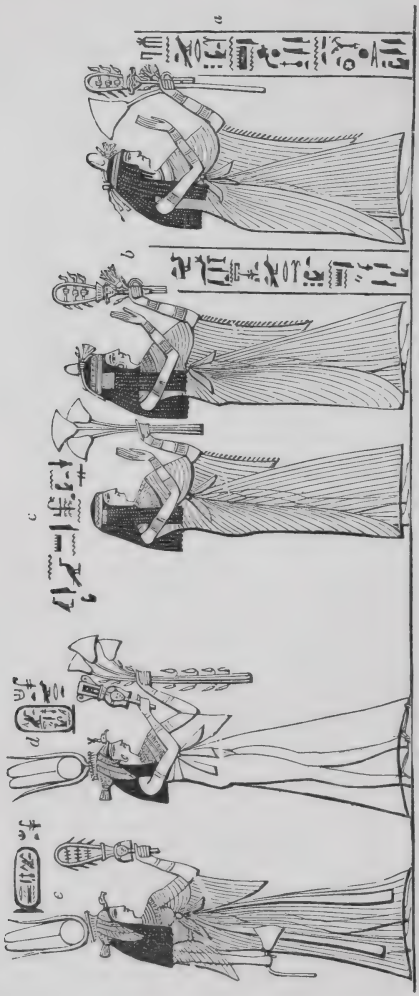
[1] The principal classes into which the priests were divided are, 1. *neter hent*, 'prophets,' the highest in the hierarchy, and of which there were certainly as many as four attached to the principal gods, who succeeded by seniority or election to the place of high priest; 2. the *neter atef*, or 'divine fathers' of inferior rank, but eligible to the grade of prophet; 3. the  *ab*, 'purifiers' or washers, a lower grade of the priesthood; 4. the *neter meri*, 'beloved of god,' a still lower order. Besides these were the  *fai sen-neter*, 'incense bearers' and other officers charged with the care, superintendence, or duties of the temple and its property; the  *kar heb*, who recited funeral prayers and performed other offices; and the or *hesi*, 'bards' of the gods, also attached to the divine service. Besides the high priests were superintendents, who looked after the general body. In the days of Euergetes I., B.C. 238, the priests were divided into four *phylai*, 'tribes' or orders, and another tribe added.—S. B.

[2] The women engaged in the service of the gods were the *neter hem*, the 'divine wife,' the or *neter tut*, 'divine handmaid,' a dignity and office explained by the Pallakis; the *qema*, or 'singers,' and the *ahi*, or 'sistrum-players.' Under the so-called old Empire *neter hent*, prophetesses, are found, but they ceased before the 12th Dynasty. Besides these were the *kenemt* or 'pallakides' of Amen; and a few other offices held by women in the temples.—S. B.

[3] Herod. ii. 54.

Diodorus to have been about ten stadia from the tomb of Osymandyas,[1] are still seen at Thebes, in a valley 3000 feet behind the ruins of Medeenet Haboo: and this fact strongly confirms, and is confirmed by, the evidence of the sculptures, which show them to



No. 8. Sacred offices held by women.

fig. 1. *Thebes.*
fig. 2. The mother, daughter, and sister of a priest.
fig. 3.
fig. 4. The queens of Rameses the Great.
fig. 5.

have been females of the highest rank, since all the occupants of those tombs were either the wives or daughters of kings.

Besides this class of priestesses, was another of similar rank, apparently a subdivision of the same, who fulfilled certain duties

[1] Diod. i. 47.

entrusted only to the wives and daughters of priests, and not unusually to members of the same family as the Pallakides. They had also the privilege of holding the sacred sistra in religious ceremonies, before the altar and on other occasions, and were attached to the service of the same deity.

The ridiculous story of their prostitution could only have originated in the depraved notions and ignorance of the Greeks,[1] fond of the marvellous, and notorious as they were for a superficial acquaintance with the customs of foreign nations; and it is unnecessary to request a sensible person to consider whether it is more probable that women who devoted themselves to the service of religion among the most pious people of profane nations, and who held the rank and consequence necessarily enjoyed by the wives and daughters of a monarch and of the principal nobles of a country, should have sacrificed every feeling of delicacy and virtue, or that the authors of the story were deceived, and perhaps intended to deceive others.

Herodotus states that women were not eligible to the priesthood, either of a male or female deity, and that men were alone admitted to this post;[2] but his remark evidently applies to the office of pontiff, or at least to some of the higher sacerdotal orders, from his referring in another place[3] to women devoted to the service of Amen, as well as from the authority of other writers. Diodorus,[4] indeed, describes Athyrtis, the daughter of Sesostris, so well versed in divination that she foretold to her father the future success of his arms, and engaged him to prosecute his designs of conquest; her knowledge in these matters being sufficient to influence the conduct of the monarch, who was himself, in the capacity of high priest, well versed in all the secrets of religion: and her visions and omens were observed *in* the temple itself. Again, in the Rosetta stone, and the papyri of Paris and Sig. D'Anastasy,[5] we find direct mention made of the priestesses of the queens. In the former, 'Areia, the daughter of Diogenes, being priestess of Arsinoe, the daughter of Philadelphus: and Eirene, the daughter of Ptolemy, priestess of Arsinoe, the daughter of Philopator: and Pyrrha, the daughter of Philinus, being canephoros (or basket-bearer) of Berenice, the daughter of Euergetes;'—and, in the latter, are 'the priestess of

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[1] Strabo, xvii. p. 561.
[2] Herod. ii. 39.
[3] Ibid., ii. 54.
[4] Diod. i. 53.
[5] Böckh, 'Corpus Inscript. Græc.' vol. iii. p. 307.—S. B.

Arsinoe, the father-loving:' and 'the prize-bearer of Berenice Euergetes: the basket-bearer of Arsinoe Philadelphus: and the priestess of Arsinoe Eupator:' and those of the three Cleopatras.[1]

The same office usually descended from father to son[2] [and it is probable that the same dress of investiture was kept, and put on by the son to be anointed and invested in, as was the law of the Jews[3]—G. W.], but the grade was sometimes changed;[4] and it is probable that even when a husband was devoted to the service of one deity, a wife might perform the duties of priestess to another. They enjoyed important privileges, which extended to their whole family. They were exempt from taxes; they consumed no part of their own income in any of their necessary expenses;[5] and they had one of the three portions into which the land of Egypt was divided, free from all duties. They were provided for from the public stores,[6] out of which they received a stated allowance of corn and all the other necessaries of life; and we find that when Pharaoh, by the advice of Joseph, took all the land of the Egyptians in lieu of corn,[7] the priests were not obliged to make the same sacrifice of their landed property, nor was the tax of the fifth part of the produce entailed upon it, as on that of the other people.[8] Diodorus states that the land was divided into three portions, one of which belonged to the king, the other to the priests, and the third to the military order; and I am inclined to think that this exclusive right of freehold property is alluded to in the sculptures of the Egyptian tombs. And if the only persons there represented as landed proprietors are the kings, priests, and military men,[9] this accordance of the sculptures with the scriptural account is peculiarly interesting, as it recalls the fact of Pharaoh's having bought all the land of the Egyptians, who farmed it afterwards for the proprietor of the soil, on condition of paying him a fifth of the annual produce; though Herodotus would lead us to infer that Sesostris divided the lands among the people,[10] and, having allotted to each a certain

[1] Young, Hierogl. Literat., p. 72.

[2] Diod. i. 73.

[3] Exod. xxix. 29.

[4] The king nominated his own priests; others were chosen by election.—S. B.

[5] Herodot. ii. 37.

[6] They drew supplies or rations from the temples, and Euergetes I. ordered that bread given to the wives and daughters of the priesthood should be made into a loaf, and stamped with the name or title of Berenice his daughter. (Lepsius, 'Das bilingue Dekret von Kanopus,' Berlin, 1876.)—S. B.

[7] Gen. xlvii. 20, 22.

[8] Gen. xlvii. 26.

[9] The priests and soldiers had an allowance from the government; though the latter are not mentioned as having profited by this during the famine in the time of Joseph.

[10] Herodot. ii. 189. Unless he means that the crown lands were portioned out, and given to the peasants to farm, on pay-

portion, received an annual rent from the peasant by whom it was cultivated.

In the sacerdotal, as among the other classes, a great distinction existed between the different grades, and the various orders of priests ranked according to their peculiar office. The chief and high priests held the first and most honourable station; but he who offered sacrifice in the temple appears to have had, at least for the time, the highest post, and one that was usually filled by the kings themselves. It is, however, probable that the chief priests took it by turns to officiate on those occasions, and that the honour of doing sacrifice was not confined to one alone; but the priests of one deity were not called upon to perform the ceremonies in the temple of another, though no injunction prevented any of them making offerings to the contemplar gods, and still less to Osiris in his capacity of judge of Amenti. Some also, who were attached to the service of certain divinities, held a rank far above the rest; and the priests of the great gods were looked upon with far greater consideration than those of the minor deities. In many provinces and towns, those who belonged to particular temples were in greater repute than others; and it was natural that the priests who were devoted to the service of the presiding deity of the place should be preferred by the inhabitants, and be treated with greater honour. Thus the priests of Amun held the first rank at Thebes, those of Pthah at Memphis, of Re at Heliopolis, and the same throughout the nomes of which these were the chief cities.

One of the principal grades of the priesthood was the prophets. They were particularly versed in all matters relating to religion, the laws, the worship of the gods, and the discipline of the whole order; and they not only presided over the temple and the sacred rites, but directed the management of the priestly revenues.[1] In the solemn processions, their part was conspicuous; they bore the holy *hydria*, or vase, which was frequently carried by the king himself on similar occasions; and when any new regulations were introduced in affairs of religion, they, in conjunction with the chief priests, were the first whose opinion was consulted, as we find in the Rosetta stone, where, in passing a decree regarding the honours to be conferred on Ptolemy Epiphanes, 'the chief

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ment of a certain rent, or a fifth of the produce, as mentioned in Gen. xlvii. 26.

[1] Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 758.

priests and prophets' headed the conclave assembled in the temple of Memphis.[1]

The sacred office of the priests, by giving them the exclusive right to regulate all spiritual matters, as well as to announce the will, threaten the wrath, and superintend the worship of the gods, was calculated to ensure them universal respect; and they were esteemed for a superior understanding, and for that knowledge which could only be acquired by the peculiar nature of their education. In consideration of the services they were bound to perform in the temples, for the welfare of the country and of its inhabitants, they were provided with ample revenues, besides numerous free gifts; for the Egyptians deemed it right that the administration of the honours paid to the gods should not be fluctuating, but be conducted always by the same persons, in the same becoming manner, and that those who were above all their fellow-citizens in wisdom and knowledge ought not to be below any of them in the comforts and conveniences of life. With a similar view, a stated portion was assigned also to the kings in order that they might be enabled to reward the services of those who merited well of their country, and that, by having ample means for supporting their own splendour and dignity, they might not burthen their subjects with oppressive and extraordinary taxes.[2]

The chief cause of the ascendency they acquired over the minds of the people was the importance attached to the mysteries, to a thorough understanding of which the priests could alone arrive; and so sacred did they hold those secrets that many members of the sacerdotal order were not admitted to a participation of them, and those alone were selected for initiation who had proved themselves virtuous and deserving of the honour: a fact satisfactorily proved by the evidence of Clement of Alexandria, who says, 'The Egyptians neither entrusted their mysteries to every one, nor degraded the secrets of divine matters by disclosing them to the profane, reserving them for the heir apparent of the throne, and for such of the priests as excelled in virtue and wisdom.'[3]

From all we can learn on the subject, it appears that the mysteries consisted of two degrees, denominated the greater and

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[1] Rosetta stone, line 6.
[2] Diod. i. 73.
[3] Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 670. He adds, 'Therefore, in their hidden character, the enigmas of the Egyptians are very similar to those of the Jews.'

the less; and in order to become qualified for admission into the higher class, it was necessary to have passed through those of the inferior degree: and each of them was probably divided into ten different grades. It was necessary that the character of the candidate for initiation should be pure and unsullied; and novitiates were commanded to study those lessons which tended to purify the mind and to encourage morality. The honour of ascending from the less to the greater mysteries was as highly esteemed as it was difficult to obtain: no ordinary qualification recommended the aspirant to this important privilege; and, independent of enjoying an acknowledged reputation for learning and morality, he was required to undergo the most severe ordeal, and to show the greatest moral resignation; but the ceremony of passing under the knife of the Hierophant was merely emblematic of the regeneration of the neophyte.

That no one except the priests was privileged to initiation into the greater mysteries, is evident from the fact of a prince, and even the heir apparent, if of the military order, neither being made partaker of those important secrets nor instructed in them until his accession to the throne, when, in virtue of his kingly office, he became a member of the priesthood and the head of the religion. It is not, however, less certain that, at a later period, many besides the priests, and even some Greeks, were admitted to the lesser mysteries; yet in these cases also their advancement through the different grades must have depended on a strict conformance to prescribed rules.

On the education of the Egyptians Diodorus[1] makes the following remarks:—'The children of the priests are taught two different kinds of writing,[2]—what is called the sacred, and the more general; and they pay great attention to geometry and arithmetic. For the river, changing the appearance of the country very materially every year, is the cause of many and various discussions among neighbouring proprietors about the extent of their property; and it would be difficult for any person to decide upon their claims without geometrical reasoning,

[1] Diod. i. 81. Conf. Herod. ii. 36.

[2] Perhaps Diodorus and Herodotus both refer to the hieratic and enchorial or demotic, without considering the hieroglyphic; but Porphyry and Clement of Alexandria are more explicit. The former states that Pythagoras (when in Egypt) became acquainted with the three kinds of writing,—the epistolographic, the hieroglyphic, and the symbolic; and the latter says, 'that in the education of the Egyptians three styles of writing are taught: the first is called the epistolary (enchorial or demotic); the second, the sacerdotal (hieratic), which the sacred scribes employ; and the third, the hieroglyphic. (Porph. in Vitâ Pythag., p. 15. Clem. Alex. Strom. v. vol. ii. p. 657.)

founded on actual observation. Of arithmetic they have also frequent need, both in their domestic economy, and in the application of geometrical theorems, besides its utility in the cultivation of astronomical studies; for the orders and motions of the stars are observed at least as industriously by the Egyptians as by any people whatever; and they keep record of the motions of each for an incredible number of years, the study of this science having been, from the remotest times, an object of national ambition with them. They have also most punctually observed the motions, periods, and stations of the planets, as well as the powers which they possess with respect to the nativities of animals, and what good or evil influences they exert; and they frequently foretell what is to happen to a man throughout his life, and not uncommonly predict the failure of crops or an abundance, and the occurrence of epidemic diseases among men and beasts: foreseeing also earthquakes and floods, the appearance of comets, and a variety of other things which appear impossible to the multitude. It is said that the Chaldæans in Babylon are derived from an Egyptian colony, and have acquired their reputation for astrology by means of the information obtained from the priests in Egypt. But the generality of the common people learn only from their parents or relations that which is required for the exercise of their peculiar professions, as we have already shown; a few only being taught anything of literature, and those principally the better classes of artificers.'

Hence it appears they were not confined to any particular rules in the mode of educating their children, and it depended upon a parent to choose the degree of instruction he deemed most suitable to their mode of life and occupations, as among other civilised nations.[1]

In their minute observations respecting every event of consequence, Herodotus states that the Egyptians surpassed all other men; and 'when anything occurs,' says the historian,[2] 'they put it down in writing, and pay particular attention to the circumstances which follow it; and if in process of time any similar occurrence takes place, they conclude it will be attended with the same results.'

If the outward show and pomp of religion, for which the ancient Egyptians were so noted, appear to us unnecessary, and

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[1] The condition of the hierarchy under the Ptolemies is given by Franzius in Böckh, 'Corp. Inscr. Græc.' vol. iii. pars xxix. Aegyptus.—S. B.

[2] Herod. ii. 32.

inconsistent with real devotion, we must make suitable allowance for the manners of an Eastern nation, and bear in mind that the priests were not guilty of inculcating maxims they did not themselves follow; but on the contrary, by their upright conduct and by imposing on themselves duties far more severe than those required from any other class of the community, they set an example to the people by which they could not fail to benefit. And the strict purification of body and mind they were bound to undergo, both as members of those sacred institutions and as persons devoted to the service of the gods, not only obtained for them the esteem of the rest of the Egyptians, but tended also to ameliorate their own character; and their piety and virtue were as conspicuous as their learning.

We may, perhaps, feel disposed to blame the Egyptian priests for their exclusiveness in the study of religion, and in keeping concealed from the people those secrets which it imparted; but it was argued that, being fully engaged in the temporal occupations of the world, the theories of metaphysical speculation were unnecessary for their welfare, and incompatible with their employments. They deemed it sufficient to warn them of their duty, and urge them to conform to the rules laid down for the encouragement of morality; and the dread both of a temporal and a future ordeal was held out to them as an inducement to lead a just and virtuous life. Restrained by the fear of punishment hereafter and by the hope of a happier state, and dreading the displeasure of their rulers and the severity of the laws, they were necessarily taught to command their passions, and to practise, or at least to appreciate, virtue; and respect for their spiritual pastors being heightened by the idea of their possessing superior talents, they obeyed their commands with deference and submission.

It appears to have been the object of the priests to enhance the value of their knowledge, and thereby more easily to gain an ascendency over the minds of a superstitious people; a measure which naturally strikes us as illiberal and despotic: but if we remember how much the force of habit and the sanctity of established laws serve to reconcile men to the form of government under which they have long lived, we cease to be surprised at the fondness of the Egyptians for their ancient institutions; and if they were so well satisfied with them that every innovation was resisted, and the Ptolemies and Cæsars vainly endeavoured to suggest improvements in their laws, we may conclude that the

system and regulations of the Egyptian priests were framed with wisdom, and tended to the happiness as well as to the welfare of the people. And when the members of the legislative body are possessed of superior talents, even though their measures are absolute, they frequently govern with great benefit to the community; and this paternal authority is certainly more desirable in the ruling power than physical force.

Some will also question the policy or the justice of adopting such exclusive measures in the study of religion; but we may be allowed to doubt the prudence of allowing every one, in a nation peculiarly addicted to speculative theory,[1] to dabble in so abtruse a study. We have observed the injury done to the morals of society in Greece, at Rome, and in other places, by the fanciful interpretation of mysteries and hidden truths, which being misunderstood, were strangely perverted; and licence in religious speculation has always been the cause of schism, and an aberration from the purity of the original. At a later period, when every one was permitted to indulge in superstitious theories, the Egyptians of all classes became notorious for their wild and fanciful notions, which did not fail eventually to assail Christianity, for a time tainting the purity of that religion; and we find from Vopiscus, that the Emperor Aurelian considered them 'smatterers in abstruse science, prophecy and medicine; eager for innovation, which formed the subject of their songs and ballads; always turning their talents for poetry and epigram against the magistrates, and ready to assert their pretended liberties.'

There is therefore less reason to censure the Egyptian priests for their conduct in these matters, though a little insight into the foundation of their theological system would have been more beneficial to the people than the blind creed of an imaginary polytheism, which was contrary to the spirit of the religion they themselves professed, but which the people were taught or left to believe: for it was unjust and cruel to conceal under the fabulous guise of a plurality of gods that knowledge of the attributes and omnipotence of the Deity which the priests themselves possessed;[2] and it was iniquitous to degrade the nature of the Divinity by bringing it down to the level of the gross imaginations of the people, when they had had the means of raising

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxii. c. 16.

[2] I allude to the priests of an early epoch, and not to those of the time of the Romans.

their minds, by giving them an insight into some of those truths which have merited the name of 'the wisdom of the Egyptians.' The unity of the Deity would have been a doctrine which all classes might have been taught; and the eternal existence and invisible power of Îhôah [1] would have offered a higher notion of the Cause and Ruler of all things than any mention of His attributes, or the fanciful representation of a god in the sculptures of their temples. It would have been unnecessary to explain the nature or peculiar occupation of a trinity, the mysterious connection between truth and the creative power (which is referred to in their sculptures); and imprudent to confuse their ideas with the notion of intermediate temporal and intellectual agents, or with the abstruse science of numbers and geometrical emblems.

If the priests were anxious to establish a character for learning and piety, they were not less so in their endeavours to excel in propriety of outward demeanour, and to set forth a proper example of humility and self-denial; and if not in their houses, at least in their mode of living, they were remarkable for simplicity and abstinence. They committed no excesses either in eating or drinking; their food was plain and in a stated quantity,[2] and wine was used with the strictest regard to moderation.[3] And so fearful were they lest the body should not 'sit light upon the soul,'[4] and excess should cause a tendency to increase 'the corporeal man,' that they paid a scrupulous attention to the most trifling particulars of diet: and similar precautions were extended even to the deified animals: Apis, if we may believe Plutarch,[5] not being allowed to drink the water of the Nile, since it was thought to possess a fattening property.

They were not only scrupulous about the quantity, but the quality of their food; and certain viands were alone allowed to appear at table. Above all meats, that of swine was particularly obnoxious; and fish both of the sea and the Nile were forbidden them,[6] though so generally eaten by the rest of the Egyptians.

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[1] I use the Hebrew name of the deity in unity, 'The Being of Beings,' 'who is and was;' Jehovah (Yehouah). This word has been still further changed by our custom of giving *J* the force of *G*: of which there are many instances, as Jacob, Judah, jot, and others.

[2] Herodot. ii. 37.

[3] During the fasts, which were frequent, Plutarch says that they abstained from it entirely. (Plut. de Isid. s. vi.) The Jewish priests were not permitted to drink wine when they went 'into the tabernacle of the congregation.' (Levit. x. 9.)

[4] Plut. de Isid. s. v.; on the principle of *plus de corps moins d'esprit.*

[5] Plut. de Isid. s. v.

[6] Pythagoras borrowed his aversion to fish from Egypt. (Plut. Symp. viii. 8.)

And indeed, on the 9th of the month Thoth,[1] when a religious ceremony obliged all the people to eat a fried fish before the door of their houses, the priests were not even then expected to conform to the general custom, and they were contented to substitute the ceremony of burning theirs at the appointed time. Beans they held in utter abhorrence; and Herodotus affirms[2] that 'they were never sown in the country; and if they grew spontaneously, they neither formed an article of food, nor even if cooked were ever eaten by the Egyptians.' But this aversion, which originated in a supposed sanitary regulation, and which was afterwards so scrupulously adopted by Pythagoras, 'did not,' as I have already had occasion to observe,[3] 'preclude their cultivation;' and Diodorus[4] expressly states that some only abstained from them, as from others of the numerous pulse and vegetables which abounded in Egypt. Of these, lentils, peas, garlic, leeks, and onions[5] were the most objectionable, and no priest was permitted to eat them under any pretence; but that the prohibition regarding them, as well as certain meats, was confined to the sacerdotal order, is evident from the statements of many ancient writers; and even swine were,[6] if we may believe Plutarch,[7] not forbidden to the other Egyptians at all times: 'for those who sacrifice a sow to Typho once a year, at the full moon, afterwards eat its flesh.'

It is a remarkable fact that onions, as well as the first-fruits of their lentils,[8] were admitted among the offerings placed upon the altars of the gods, together with gourds,[9] cakes, beef, goose or wild fowl, grapes, figs, wine, and the head of the victim; and they were sometimes arranged in a hollow circular bunch, which, descending upon the table or altar, enveloped and served as a cover to whatever was placed upon it. And the privilege of presenting them in this form appears, though not without exceptions, to have been generally enjoyed by that class of priests who wore the leopard-skin dress.[10]

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[1] Plutarch says, 'the first month,' which was Thoth. The 1st of Thoth coincided, at the time of the Roman conquest, with the 29th of August. (Plut. de Isid. s. vii. *Vide* Herodot. ii. 37.)

[2] Herodot. ii. 37.

[3] 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 216.

[4] Diod. i. 89.

[5] Plut. s. viii. Diod. i. 81. Juv. Sat. xv.

[6] 'On the day of the full moon,' says Herodotus, 'the people eat part of the victim they have sacrificed to that deity, but on no other occasion do they taste the meat of swine.' (ii. 47.)

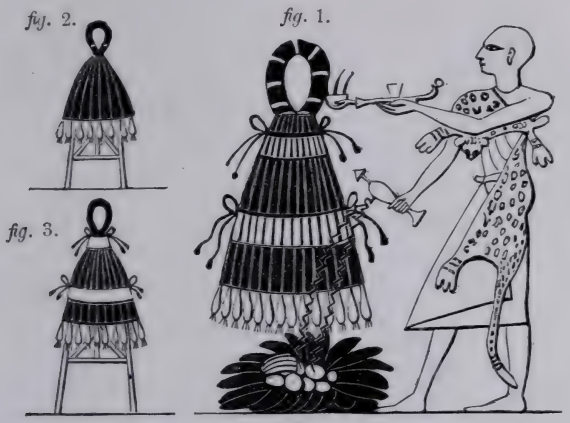
[7] Plut. de Isid. s. viii.

[8] They were offered in the month of Mesore, August. (Plut de Isid. s. lxviii.)

[9] *Cucurbita lagenaria*, Linn. Arab. *qarra toweel.*

[10] This spotted skin has been mistaken for that of the *nebris*, or fawn. (Plut. de Isid. s. xxxv.)

In general, 'the priests abstained from most sorts of pulse, from mutton, and swine's flesh; and in their more solemn



No. 9. Mode of tying up the onions for some offerings. *Thebes.*

purifications, even excluded salt from their meals;'[1] but some vegetables were considered lawful food, being preferred by them for their wholesome nature, and it is certain that the leguminous productions and fruits of Egypt are frequently introduced into the sculptures, and are noticed by Pliny and other authors[2] as abundant, and of the most excellent quality.

In their ablutions, as in their diet, they were equally severe, and they maintained the strictest observance of numerous religious customs. They bathed twice a day and twice during the night:[3] and some who pretended to a more rigid observance of religious duties, washed themselves with water which had been tasted by the ibis, supposed in consequence to bear an unquestionable evidence of its purity; and shaving the head and the whole body every third day, they spared no pains to promote the cleanliness of their persons, without indulging in the luxuries of the bath.[4] A grand ceremony of purification took place previous and preparatory to their fasts, many of which lasted from seven to forty-two days,[5] and sometimes even a longer period: during

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. v.

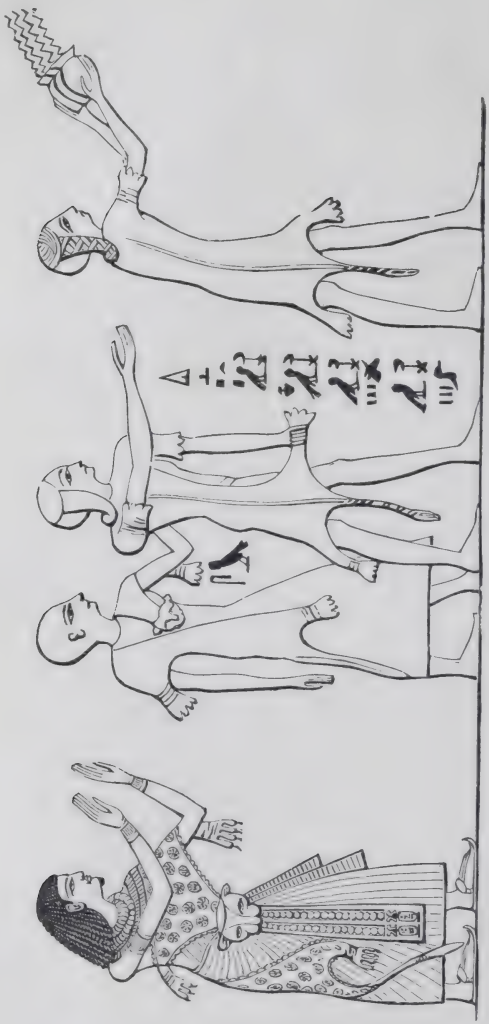
[2] When Alexandria was taken by Amer, 4000 persons were engaged in selling vegetables in that city.

[3] Herodot. ii. 37. Porphyry says thrice a day, and the nocturnal ablutions were only required on certain occasions.

[4] It is supposed that Homer alludes to this when speaking of the priests of Jove (Il. xvi. 238), though he describes them with unwashed *feet*.

[5] Porph. de Abstinentiâ, lib. iv. s. 7.

which time they abstained entirely from animal food, from herbs and vegetables, and above all from the indulgence of the passions.



Their dress was simple; but the robes of ceremony were grand and imposing, and each grade was distinguished by its peculiar costume.

The high priest who superintended the immolating of the victims, the processions of the sacred boats or arks, the presenta-

tion of the offerings at the altar or at funerals, and the anointing of the king, was covered with a sort of mantle made of an entire leopard-skin; and this badge was also attached to the dress of the monarch when engaged in a similar office. Various insignia were worn by them, according to their rank or the ceremony in which they were engaged; and necklaces, bracelets, garlands, and other ornaments were put on during the religious ceremonies in the temples. Their dresses were made of linen, which, as Plutarch observes, is perfectly consistent with the

No. 11. Various priests.

customs of men anxious to rid themselves of all natural impurities; for certainly, he adds, it would be absurd for those who take so much pains to remove hair and all other superfluities from the body, to wear clothes made of the wool or hair of animals. [Their attention to cleanliness was very remarkable, as is shown by their shaving the head and beard, and removing the hair from the whole body, by their frequent ablutions, and by the strict rules instituted to ensure it. The same motive of cleanliness led them to practise circumcision, which Herodotus afterwards mentions. Nor was this confined to the priests, as we learn from the

mummies and from the sculptures, where it is made a distinctive mark between the Egyptians and their enemies; and in later times, when Egypt contained many foreign settlers, it was looked upon as a distinctive sign between the orthodox Egyptian and the stranger, or the nonconformist. Its institution in Egypt reaches to the most remote antiquity: we find it existing at the earliest period of which any monuments remain, more than 2400 years before our era, and there is no reason to doubt that it dated still earlier.

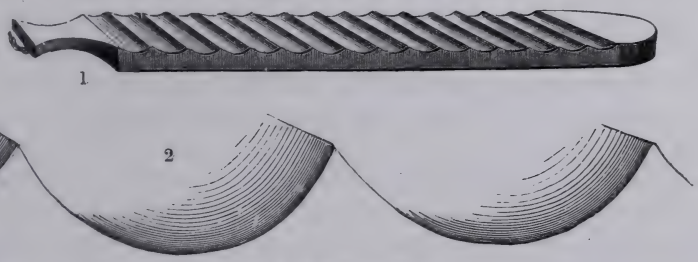
No. 12. Priest in a leopard's skin.

No. 13. Funeral priest and scribe.

No. 14. Priest and functionary.

Walking abroad, or officiating in the temple, they were permitted to have more than one garment. The priest styled *Sem* always wore a leopard-skin placed over the linen dress as his costume of office. The Egyptian and Jewish priests were the only ones (except perhaps those of India) whose dresses were ordered to be of linen. That worn by the former was of the finest texture, and the long robe with full sleeves, which covered the body and descended to the ankles, was perfectly transparent, and placed over a short kilt of thicker quality reaching to the knees. Some wore a long robe of linen, extending from the neck to the ankles, of the same thick substance, and some officiated in the short kilt alone, the arms and legs being bare. Some again had a long thin dress, like a loose shirt, with full sleeves, reaching to the ankles, over which a wrapper of fine linen was bound, covering the lower part of the body, and falling in front below the knees:

the hieraphoros, while bearing the sacred emblems, frequently wore a long full apron, tied in front with long bands, and a strap, also of linen, passed over the shoulder to support it; and some priests wore a long smock reaching from below the arms to the feet, and supported over the neck by straps (see No. 11, fig. 4). Their head was frequently bare, sometimes covered with a wig or a tight cap; but in all cases the head was closely shaved. They had a particular mode of gauffering their linen dresses (also adopted in Greece, to judge from the ancient statues and



No. 15. Instrument for gauffering the dress.

the vases, as well as in Etruria), which impressed upon them the waving lines represented in the paintings, and this was done by means of a wooden instrument, divided into segmental partitions 1½ inch broad on its upper face, which was held by the hand while the linen was pressed upon it. One of them is in the Museum of Florence (fig. 2 gives the real size of the divisions). —G. W.]

Their prejudice, however, against woollen garments was confined to the under robes, it being lawful for them to put on a woollen upper garment for the purpose of a cloak; and cotton dresses were sometimes worn by the priests, to whom, if we may believe Pliny,[1] they were particularly agreeable. But no one was allowed to be buried in a woollen robe, from its engendering worms, which would injure the body; nor could any priest enter a temple without previously taking off this part of his dress.[2] Their sandals were made of the papyrus[3] and palm leaves, and the simplicity of their habits extended even to the bed on which they slept. It was sometimes a simple skin extended upon the bare ground;[4] sometimes it consisted of a sort of wicker-work

[1] Plin. xix. 1. Herodotus says they only wore linen (iii. 37).
[2] Herod. ii. 81.
[3] Herod. ii. 37.
[4] Eustath. in Homer, Il. xvi. 235.

made of palm branches,[1] on which they spread a mat or skin; and their head, says Porphyry, was supported by a half cylinder of wood, in lieu of a pillow.

The same mode of resting the head was common to all the Egyptians, and a considerable number of these stools have been found in the tombs of Thebes: generally of sycamore, acacia, or tamarisk wood; or of alabaster, not inelegantly formed, and frequently ornamented with coloured hieroglyphics. In Abyssinia, and in parts of Upper Ethiopia, they still adopt the same support for the head; and the materials of which they are made are either wood, stone, or common earthenware. Nor are they peculiar to Abyssinia and the valley of the Nile: the same custom prevails in far distant countries; and we find them used in Japan, China, and Ashantee,[2] and even in the island of Otaheite, where they are also of wood, but longer and less concave than those of Africa. Though excesses in their mode of living and all external display of riches were avoided by the priests, we cannot reconcile the great distinction maintained between the different classes of society, or the disproportionate extent of their possessions, with the boasted simplicity of their habits; and, judging from the scale of their villas and the wealth they enjoyed, we feel disposed to withhold much of that credit we should otherwise have bestowed upon the Egyptian priesthood. Besides their religious duties, the priests fulfilled the important offices of judges[3] and legislators, as well as counsellors of the monarch; and the laws, as among many other nations of the East,[4] forming part of the sacred books, could only be administered by members of their order.

But as the office of judge and the nature of their laws will be mentioned in another part of this work, it is unnecessary to enter upon the subject at present, and I therefore proceed to notice the military class, which was the first subdivision of the succeeding or second caste. To these was assigned one of the three portions into which the land of Egypt was divided by an edict of Sesostris,[5] in order, says Diodorus,[6] 'that those who exposed themselves to danger in the field might be more

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[1] No doubt the same as the *caffass* of the present day, which is so generally used for bedsteads in Egypt. Porphyry, lib. iv. s. 7, is right in saying the palm branch, in Arabic *gereet*, was called *bai*.

[2] Those of the Chinese and Japanese are also of wood, but they are furnished with a small cushion.

[3] Ælian, Hist. Var. lib. xiv. c. 34.

[4] The Jews, Moslems, and others.

[5] Diodor. i. 54.

[6] Ibid., i. 73.

ready to undergo the hazards of war, from the interest they felt in the country as occupiers of the soil; for it would be absurd to commit the safety of the community to those who possessed nothing which they were anxious to preserve. Besides, the enjoyment of comfort has a great tendency to increase population; and the result being that the military class becomes more numerous, the country does not stand in need of foreign auxiliaries: and their descendants receiving privileges handed down to them from their forefathers, are thus encouraged to emulate their valour; and studying from their childhood to follow the advice and example of their fathers, they become invincible by the skill and confidence they acquire.' For it was forbidden that a child should follow a different profession from that of his father, or that the son of a soldier should belong to any other profession than that of arms.[1]

[At an early age the youth destined for the profession of arms was sent to the military school or barracks, and his miseries there are described by a contemporary of Rameses II., as also the additional ones of the warrior of a chariot or cavalry, who went accompanied by five slaves, and was instructed in taking to pieces, readjusting his chariot, and driving.[2]—S. B.]

Each man was obliged to provide himself with the necessary arms, offensive and defensive, and everything requisite for a campaign: and they were expected to hold themselves in readiness for taking the field when required, or for garrison duty. The principal garrisons were posted in the fortified towns of Pelusium, Marea, Eilethyas,[3] Hieraconopolis,[4] Syene, Elephantine, and other intermediate places; and a large portion of the army was frequently called upon by their warlike monarchs to invade a foreign country, or to suppress those rebellions which occasionally broke out in the conquered provinces.[5]

Herodotus tells us each soldier, whether on duty or not, was allowed twelve arouræ of land,[6] free from all charge and tribute; which was probably the mode of dividing the portion mentioned by Diodorus,[7] though it may of course be inferred that everyone obtained a share proportionate to his rank.[8] And this system of

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[1] Herodot. ii. 166.

[2] Maspero, 'Genre épistolaire chez les anciens Égyptiens,' Paris, 1872, pp. 41–43.

[3] So I conclude, from the fortified enclosures that remain there, distinct from the walls of the town.

[4] This town and Eilethyas are nearly opposite each other, and command the passage of the valley.

[5] Diodor. i. 47, and the sculptures.

[6] Herodot. ii. 168. The aroura was a square measure, containing 10,000 cubits.

[7] Diodor. i. 54, 73.

[8] The military officer Aahmes, son of

portioning out land, but more particularly of a conquered country, and making allotments for soldiers, has been prevalent at all times throughout the East.

Another important privilege was that no soldier[1] could be cast into prison for debt; and this law, though it extended to every Egyptian citizen, was particularly provided by Bocchoris in favour of the military, who, it was urged, could not be arrested by the civil power without great danger to the State, of which they were the chief defence.

The whole military force, consisting of 410,000 men,[2] was divided into two corps, the Calasiries and Hermotybies. They furnished a body of men to do the duty of royal guards, 1000 of each being annually selected for that purpose; and each soldier had an additional allowance of five minæ of bread,[3] with two of beef,[4] and four arusters of wine,[5] as daily rations, during the period of his service.

The Calasiries[6] were the most numerous, and amounted to 250,000 men, at the time that Egypt was most populous. They inhabited the nomes of Thebes, Bubastis, Aphthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennytus, Athribis, Pharbæthis, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anysis, and the Isle of Myecphoris, which was opposite Bubastis; and the Hermotybies—who lived in those of Busiris, Saïs, Chemmis, Papremis, and the Isle of Prosopitis, and half of Natho—made up the remaining 160,000. It was here that they abode while retired from active service, and in these nomes the farms or portions of land before alluded to were probably situated: which were not only a substitute for regular pay,[7] but tended to encourage habits of industry, and to instil a taste for the occupations of a country life. For the Egyptians justly considered that such employments promoted the strength of the body, as much as the idleness of a town life injured the physical and moral constitution, and the soldier was taught to look upon the pursuits of a

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Abana, received as a reward of his military services 60 arouras, *sta*, from the monarch in whose services he was engaged. ('Records of the Past,' vol. vi. p. 5.)—S. B.

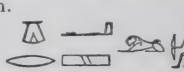
[1] Diod. i. 79.

[2] Herodot. ii. 165, 166. Diodor. i. 54, gives a much larger amount to the army of Sesostris, which, he says, consisted of 600,000 foot, besides 24,000 horse, and 27,000 chariots. He must have included the auxiliaries.

[3] 5 lbs. 5 oz. 1 dwt.

[4] 2 lbs. 2 oz. 8 grs.

[5] If the aruster is the same as the cotyle, these four will be little less than 2 pints English.

[6] The word  *Kalāsher* or Calasiris occurs in a papyrus of the Roman period. (Bunsen, 'Egypt's Place,' vol. v. p. 410.) *Hermotybios* has not yet been found or identified.—S. B.

[7] The military chiefs, like the kings and priests, let out their lands to husbandmen.

mechanic as unmanly and contemptible. Indeed, they were absolutely forbidden to engage in any such occupation; as in Sparta, they made war their profession, and deemed it the most worthy pursuit of generous and freeborn souls. They did not, however, confine the exercise of trades to slaves, like the Lacedæmonians, because the number of the military class alone, in a country so well peopled as Egypt, sufficed for all the purposes of defence; but their prejudices against mechanical employments, as far as regarded the soldier, were equally strong as in the rigid Sparta.

The sports of the field and gymnastic exercises were recommended, as beneficial to their physical force, and as diversions peculiarly suited to the active habits of a soldier; and mock fights, wrestling, leaping, cudgelling, and numerous feats of strength and agility,[1] were their constant amusement.

fig. 1.	fig. 2.	fig. 3.	fig. 4.
Shairetana. [Sardinians.]	Tuirsha. [Etruscans.]	Uashasha. [Oeci.]	Taanauna. [Danai or Dauni.]

No. 16. Allies of the Egyptians. *Thebes.*

Besides the native corps they had also mercenary troops, who were enrolled either from the nations in alliance with the Egyptians, or from those who had been conquered by them.

[1] According to Diodorus, i. 53, when Sesostris was a boy he was obliged, like all the others educated with him, to run 180 stadia, or between 22 and 23 miles, every morning before breakfast. The heat of an Egyptian climate must have added greatly to the unpleasant part of this feat.

They were divided into regiments, sometimes disciplined in the same manner as the Egyptians, though allowed to retain their arms and costume; but they were not on the same footing as the native troops; and instead of land they had regular pay, like other hired soldiers. Strabo speaks of them as mercenaries[1] [who, he says, the Egyptian kings from very early times were in the habit of employing—G. W.]; and the million of men he mentions must have included these foreign auxiliaries. When formally enrolled in the army, they were considered as part of it, and accompanied the victorious legions on their return from foreign conquest; and it is not improbable that they assisted in performing garrison duty in Egypt, in the place of those Egyptian troops which were left to guard the conquered provinces.

[At all periods of their history the Egyptians employed auxiliaries and mercenaries. Under the sixth dynasties they had Nubian or Nigritic levies. Rameses II. had a contingent of Shairetana or Sardinians, Tuirsha or Etruscans, Uashasha or Oscans, and one of the Pelasgic races, either the Dauni or Teucri, besides Mashuasha or Maxyes, a Libyan people, and Kahaka, an unknown people from the West, in his service. Under the dodecarchy the Asiatic Greeks, Ionians, and Carians entered the Egyptian service; and, later, the assistance to the rival monarchs or Egyptian sovereigns, rendered by Athens and Sparta, was of a mercenary nature, and paid by subsidies.[2]—S. B.]

The strength of the army consisted in archers, whose skill appears to have contributed mainly to the success of the Egyptian arms, as it did in the case of our own ancestors during the wars waged by them in France. They fought either on foot or in chariots, and may therefore be classed under the separate heads of a mounted and unmounted corps; and they probably constituted the chief part of both wings. Several bodies of heavy infantry, divided into regiments, each distinguished by its peculiar arms, formed the centre; and the cavalry, which, according to the scriptural accounts, was numerous, covered and supported the foot.

Though we have no representation of Egyptian horsemen in the sculptures, we find them too frequently and positively noticed in sacred and profane history to allow us to question their

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[1] Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 548, &c., edit. 1587.
[2] Chabas, 'Études sur l'Antiquité historique,' pp. 295 and fol.

employment; and it is reasonable to suppose them well acquainted with the proper mode of using this serviceable force. In the battle scenes in the temples of Upper Egypt, we meet with five or six instances of men fighting on horseback; but they are part of the enemy's troops, and I can therefore only account for their exclusive introduction, and the omission of every notice of Egyptian cavalry, by supposing that the artists intended to show how much more numerous the horsemen of those nations were than of their own people.[1]

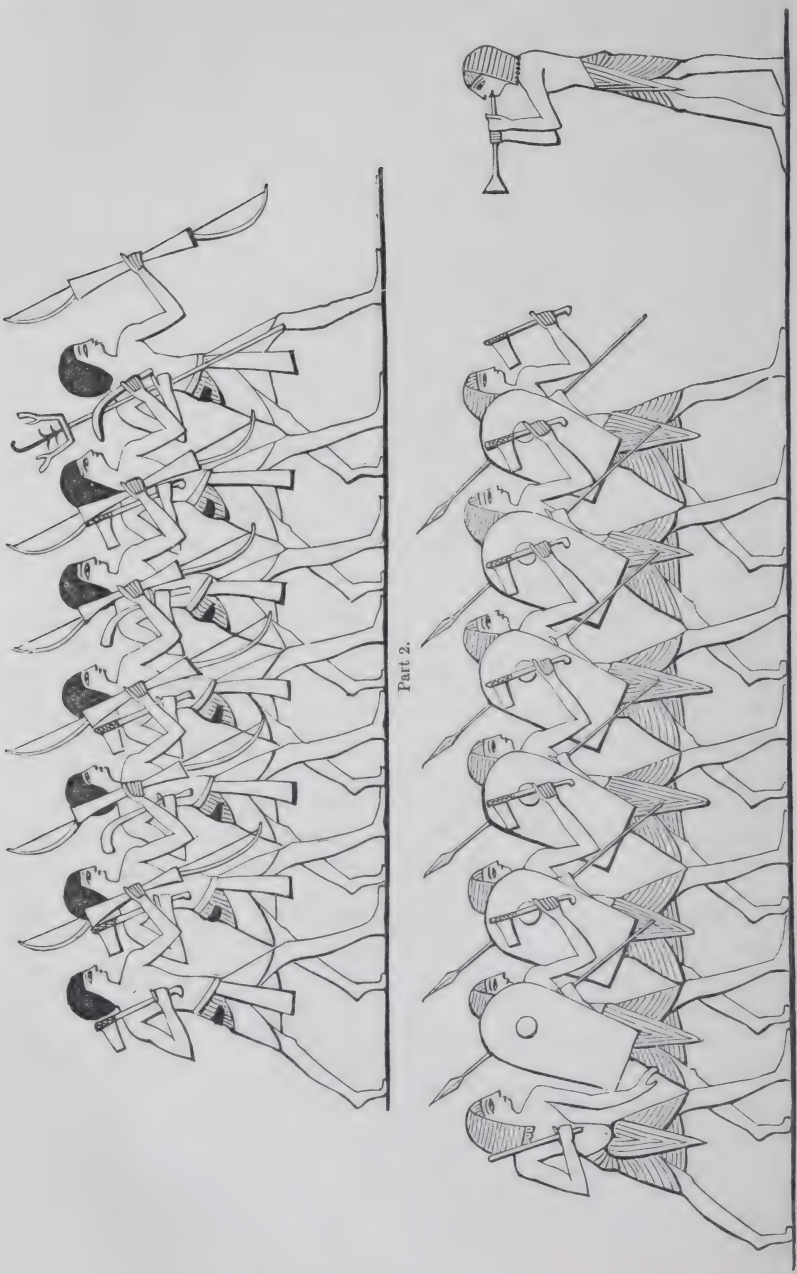
We find only two instances of an Egyptian mounted on horseback; one in the hieroglyphics of the portico at Esneh,

No. 17. Egyptian on horseback. *Esneh.*

which are of a Roman era, and unconnected with any historical bas-relief [and one on an arch of Edfoo, the attitude of each one nearly the same, a copy of the former of which I have here introduced—G. W.].

The Greeks before the Persian war had little cavalry, the country of Attica and the Peloponnesus being ill suited for the employment of that arm; and it was not till they were called upon to cope with an enemy like the Persians, that they became aware of its utility. The same argument may be urged in the case of the Egyptians: and their distant expeditions into Asia, and the frequent encounters with troops which served on

[1] The Egyptian army.



No. 18.

horseback, would necessarily teach them the expediency of employing cavalry, even if they had not done so previously. Egypt was in fact famous for its breed of horses, which were not less excellent than numerous, and we find they were even exported to other countries.[1]

At Jacob's funeral a great number of chariots and *horsemen* are said to have accompanied Joseph;[2] *horsemen* as well as chariots[3] pursued the Israelites on their leaving Egypt;[4] the song of Miriam mentions in Pharaoh's army the 'horse and his rider;'[5] Herodotus also[6] represents Amasis 'on horseback' in his interview with the messenger of Apries; and Diodorus speaks of 24,000 horse in the army of Sesostris, besides 27,000 war chariots. Shishak, the Egyptian Sheshonk, had with him 60,000 horsemen when he went to fight against Jerusalem;[7] and mention is made of the Egyptian cavalry in other parts of sacred and profane history: nor are the hieroglyphics silent on the subject; and we learn from them that the 'command of the cavalry' was a very honourable and important post, and generally held by the most distinguished of the king's sons.

The Egyptian infantry was divided into regiments, very similar, as Plutarch observes, to the *lochoi* and *taxeis* of the Greeks; and these were formed and distinguished according to the arms they bore.[8] They consisted of bowmen, spearmen, swordsmen, clubmen, slingers, and other corps, disciplined according to the rules of regular tactics;[9] and the regiments[10] being probably divided into battalions and companies, each officer had his peculiar rank and command, like the chiliarchs, hecatontarchs, decarchs, and others among the Greeks, or the captains over thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, among the Jews.[11] Masses of heavy infantry, armed with spears and shields, and a falchion, or other weapon, moved sometimes in close array

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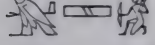
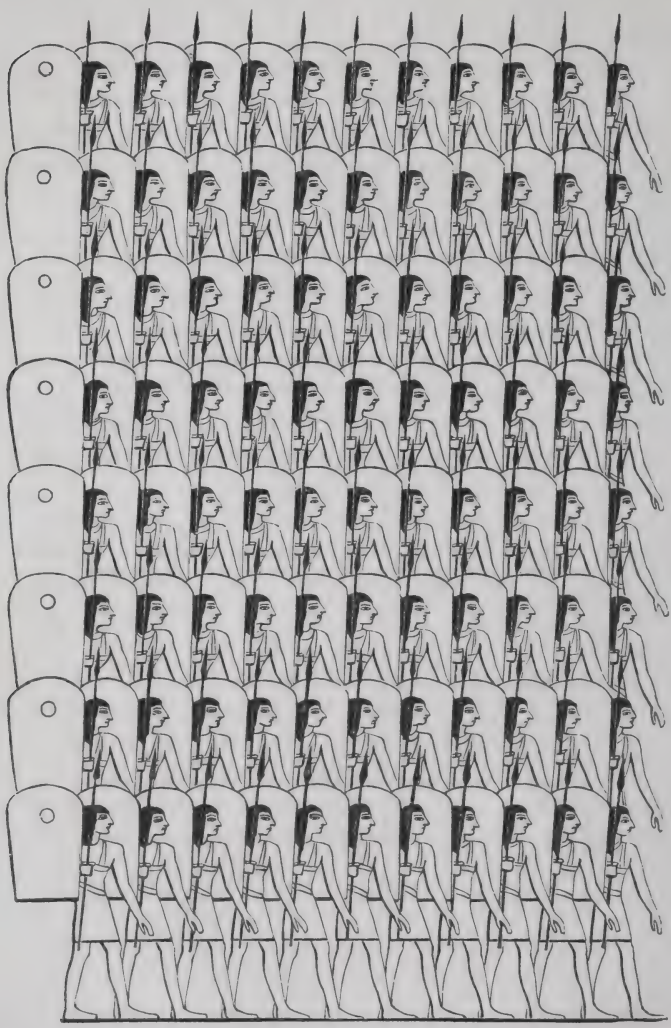
[1] 2 Chron. i. 17.
[2] Gen. l. 9.
[3] 2 Kings xviii. 24.
[4] Exod. xiv. 9, 28.
[5] Exod. xv. 21.
[6] Herod. ii. 162.
[7] 2 Chron. xii. 3. *Vide* also Isaiah xxxvi. 9.
[8] The principal infantry were the  *masa*, 'archers,' armed with war axes, bows and arrows, and the *nefer*, 'young troops,' or conscripts. They were conscribed and officered by various grades: the *menh* or lieutenant; the *aten* or *adonai;* the *mer*, captain; the *haut*, colonel or general.—S. B.
[9] See woodcut on the preceding page.
[10] The army of Rameses II. in the campaign against the Khita was divided into four *corps d'armée* or brigades, called the brigades of Amen, Ra, Pthah, and Set. ('Records of the Past,' vol. ii. p. 68.)—S B.
[11] Deut. i. 15.

in the form of an impregnable phalanx;[1] sometimes they deployed, and formed into long columns or small distinct bodies; and the bowmen as well as the light infantry were taught either



No. 19. Phalanx of heavy infantry. *Thebes.*

[1] See woodcut above. [In the Egyptian phalanx in the army of Crœsus, the commanders of 10,000 formed each of their bodies into 100 men, arranging (as was their custom at home) which they would first charge through, though Crœsus wished to show a longer front. They withstood the Persians when all the rest were defeated, and received honourable terms; being allowed the cities of Larissa and Cyllene as their abode, where their descendants were in the time of Xenophon (Cyrop. vi., vii.).—G. W.]

to act in line, or to adopt more open movements, according to the nature of the ground or the state of the enemy's battle.

Each battalion, and indeed each company, had its particular standard, which represented a sacred subject,—a king's name, a

No. 20. Egyptian standards. *Thebes.*

sacred boat, an animal,[1] or some emblematic device; and the soldiers either followed or preceded it, according to the service on which they were employed, or as circumstances required.[2] The

[1] Similar to these were some of the Greek banners. Those of Athens had an owl, of Thebes a sphinx, &c.

[2] These probably represent the divisions of the army. 1. Name of the queen Hatasu or Hasheps; 5. The west; 7. The royal person; 8. Oryx and feather; 10. Plumes of Amen Ra; 11. Head and plumes of a deity; 14. Horus; 15. Sebak; 19. Mentu Ra.

objects chosen for their standards were such as were regarded by the troops with a superstitious feeling of respect; and it is natural to suppose they must have contributed greatly to the success of their arms,[1] since every soldier was ready to stand by and defend what prejudice as well as duty forbade him to abandon; and their wonderful effects in rallying desponding courage, and in urging men to court danger for their preservation, have not only been recorded in the history of Roman battles, where a general frequently ordered a standard to be thrown into the opposing ranks to stimulate his troops to victory, but are witnessed in every age.

Being raised, says Diodorus,[2] on a spear or staff, which an officer bore aloft,[3] each standard served to point out to the men their respective regiments, enabled them more effectually to keep their ranks, encouraged them to the charge, and offered a conspicuous rallying-point in the confusion of battle. And though we cannot agree with Plutarch,[4] that the worship of animals originated in the emblem chosen by Osiris to designate the different corps into which he divided his army, it is satisfactory to have his authority for concluding that the custom of using these standards was of an early date in the history of Egypt.

The post of standard-bearer was at all times of the greatest importance. He was an officer, and a man of approved valour; and in the Egyptian army he was sometimes distinguished by a peculiar badge suspended from his neck, which consisted of two lions, the emblems of courage, and two other devices apparently representing flies,[5] so poetically described by Homer as characteristic of an undaunted hero, who, though frequently repulsed, as eagerly returns to the attack.[6]

Besides the ordinary standards of regiments, I ought to mention the royal banners, and those borne by the principal persons of the household near the king himself. The peculiar office of carrying these and the *flabella* was reserved for the royal princes or the sons of the nobility, who constituted a principal part of the staff corps. They had the rank of generals, and were either

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[1] Solomon, in his Song, says, 'Terrible as an army with banners' (vi. 4). They were used by the Jews (Ps. xx. 5; Isaiah xiii. 2).

[2] Diodor. i. 86.

[3] *Vide* woodcut No. 18.

[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 72.

[5] The decorations given by the Pharaohs for military valour, were the *nub*, or gold collar, and the *āf*, or order of the fly, bracelets or armlets, daggers and war axes.—S. B.

[6] Homer, Il. P, 570.

despatched to take command of a division, or remained in attendance upon the monarch; and their post during the royal triumph, the coronation, or other grand ceremonies, was close to his person. Some bore the fans of state behind the throne, or

No. 21. Officers of the household. *Thebes.*

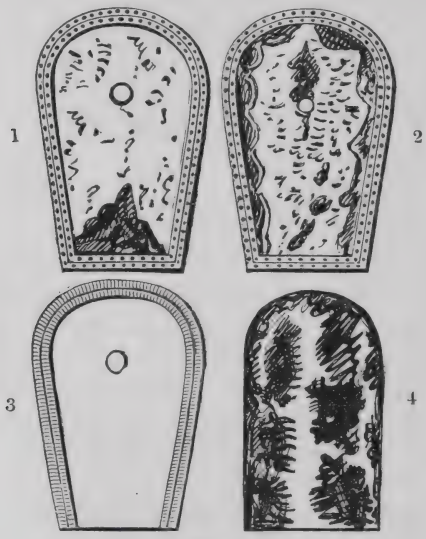
supported the seat on which he was carried to the temple; others held the sceptre, and waved flabella before him; and the privilege of serving on his right or left hand depended on the grade they enjoyed. But as the processions in which the flabella were carried appertain more properly to the ceremonies than to the military affairs of the Egyptians, I shall defer the description of them for the present.

The troops were summoned by sound of trumpet; and this instrument, as well as the long drum, was used by the Egyptians at the earliest period into which the sculptures have given us an insight; trumpeters being frequently represented in the battle scenes of Thebes, sometimes standing still and summoning the troops to form, and at others in the act of leading them to a rapid charge. [Clemens[1] says the Egyptians marched to battle to the sound of the drum, an assertion fully confirmed by the sculptures: but the instrument used for directing their evolutions was the trumpet.—G. W.]

[[1] Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. ii. c. iv. p. 54.—G. W.]

The offensive weapons of the Egyptians were the bow, spear, two species of javelin, sling, a short and straight sword, dagger, knife, falchion,[1] or *ensis falcatus*, axe or hatchet, battle-axe, pole-axe, mace or club, and the *lissán*,[2] a curved stick similar to that still in use among the Ababdeh and modern Ethiopians. Their defensive arms consisted of a helmet of metal, or a quilted head-piece; a cuirass, or coat of armour, made of metal plates, or quilted with metal bands; and an ample shield. But they had no greaves; and the only coverings to the arms were a part of the cuirass, forming a short sleeve, and extending about half-way to the elbow.

The soldier's chief defence was his shield,[3] which, in length, was equal to about half his height, and generally double its own



No. 22. Shields. *Thebes.*

breadth. It was most commonly covered with bull's hide, having the hair outwards, like the *laisēion* of the Greeks, sometimes strengthened by one or more rims of metal,[4] and studded with nails or metal pins; the inner part being probably wicker-work,[5]

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[1] *Khepsh*, so called from its resemblance to the jaw or the haunch of an animal.—S. B.

[2] *Lissán* is the modern name of this weapon, and signifies, in Arabic, a tongue, which it is supposed in form to resemble.

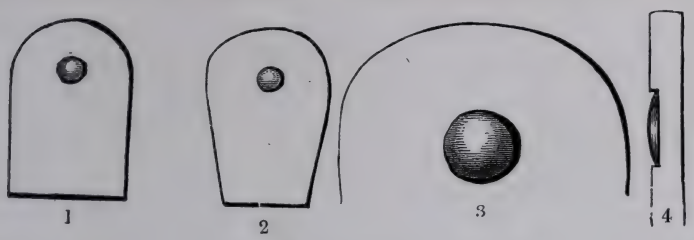
[3] Called *aqam*.—S. B.

[4] Hom. Il. M, 425; N, 161, 163, 406; and Π, 360.

[5] Those of their enemies were in many instances wicker, and not covered with any hide. (Conf. Virg. Æn. vii. 632.)

or a wooden frame, like many of those used by the Greeks and Romans, which were also covered with hide.[1]

The form of the Egyptian shield was similar to the ordinary



No. 23. Boss of the shield. *Thebes.*

funeral tablets found in the tombs, circular at the summit and squared at the base, frequently with a slight increase or swell towards the top; and near the upper part of the outer surface

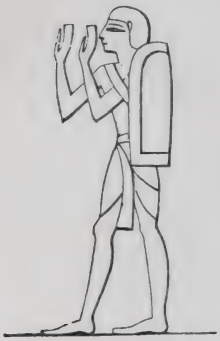
No. 24. Thong inside the shield. *Thebes.*

was a circular cavity in lieu of a boss.[2] This cavity was deeper at the sides than at its centre, where it rose nearly to a level

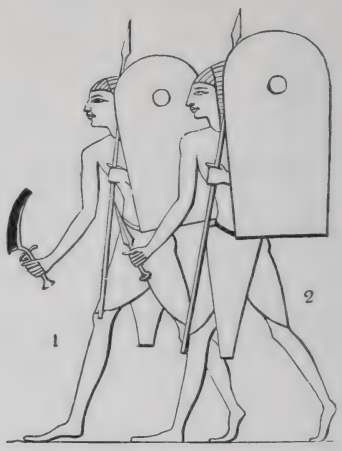
[1] That of Ajax had seven folds, that of Achilles nine folds, of bull's hide.

[2] [The shield of the Kanemboo Negro in Africa, of which Denham and Clapperton give an engraving, has a similar form to that of No. 2 above given, and was held with the round end uppermost, as by the Egyptians.—G. W.]

with the face of the shield; but there is great difficulty in ascertaining for what purpose it was intended, nor does its appearance indicate either an offensive or defensive use. To the inside of the shield was attached a thong,[1] by which they sus-



Concave shield (in perspective).
No. 25. *Thebes.*



Grasping a spear while supporting the shield.
No. 26. *Thebes.*

pended it upon their shoulders; and an instance occurs of a shield so supported, which is concave within, and, what is singular, the artist has shown a knowledge of perspective in his mode of representing it. Sometimes the handle was so situated that

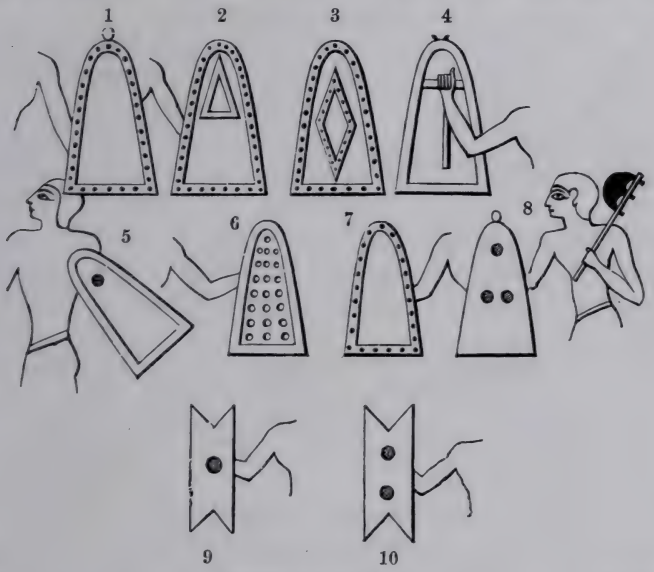
No. 27. Handle of shield. *Thebes.*

they might pass their arm through it and grasp a spear; but this may be another mode of representing the shield slung at their back, the handle being frequently fixed in a position which

[1] The τελαμὼν of the Greeks. (Cf. Hom. Il. B, 388; Γ, 334; K, 149; M, 400; Ξ, 404; O, 479; Π, 803, *et alibi.*) [Xenophon says the Egyptian shield was suspended in this manner over the shoulder. Cyrop. vii.—G. W.]

would prevent their holding the spear in that manner; and though instances occur of the horizontal as well as the perpendicular handle, the latter appears to have been the more usual of the two.

Some of the lighter bucklers were furnished with a wooden bar, placed across the upper part, which was held with the hand; not intended, as in some round Greek shields,[1] for passing the arm through, while the hand was extended to the thong encircling the cavity of the inside, but solely as a handle; and from their general mode of holding it, we may conclude this bar was sometimes placed longitudinally, an indication of which is even traced in that of fig. 4. They are, however, seldom represented, except



No. 28. Bucklers of unusual form. *Beni-Hassan.*

at Beni-Hassan, having been either peculiar to certain troops and employed solely on particular occasions, or confined to foreigners in the pay of Egypt; like those of a still more unusual appearance figured in the same paintings.

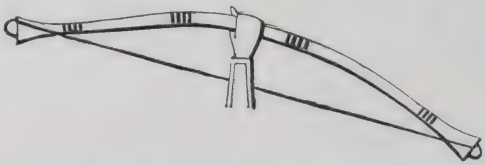
Some Egyptian shields were of extraordinary dimensions, and varied in form from those generally used, being pointed at the summit, not unlike some Gothic arches; but as we seldom find any instances of them, we may conclude they were rarely of such an unwieldy and cumbrous size. [Though Xenophon

[1] Hope's 'Costumes,' pl. lxvii.

describes the Egyptians in the army of Crœsus as carrying shields that covered them from head to foot, in the phalanxes of 10,000 men, 100 in each face were so armed. These shields, he says, were supported by a belt over their shoulders.[1]—G. W.][2] Indeed, the common Egyptian shield was as large as was consistent with convenience, and, if not constructed of light materials, would have been an encumbrance in long marches, or even in the field; and we may even doubt if it *ever* was covered with a surface of metal.

No. 29. Large shield. *E'Sioot.*

The Egyptian bow was not unlike that used in later times by European archers. The string was either fixed upon a projecting piece of horn, or inserted into a groove or notch in the wood, at either extremity, differing in this respect from that of the Kefa and some other Asiatic people, who secured the string by passing it over a small nut which projected from the circular heads of the bow.



No. 30. String of bow belonging to the Kefa (Phœnicians). *Thebes.*

The Ethiopians and Libyans, who were famed for their skill in archery, adopted the same method of fastening the string as the Egyptians, and their bow was similar in form and size to that of their neighbours: and so noted were the latter for their dexterity in its use, that their name is accompanied in the hieroglyphics by a representation of this weapon.

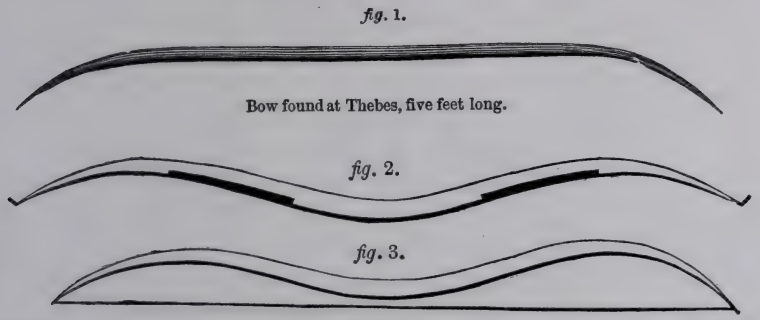
The Egyptian bow was a round piece of wood, from five to five feet and a half in length, either almost straight and tapering to a point at both ends, some of which are represented in the

[1] Cyrop. vi.

[2] They are met with in a tomb at E'Sioot (Lycopolis), of very ancient date. To them the description of Tyrtæus would apply; and the expression of Virgil, Æn. ii. 227. (Conf. Hom. Il. Θ, 266; N, 405; and P, 128.)

sculptures and have even been found at Thebes, or curving inwards in the middle, when unstrung, as in the paintings of the tombs of the kings; and in some instances a piece of leather or wood was attached to or let into it, above and below the centre.

In stringing it, the Egyptians fixed the lower point in the ground, and, standing or seated, the knee pressed against the inner side of the bow, they bent it with one hand, and then



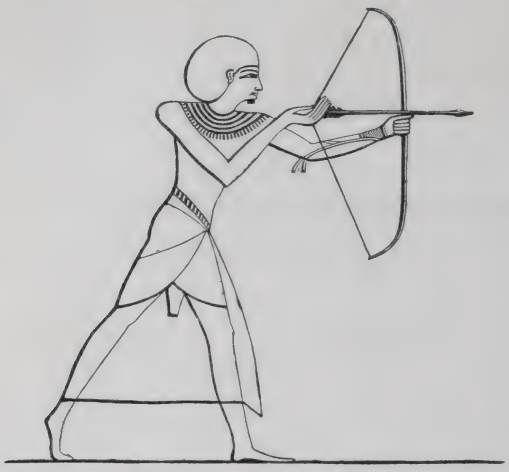
No. 31. Egyptian bows. *Thebes.*

Mode of stringing the bow.
No. 32. *Thebes and Beni-Hassan.*

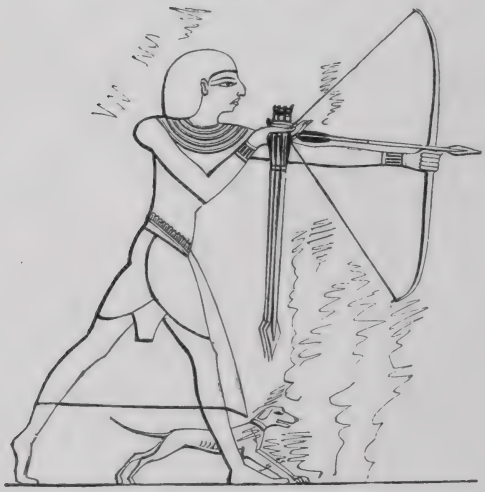
Stringing a bow.
No. 33. *Beni-Hassan.*

passed the string with the other into the notch at the upper extremity; and one instance occurs of a man resting the bow on his shoulder, and bracing it in that position. While shooting they frequently wore a guard on the left arm, to prevent its receiving an injury from the string; and this was not only fastened round the wrist, but was secured by a thong tied above the elbow. Sometimes a groove of metal was fixed upon the fore knuckle, in which the arrow rested and ran when dis-

charged;[1] and the chasseur, whose bow appears to have been less powerful than those used in war, occasionally held spare arrows in his right hand, while he pulled the string.[2]



No. 34. A guard worn on the wrist. *Thebes.*



No. 35. Carrying spare arrows in the hand. *Thebes.*

Their mode of drawing it was either with the forefinger and thumb, or the two forefingers; and though in the chase they sometimes brought the arrow merely to the breast, instances of

[1] I found an instance of this in a tomb at Thebes; the person was a chasseur. I regret my being unable to give a copy of it, having mislaid the drawing.

[2] This is rare; I have only met with it twice so represented.

which occur in the two preceding woodcuts, their custom in war, as with the old English archers, was to carry it to the ear, the shaft of the arrow passing very nearly in a line with the eye.

The ancient Greeks, on the contrary, adopted the less perfect mode of placing the bow immediately before them, and drawing the string to the body;[1] whence the Amazonian women are reported to have cut off the right breast, lest it should be an impediment in its use. And if the Greeks, in later times, abandoned that inefficient method, and handled the bow in the same manner as the Egyptians, they never did attach much importance to it,[2] and few only excelled in archery, with the exception of the Cretans, who, from their skill, were supposed by some to have been the original inventors of the bow. The Scythians, Persians, and other Oriental nations, also placed their principal reliance on this arm, whose power was often severely felt by the disciplined troops of Greece and Rome; and our own history furnishes ample testimony to the advantages it presented throughout the whole course of a battle, and in every species of conflict.

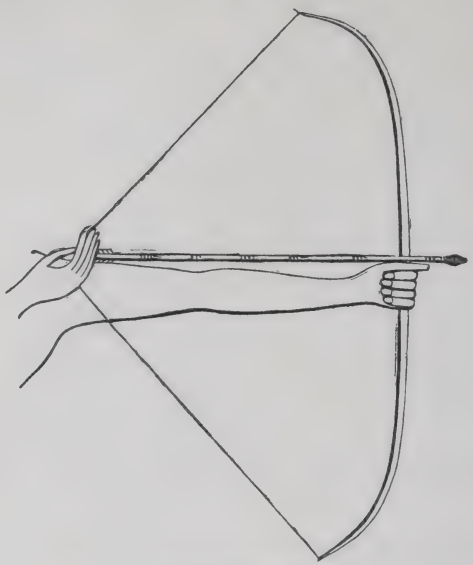
The Egyptian bow-string was of hide,[3] catgut, or string; and so great was their confidence in the strength of it and of the bow, that an archer from his car sometimes used them to entangle his opponent, whilst he smote him with a sword.

Their arrows varied from twenty-two to thirty-four inches in length; some were of wood, others of reed; frequently tipped with a metal head, and winged with three feathers, glued longitudinally, and at equal distances, upon the other end of the shaft, as on our own arrows. Sometimes, instead of the metal head, a piece of hard wood was inserted into the reed, which terminated in a long tapering point;[4] but these were of too light and powerless a nature to be employed in war, and could only have been intended for the chase. In others, the place of the metal was supplied by a small piece of flint, or rather agate or other sharp stone, secured by a firm black paste;[5] and though used

[1] Hom. Il. Δ, 123.
[2] Hom. Il. O, 711.
[3] Conf. Hom. Il. Δ, 122.
[4] [Herodotus, vii. 61 *et seq.*, on the arms of the troops of Xerxes, speaks of Indians with reed arrows and *iron* points.—G. W.]
[5] The flint arrow-heads were either triangular, or else flat at the point, or like the blade of a small hatchet; side blades of flint were sometimes added. (Chabas, 'Études,' p. 380.)—S. B.

No. 35*a*. Arrows with flint heads.

occasionally in battle, they appear from the sculptures to have belonged more particularly to the huntsman; and the



No. 36. Arrow made of reed. *Thebes.*

arrows of archers are generally represented with bronze heads,[1] some barbed, others triangular, and many with three or four projecting blades, placed at right angles, and

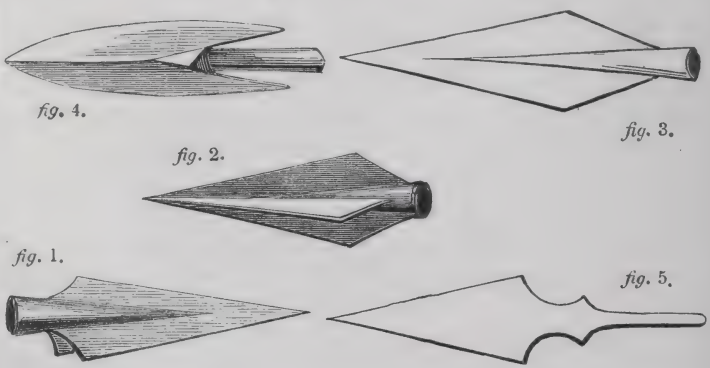


fig. 4. *fig.* 3. *fig.* 2. *fig.* 1. *fig.* 5.

No. 38. Metal heads of arrows. *Alnwick Museum and Thebes.*

meeting in a common point. Stone-tipped arrows were not confined to an ancient era, nor were they peculiar to the

fig. 1. Reed arrow tipped with wood, thirty-four inches in length.

fig. 2. Reed arrow tipped with stone, twenty-two inches in length.

British Museum.

No. 37.

[1] *Vide* woodcut No. 35, p. 204.

Egyptians alone; the Persians and other Eastern people frequently used them, even in war; and recent discoveries have ascertained that they were adopted by the Greeks themselves, several having been found in places unvisited by the troops of Persia,[1] as well as on the plain of Marathon, and other fields of battle where they fought.

Each bowman was furnished with a capacious quiver, about four inches in diameter, and consequently containing a plentiful supply of arrows, which was supported by a belt, passing over the shoulder and across the breast to the opposite side. Their mode of carrying it differed from that of the Greeks, who bore it upon their shoulder,[2] and from that of some Asiatic people, who suspended it vertically at their back, almost on a level with the elbow; the usual custom of the Egyptian soldier being to fix it nearly in a horizontal position, and to draw out the arrows from beneath his arm. Many instances also occur in the sculptures of the quiver placed at the back, and projecting above the top of the shoulder; but this appears to have been only during the march, or at a time when the arrows were not required. It was closed by a lid or cover, which, like the quiver itself, was highly decorated, and, when belonging to a chief, surmounted with the head of a lion or other ornament; and this, on being thrown open, remained attached by a leathern thong.[3]

They had also a case for the bow,[4] intended to protect it against the sun or damp, and to preserve its elasticity; which was opened by drawing off a movable cap of soft leather sewed to the upper end. It was always attached to the war chariots; and across it inclined, in an opposite direction, another large case, containing two spears and an abundant stock of arrows;[5] and besides the quiver he wore, the warrior had frequently three others attached to his car.

Archers of the infantry were furnished with a smaller sheath for the bow,[6] of which it covered the centre, leaving the two ends exposed; and, being of a pliable substance, probably leather, it was put round the bow, as they held it in their hand during a march. Besides the bow, their principal weapon of offence, they,

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[1] I am indebted for this curious fact to Colonel Leake, whose valuable researches are known to every reader.

[2] Apollo is so described by Homer, Il. A, 45. (Hope's 'Costumes,' pl. ccxx.)

[3] Woodcut No. 85.

[4] The Greeks sometimes had the bow-case attached to the quiver, but open at the top. (Hope's 'Costumes,' pl. lxxvi. and cxxvi.)

[5] Woodcut No. 62.

[6] Woodcut No. 18.

like the mounted archers, who fought in cars, were provided with a falchion, dagger, curved stick, mace, or battle-axe, for close combat, when their arrows were exhausted; and their defensive arms were the helmet, or quilted headpiece, and a coat of the same materials; but they were not allowed a shield, being considered an impediment to the free use of the bow.

The spear, or pike, was of wood,[1] between five and six feet in length, with a metal head, into which the shaft was inserted and fixed with nails: and one of them, preserved in the Berlin Museum,[2] satisfactorily accords with the general appearance of those represented in the sculptures. The head was of bronze or iron, sometimes very large, usually with a double edge, like that of the Greeks;[3] but the spear does not appear to have been furnished with a metal point at the other extremity, called σαυρωτὴρ by Homer,[4] which is still adopted in Turkish, modern Egyptian, and other spears, in order to plant them upright in the ground, as the spear of Saul was fixed near his head, while he 'lay sleeping within the trench.'[5] Spears of this kind should perhaps come under the denomination of javelins, the metal being intended as well for a counterpoise in their flight as for the purpose above alluded to; and such an addition to those of the heavy-armed infantry would neither be requisite nor convenient.

The javelin, lighter and shorter than the spear, was also of wood, and similarly armed with a strong two-edged metal head, generally of an elongated diamond shape, either flat, or increasing in thickness at the centre, and sometimes tapering to a very long point;[6] and the upper extremity of its shaft terminated in a bronze knob, surmounted by a ball, to which were attached two thongs or tassels, intended both as an ornament and a counterpoise to the weight of its point.[7] It was sometimes used as a spear, for thrusting, being held with one or with two hands; and sometimes, when the adversary was within reach, it was darted and still retained in the warrior's grasp, the shaft being allowed to pass through his hand till stopped by the blow, or by the fingers suddenly closing on the band of metal at the end; a custom I have often observed among the modern Nubians and

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[1] Woodcuts Nos. 18, 19, 26.

[2] This spear is about five feet and a half long, but the shank of its bronze head is much longer than usual. (*Vide* woodcut No. 40, *fig.* 1.)

[3] Hom. Il. O, 712.

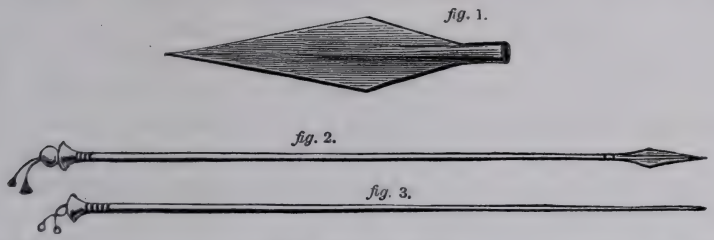
[4] Hom. Il. K, 151.

[5] 1 Sam. xxvi. 7. Conf. Virg. Æn. xii. 130.

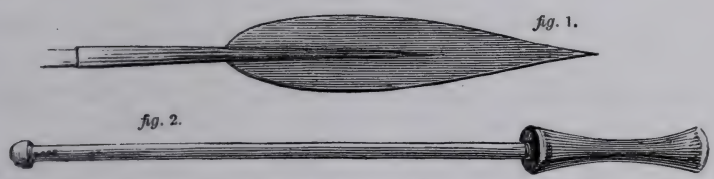
[6] Woodcut No. 92, *fig.* 9.

[7] It resembles the Parthian javelin. (Hope's 'Costumes,' vol. i. pl. xiii.)

Ababdeh. They had another javelin apparently of wood, tapering to a sharp point, without the usual metal head;[1] and a still lighter kind, armed with a small bronze point,[2] which was fre-

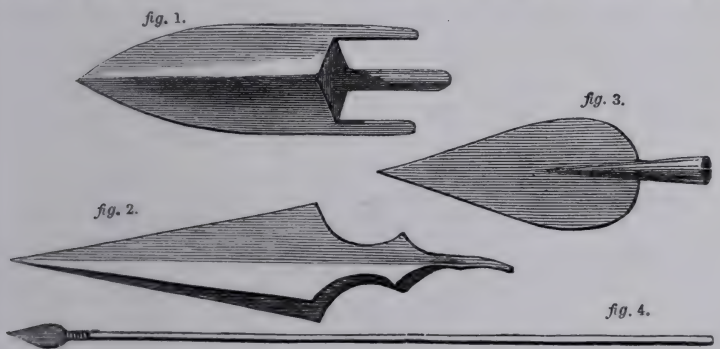


No. 39. Javelins and spear-head. *Thebes.*



No. 40. Spear-head and drum-stick. *Berlin Museum.*

quently four-sided, three-bladed,[3] or broad and nearly flat; and, from the upper end of the shaft being destitute of any metal counterpoise,[4] it resembled a dart now used by the people of



No. 41. Heads of small javelins. *Alnwick Museum and Thebes.*

Darfoor and other African tribes, who, without any scientific knowledge of projectiles or the curve of a parabola, dexterously strike their enemy with its falling point.

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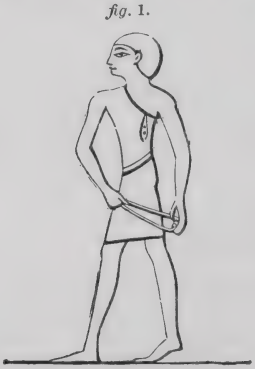
[1] Woodcut No. 39, *fig.* 3.
[2] Woodcut No. 41, *fig.* 1; and woodcut No. 92, *fig.* 8.
[3] Woodcut No. 41, *fig.* 2.
[4] Woodcut No. 41, *fig.* 4.

Another inferior kind of javelin was made of reed, with a metal head; but this can scarcely be considered a military weapon, nor would it hold a high rank among those employed by the Egyptian chasseur, most of which were of excellent workmanship, and adapted to all the purposes of the chase, whether in the river or the field. Of these last, the most remarkable was one used for spearing fish: it was propelled by the hand with the assistance of a thin cord [1] passing over its notched summit, and extending down the shaft: but being solely intended for sportsmen, and not among the arms borne by the soldier, it is unnecessary here to describe it more minutely.

The sling was a thong of plaited leather [2] or string,[3] broad in the middle, and having a loop at one end, by which it was fixed upon and firmly held with the hand; the other extremity terminating in a lash, which escaped from the fingers as the stone was thrown; and when used, the slinger whirled it two or three times over his head, to steady it, and to increase the impetus.[4]



No. 42. Slingers. Slinger at the mast-head of a galley. *Beni-Hassan and Thebes.*

The Egyptians employed round stones for this purpose, which they carried in a small bag, hanging from a belt over the shoulder.[5]

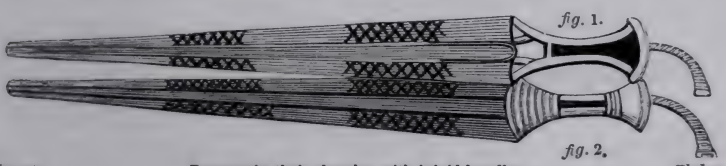
The Egyptian sword was straight and short, from two and a half to three feet in length, having apparently a double edge, and tapering to a sharp point; and Herodotus[6] compares the sword of Cilicia to that of Egypt. It was used for cut and thrust;

[1] The amentum. (Virgil, Æn. ix. 665.)
[2] Homer, Il. N, 599, mentions one made of a sheep's fleece.
[3] As that still used in Egypt to drive away birds from the corn-fields. *Vide* woodcut No. 92, *figs.* 4 and 5.
[4] Virg. Æn. ix. 587.
[5] Woodcut No. 42, *fig.* 1.
[6] Herodot. vii.91.

but on some occasions they held it downwards, and stabbed as with a dagger. The handle was plain, hollowed in the centre, and gradually increasing in thickness at either extremity, sometimes inlaid with costly stones, precious woods, or metals;

No. 43. Stabbing an enemy. *Thebes.*

and the pommel of that worn by the king in his girdle was frequently surmounted by one or two heads of a hawk, the symbol of Phrah, or the sun, a Pharaonic title given to the monarchs of the Nile. Strictly speaking, the short sword, so worn, should come under the denomination of a dagger, which was also a common Egyptian weapon, as is proved by those found in the excavated ruins of Thebes. It was much smaller than the

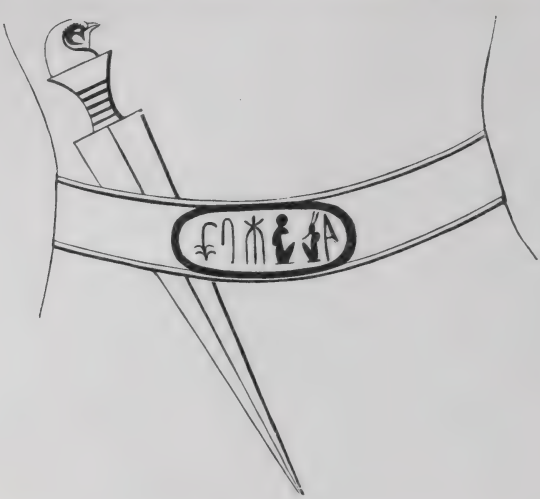


No. 44. Daggers in their sheaths, with inlaid handles. *Thebes.*

sword: its blade was about ten or seven inches in length, tapering gradually in breadth, from one inch and a half to two-thirds of an inch, towards the point; and the total length, with the handle, only completed a foot or sixteen inches. The handle, like that of the sword, was generally inlaid:[1] the blade was bronze, thicker in the middle than at the edges, and slightly

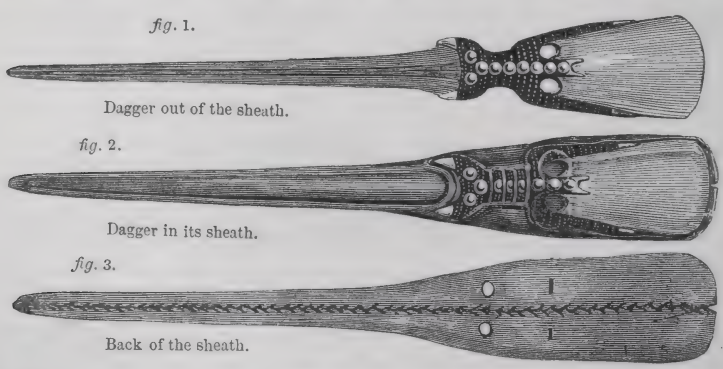
[1] *Vide* woodcut No. 92, *fig.* 7.

grooved in that part; and so exquisitely was the metal worked, that some of those I have examined retain their pliability and spring after a period of several thousand years, and almost



No. 45. Mode of wearing the dagger by Rameses II. *Thebes.*

resemble steel in elasticity. Such is the dagger of the Berlin Collection, which was discovered by Sig. Passalacqua in a Theban tomb; and, in noticing it, I avail myself of the opportunity of



No. 46. Dagger, with its sheath. *Berlin Museum.*

acknowledging his kindness, which has enabled me to introduce a representation of it, in the actual state in which it was found, enclosed in a leathern sheath.[1] The handle is partly covered

[1] Woodcut No. 46, *fig.* 2.

with metal, and adorned with numerous small pins and studs of gold,[1] which are purposely shown through suitable openings in the front part of the sheath; but the upper extremity consists solely of bone, neither ornamented, nor covered with any metal casing: other instances of which have elsewhere been found,[2] offering, in this respect, remarkable exceptions to the usual inlaid handles of Egyptian daggers,[3] already noticed.[4]

The knife was also shorter than the sword, and had a single edge, intended only for cutting, as was the falchion, a species of *ensis falcatus*.[5] This last was called Shopsh, or Khopsh; and the resemblance of its form and name to the *kopis*[6] of the Greeks, suggests that the people of Argos, an Egyptian colony, by whom it was principally adopted, originally derived that weapon from the falchion of Egypt. It was more generally used than either the knife or the sword, being borne by light as well as heavy armed troops; and that such a weapon must have inflicted a severe wound is evident, as well from the size and form of the blade as from the great weight it acquired by the thickness of the back, which was sometimes cased with brass, the blade itself being of bronze or iron.[7]

Officers as well as privates carried the falchion; and the king himself is frequently represented in close combat with the enemy, armed with it, or with the hatchet, battle-axe, pole-axe, or mace. A simple stick is more usually seen in the hand of officers commanding corps of infantry, though we cannot thence infer that they were not always provided with some other more efficient weapon; and in leading their troops to the charge, we see them armed in the same manner as the king when he fought on foot. In chariots they had the bow; and every chief prided himself upon his dexterity in archery, and emulated the skill as well as the valour of the monarch.

The axe, or hatchet, was small and simple, seldom exceeding

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[1] Like the swords mentioned by Homer. (Il. Π, 135; and Τ, 372.)

[2] A dagger in the British Museum. The hole in the handle is for the insertion of the finger and thumb when stabbing. Daggers were called *baqasu* or *maqasu* by the Egyptians.—S. B.

[3] Another dagger with a simple unornamented handle is given in woodcut No. 92, *fig.* 3; but I am not certain about its date.

[4] A dagger with a stone blade of flint, and part of a leathern scabbard, from the Hay Collection in the British Museum, is figured by Chabas, 'Mélanges,' p. 386.—S. B.

[5] One of peculiar shape is figured by Chabas, 'Études,' p. 93.

[6] Q. Curtius, lib. iii. Apul. Metam. lib. xi. [*V.* Xenophon, 'Cyrop.' 6, c. ii. 10.—G. W.]

[7] From the colour of those in the tombs of the kings, we may conclude iron or steel.

two or two and a half feet in length: it had a single blade, and no instance is met with of a double axe resembling the bipennis of the Romans.[1] Of the same form was that used by the Egyptian carpenters; and not only did the soldiers carry it as a serviceable weapon in close combat, but even for breaking down the gates of a town, and felling trees to construct engines for an assault. Independent of bronze pins which secured the blade, the handle was bound in that part with thongs of hide, in order to prevent the wood, split to admit the metal, from opening when exposed to the sun; and the same precaution was adopted in those belonging to joiners and others, who worked in their own shops.

No. 47. Axes or hatchets. *Thebes, and in the British Museum.*

The axe was less ornamented than other weapons; some bore the figure of an animal, a boat, or fancy device, engraved upon the blade; and the handle, frequently terminating in the shape of a gazelle's foot, was marked with circular and diagonal lines, representing bands, as on the projecting torus of an Egyptian temple, or like the ligature of the Roman fasces.[2] The soldier, on his march, either held it in his hand, or suspended it at his back, with the blade downwards; but it does not appear from the sculptures whether it was covered by a sheath, nor is any mode of wearing a sword indicated by them, except as a dagger in the girdle, the handle sloping to the right.[3]

The blade of the battle-axe was, in form, not unlike the Parthian[4] shield; a segment of a circle, divided at the back into two smaller segments, whose three points were fastened to the handle with metal pins. It was of bronze, and sometimes, if we may be allowed to judge from the colour of those in the paintings at Thebes, of steel; and the length of the handle was equal to, or more than double that of, the blade. Mr. Salt's collection, part of which was purchased

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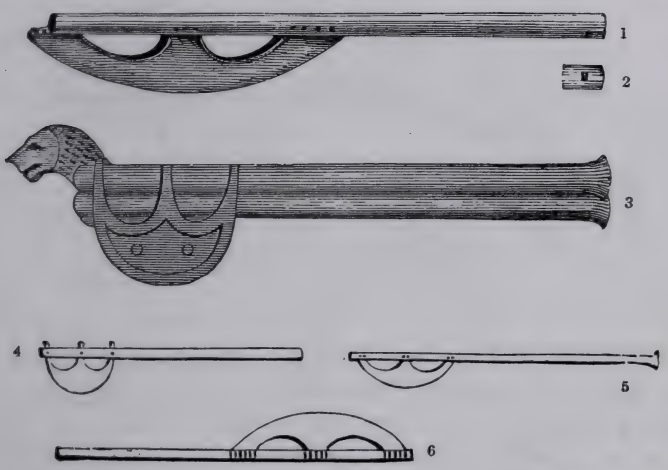
[1] It was called *aka* or *akas*.
[2] Woodcut No. 47, and No. 92, *fig.* 1.
[3] As in woodcut No. 45.
[4] Hope's 'Costumes,' vol. i. pl. xx.

by the British Museum, contained a portion of one of these weapons,[1] whose bronze blade was thirteen inches and a half long, and two and a half broad, inserted into a silver tube, secured with nails of the same metal. The wooden handle once fixed into this tube was wanting; but, judging from those represented at Thebes, it was considerably longer than the tube, and even protruded a little beyond the extremity of the blade, where it was sometimes ornamented with the head of a lion or other device, receding slightly,[2] so as not to interfere with the blow; and the total length of the battle-axe may have been from three to four feet. In some battle-axes, the handles were very short,[3]



No. 48. Battle-axes. *Thebes and Beni-Hassan.*

scarcely exceeding the length of the silver tube above mentioned, which in this specimen is only eleven inches and a half longer than the blade, and may have been the entire handle; the small aperture at the lower end[4] serving equally for admitting the pin which secured the wood inserted into it, whether this extended beyond, or merely filled, the tube.

The blades of the battle-axes represented in the paintings of Thebes offer two forms, one of which is more circular[5] than that of Mr. Salt's; from the excellence, however, of its workmanship and materials, we may conclude that this last was of the most general and approved shape, and perhaps belonged to some mili-

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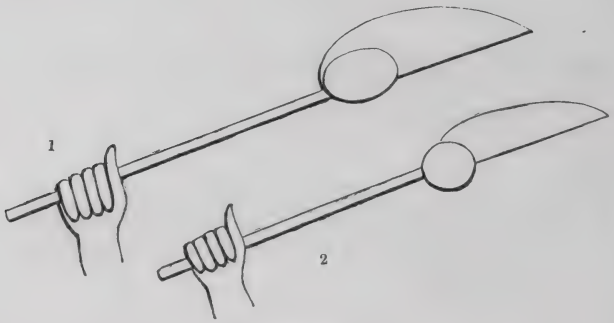
[1] Woodcut No. 48, *fig.* 1.
[2] As *fig.* 3.
[3] As *fig.* 6, which is from the sculptures.
[4] *Fig.* 2.
[5] *Figs.* 3 and 4.

tary chief, or to the king himself; and it is singular that an axe very similar to this was formerly used by the Germans, and other European infantry.

The pole-axe was about three feet in length, but apparently more difficult to wield than the preceding, owing to the great weight of a metal ball to which the blade was fixed; and if this increased its force, and rendered the blow more destructive, it required, like the mace, a powerful as well as a skilful arm to use it with success, and to make it as efficient a weapon as the battle-axe.



No. 49. Pole-axes. *Thebes.*

We rarely find an entire corps of men armed with it; the only instance I remember occurring at E'Sioot, where the same soldiers bear the cumbrous shields already noticed;[1] it may, therefore, have been peculiar to certain troops, and to the chiefs, in whose hands it is usually represented. The handle was generally about two feet in length, sometimes much longer: the ball four inches in its greatest diameter,[2] and the blade varied from ten to fourteen inches, by two and three in breadth.

The mace was very similar to the pole-axe, without a blade, and appears to correspond to the *koryne* of the Greeks, which was frequently of iron. That used by the Egyptians was of wood, bound with bronze, about two feet and a half in length, and furnished with an angular piece of metal, projecting from the handle, which may have been intended as a guard, though in many instances they represent the hand placed above it, while the blow was given.[3]

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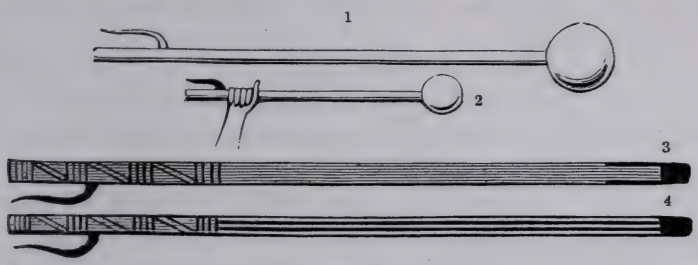
[1] Woodcut No. 29.

[2] I suppose it to have been a ball, rather than a flat circular piece of metal; the ball whipped with leathern straps crossed, to hold the whole firm.—S. B.

[3] Woodcut No. 50, *fig.* 2; the Egyptian *hut*.—S. B.

They had another mace,[1] similar in many respects to this, without the ball, and, to judge from its frequent occurrence in the sculptures, more generally used, and evidently far more manageable; but the former was a most formidable weapon against armour, like that used for the same purpose by the Memlooks[2] and the modern people of Cutch; and no shield, helmet, or cuirass could have been a sufficient protection against the



No. 50. Maces. *Thebes.*

impetus given it by a powerful arm. Neither of these was peculiar to the chiefs: all the soldiers in some infantry regiments were armed with them; and a charioteer was furnished with one or more, which he carried in a case attached with the quiver to the side of his car.[3]

In ancient times, when the fate of a battle was frequently decided by personal valour, the dexterous management of such arms was of primary importance; and a band of resolute veterans, headed by a gallant chief, spread dismay among the ranks of an enemy; as Homer describes Areïthous alone breaking through an opposing phalanx with his iron mace.[4] Notwithstanding the great improvements which have taken place in the art of war, by the introduction of artillery and the musket, and by the machinery of modern armies, physical strength and individual courage are still considered the highest recommendation in close combat: thus the Egyptians, though they placed their chief reliance in the skill of their archers, failed not to attach great importance to heavy infantry, and paid particular attention to the nature of their offensive as well as defensive arms. And the variety of weapons used by different corps, as well as the care they took in allotting to each its respective duties during action, in selecting those best suited for a peculiar service, and in the

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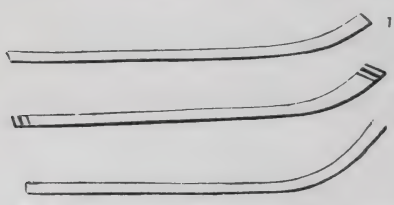
[1] Woodcut No. 50, *figs.* 3 and 4.
[2] Called dabóss, or dabbóos.
[3] Egyptian chariot, in woodcut No. 62, p. 230.
[4] Homer, Il. H, 138.

judicious arrangement of the army and its component parts, argue the great experience acquired by the Egyptians in the art of war.

They had another kind of mace, sometimes of uniform thickness through its whole length, sometimes broader at the upper end, without either the ball or guard, and many of their allies carried a rude heavy club;[1] but no body of native troops was armed with the last, and indeed it cannot be considered an Egyptian weapon.

The curved stick or club, now called *lissán*,[2] was used by heavy and light-armed troops as well as archers; and if it does not appear a formidable arm, yet the experience of modern times bears ample testimony to its efficacy in close combat. To the Bisharieen it supplies the place of a sword; and the Ababdeh, content with this, their spear, and shield, fear not to encounter the hostile Maazy, whom they frequently defeat, though armed with the matchlock and the *atagan*.[3] In length, that of the ancient Egyptians was probably the same, about two feet and a half, and made of a hard thorn wood, as the mimosas, *sellem* and *sumr;* which are still used for the same purpose, as well as for the shafts of the Ababdeh lance.



No. 51. Curved stick or club. *Thebes.*

The shield, their principal defence, I have already noticed. The helmet was usually quilted, but rarely of metal; and though bronze helmets are said to have been worn by the Egyptians,[4] we may conclude that, in accordance with the authority of the sculptures, they preferred and generally adopted the former, which being thick, and well padded, served as an excellent protection to the head, without the inconvenience resulting from the metal in so hot a climate.[5] Some of them descended to the shoulder,[6] others only a short distance below the level of the ear;[7] and the summit, terminating in an obtuse point, was

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[1] Woodcut No. 16, *fig.* 3.

[2] *i.e.*, 'tongue,' in Arabic.

[3] A long knife, or straight sword, worn in the girdle, and called *gembéeh*, 'side-arm,' by the Arabs.

[4] Herod. ii. 151.

[5] This alone would not be a sufficient objection, since metal helmets are still worn even in the far hotter climates of Darfoor and Kordofan. The helmet of the Pharaoh was called *khepersh;* the other soldiers wore no helmet, only a skull cap, *namms*, or quilted cap.—S. B.

[6] Woodcut No. 52, *figs.* 1 and 3.

[7] *Figs.* 5, 6, 7.

ornamented with two tassels.[1] They were of a green, red, or black colour; and the long helmet, which fitted less closely to the back of the head, was fringed at the lower edge with a broad border,[2] and in some instances consisted of two parts, or an upper and under fold.[3] Another, worn also by the spearmen and many corps of infantry and charioteers, varied slightly from these, though very similar in many respects, being quilted, and descending to the shoulder with a fringe; but it had no tassels, and fitting close to the top of the head, it widened towards the base—the front, which covered the forehead, being made of a separate piece[4] attached to the other part.

If there is no representation of an Egyptian helmet with a crest, we are less surprised, since even the ancient Greeks did not always adopt it,[5] but that of the Shairetana, once enemies and afterwards allies of the Pharaohs, is particularly interesting,

No. 52. Helmets or head-pieces. *Thebes.*

since it shows the existence of a custom as early as two hundred years before the Trojan war, which was afterwards introduced by the Greeks, of adorning the helmet with horns; whence the name *keras*, 'horn,' was sometimes chosen to signify a crest.[6]

The outer surface of the cuirass, or coat of armour, consisted of about eleven horizontal rows of metal plates, well secured by bronze pins; and at the hollow of the throat a narrower range of plates was introduced, above which were two more, completing the collar or covering of the neck. The breadth of each plate or scale was little more than an inch, twelve of them sufficing to

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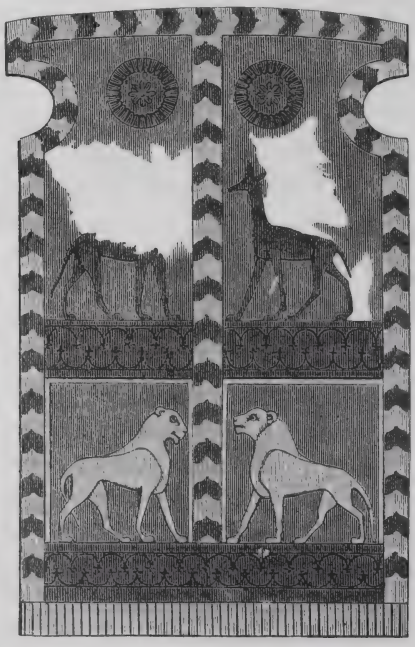
[1] Woodcut No. 52, *figs.* 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.
[2] *Figs.* 2, 3. [3] *Fig.* 4. [4] *Fig.* 2.
[5] This helmet was called *kataityx*. (Homer, Il. K, 258.)
[6] According to Suidas. Our word crest bears a strong resemblance to the Greek. (Hope's 'Costumes,' plate CXXX.; and *infrà*, on the enemies of the Egyptians.)

cover the front of the body; and the sleeves, which were sometimes so short as to extend less than half-way to the elbow, consisted of two rows of similar plates.[1] Many, indeed most, of the cuirasses were without collars; in some the sleeves were rather longer, reaching nearly to the elbow, and they were worn both by heavy infantry and bowmen. The ordinary cuirass may have been little less than two feet and a half in length: it sometimes covered the thighs nearly to the knee; and in order to prevent its pressing heavily upon the shoulder, they bound their girdle over it, and tightened it at the waist. But the thighs, and that part of the body below the girdle, were usually covered by a kilt,[2] or other robe, detached from the cuirass; and many of the light and heavy infantry were clad in a quilted vest of the same form as the coat of armour, for which it was intended to be a substitute; and some wore corslets, reaching only from



No. 53. Corslet, worked in colours.

the waist to the upper part of the breast, and supported by straps over the shoulder, which, to judge from the sculptured representations of them, appear to have been faced with metal plates.[3]

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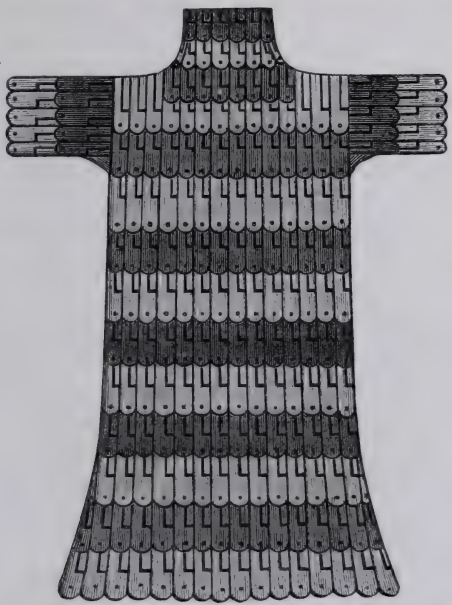
[1] [*V.* Paus. Att. xxi. p. 152, edit. Siebelis. —G. W.]

[2] The *zoma*, or *zoster*, of the Greeks.

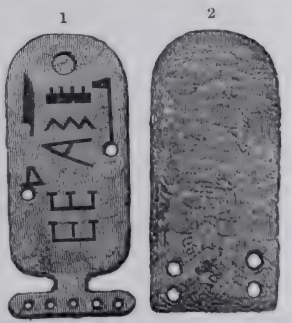
[3] *Vide* woodcut No. 55, *figs.* 10, 11, 12.

Among the arms painted in the tomb of Rameses III., at Thebes, is a piece of defensive armour,[1] which, from the hollowed space left for the arm, seems to have been a sort of coat, or



No. 53*a*. Corslet with metal scales. *Tomb of Rameses III., Thebes.*

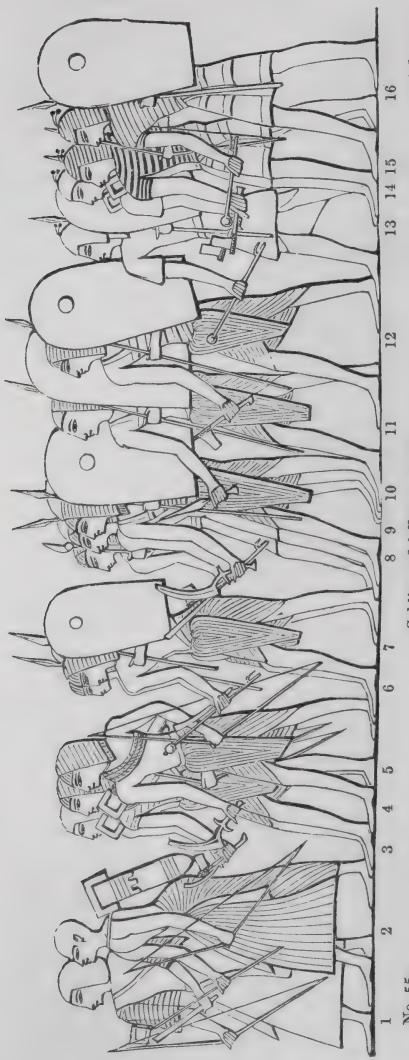
covering for the body; and, were it not so highly ornamented, might be considered a *μίτρη* or belt worn beneath the cuirass as a coat of mail.[1] It is made of a rich stuff, worked or painted with the figures of lions and other animals, devices common upon the shield and other parts of Greek armour, and is edged with a neat border, terminating below in a broad fringe; and though there is no appearance of metal plates, it may have been intended as a substitute for the more weighty coat of mail, which was not worn on all occasions either by infantry or charioteers. Some wore corslets, reaching only from the waist to the upper part of the breast, and supported by straps over the shoulder, which were faced with bronze plates. A



No. 54. Plates of scale-armour. With the name of Sheshanqa.

[1] See also Prisse, 'Mon. Egypt,' pl. xlvi. 3, p. 8.

portion of one is in Dr. Abbott's collection. It is made of bronze plates (in the form of Egyptian shields), overlapping each other, and sewed upon a leathern doublet; two of which have the name of Sheshanqa (Shiskah), showing it either belonged to that king, or to some great officer of his court. The Greeks in like manner made some thoraces of hide, hemp, linen, or twisted cord.



No. 55.

Heavy-armed troops were furnished with a shield and spear; some with a shield and mace; and others, though rarely, with a battle-axe or a pole-axe and shield. They also carried a sword, falchion, curved stick or *lissán*, simple mace, or hatchet, which may be looked upon as their side-arms.[1]

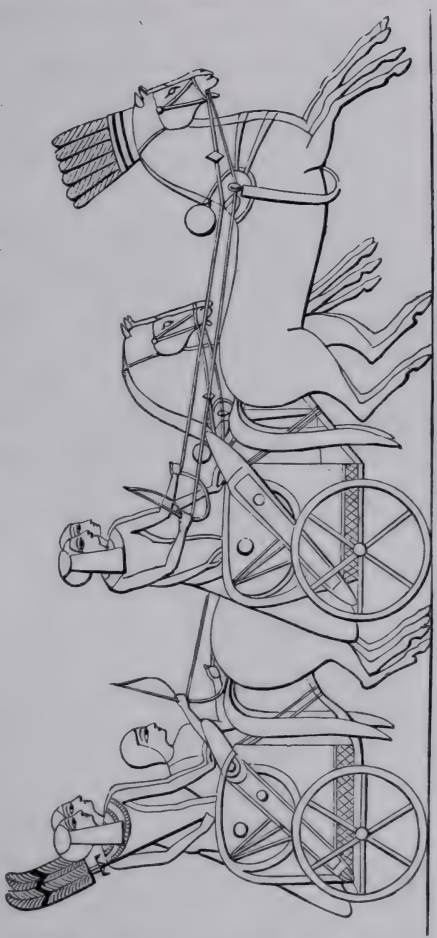
The light troops, who were not archers, had nearly the same weapons, but their defensive armour was lighter; and some were without the incumbrance of a shield, as the slingers,[2] and a few others, whose duty required great agility, and who fought in scattered parties, like the Velites of the Romans. The arms of the bowmen have been already mentioned. Of the Egyptian cavalry we are unable to obtain any satisfactory information; and it now remains to notice the corps of chariots, which constituted a very large and effective portion of the Egyptian army.

Each car contained two persons, like the diphros of the

[1] Woodcut No. 55.

[2] *Vide* woodcut No. 42.

Greeks.[1] On some occasions it carried three, the charioteer or driver and two chiefs; but this was rarely the case, except in triumphal processions, when two of the princes or noble youths accompanied the king in their chariot, bearing the regal sceptre, or the *flabella*, and required a third person to manage the reins.[2] In the field each had his own car, with a charioteer; and the insignia of his office being attached behind him by a broad belt,[3] his hands were free for the use of the bow and other arms. When on an excursion for pleasure, or on a visit to a friend, an Egyptian gentleman, or even the king, mounted alone, and drove himself, footmen and other attendants running before and behind the car, like the *Syïs* or grooms of modern Egypt and India, who, when the carriage stopped, were ready to take the reins, and walked the horses till their master returned, continuing, however, on foot,[4] and not venturing to step into it; a custom equally observed by those who wished to show marked respect to



[1] A name which implies carrying two. The Roman war chariot also contained two persons; the *bellator*, or warrior, and the *auriga*, or driver. (Virg. Æn. ix. 330; ii. 469, 624, 737.) Conf. Isaiah xxi. 7: or rather 1 Kings xx. 20, and 2 Chron. xvi. 8; since the former appears to refer to men riding on horses, פָּרָשִׁים. *Fares* is also, in Arabic, a horseman or a Persian; and *fáras*, the mare, is the horse *par excellence*.

[2] Woodcut No. 56, *fig.* 1.

[3] Woodcut No. 57.

[4] Woodcut No. 3, p. 33.

the king, when passing before or following him, in state processions.

In battle, also, many attendants were always in readiness; and whenever a general dismounted from his car, to lead his troops over hilly and precipitous heights inaccessible to chariots, to the assault of a fortified town, or for any other purpose, they took charge of the horses, and keeping them in some secure place they awaited his return, or followed at a short distance; and a second car [1] with fresh horses was always ready in the rear, in order to provide against accident, or the still less welcome chance of a defeat.

In the battle-scenes of the Egyptian temples, the king is represented alone in his car, unattended by any charioteer,[2] the reins fastened round his body, while engaged in bending his bow against the enemy; but it may be doubted whether we are to infer the absence of that person: and he may have been omitted, in order not to interfere with the principal figure and feature of the picture, which, with a similar notion of exclusiveness, they were accustomed to draw of colossal dimensions.

The cars of the whole chariot corps contained each two warriors,[3] comrades of equal rank, both joining in the labours

No. 57. The son of King Rameses, with his charioteer. *Thebes.*

and glory of the fight; and if the charioteer who accompanied a chief [4] did not hold the same high station, he was probably appointed to the post as a mark of distinction; and from the

[1] 2 Chron. xxxv. 24.

[2] Conf. Homer, gods and heroes, *passim*. The charioteer was called *gatsen*.—S. B.

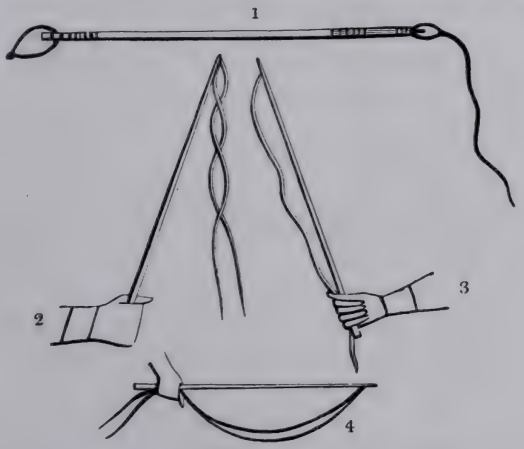
[3] In the battle with Rameses II. the Khita had three in each chariot,—the charioteer, shield-bearer, and warrior.—S. B.

[4] Conf. Hom. Il. Λ, 399; and Μ, 84.

familiar manner in which one of them is represented conversing with a son of the great Rameses, we may conclude the office was filled by persons of consideration, who were worthy of the friendship they enjoyed.[1]

As with the Greeks, the employment was neither servile nor ignoble; and if Hector,[2] Nestor,[3] Ulysses,[4] and others were not ashamed to act in this capacity, Egyptian officers of note, in like manner, undertook the management of their own cars, and prided themselves on their skill in driving, as in wielding the javelin and bow: but whether the chariot race was instituted in Egypt does not appear; and we may conclude from the absence of the subject in their sculptures, and of the hippodrome in the precincts of towns of early date, that the celebration of games similar to those of Greece was unknown there, previous to the Macedonian conquest: the only hippodromes being at Alexandria, and at the Roman town of Antinoë, founded by Hadrian, in Upper Egypt.

In driving, the Egyptians used a whip, like the heroes and charioteers of Homer; and this, or a short stick, was generally

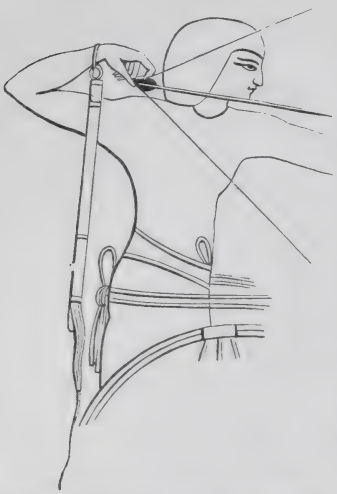


No. 58. Whips. *Thebes.*

employed even for beasts of burden, and for oxen at the plough, in preference to the goad. The whip consisted of a smooth round wooden handle, and a single or double thong: it sometimes had a lash of leather, or string, about two feet in length, either

[1] Conf. Hom. Il. Θ, 120; and Λ, 518.
[2] Il. O, 352. And the gods frequently.
[3] Il. Θ, 116. Nestor mounts the car of Diomede and takes the reins and whip.
[4] Il. K, 513.

twisted or plaited; and a loop being attached to the lower end, the archer was enabled to use the bow, while it hung suspended from his wrist.[1]



Whip suspended from the wrist of an archer. No. 59. *Thebes.*

When a hero encountered a hostile chief, he sometimes dismounted from his car, and substituting for his bow and quiver the spear, battle-axe, or falchion, he closed with him hand to hand, like the Greeks and Trojans described by Homer: and the lifeless body of the foe being left upon the field, was stripped of its arms by his companions. Sometimes a wounded adversary, incapable of further resistance, having claimed and obtained the mercy of the victor, was carried from the field in his chariot;[2] and the ordinary captives, who laid down their arms and yielded to the Egyptians, were treated as prisoners of war, and were sent bound to the rear under an escort, to be presented to the monarch, and to grace his triumph after the termination of the conflict. The hands of the slain were then counted before him; and this return of the enemy's killed was duly registered, to commemorate his success and the glories of his reign,—a subject which occurs more than once on the walls of Medeenet Haboo; and the great picture sculptured in the inner area of that building, represents Rameses seated in his car, while the tellers, taking the hands by the thumb, place them in a heap before him, and count them to the military scribes.

From the position of the king in this picture, the Egyptian chariot might appear to be furnished with a seat; but judging from the usual representations in the Theban sculptures, and from the nature of other ancient cars, it is more probable that he is seated on the side or front.[3] Indeed, for persons frequently

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[1] Woodcut No. 59.

[2] At Karnak king Osirei (Seti I.) is represented carrying under each arm two vanquished chiefs; and many inferior captives, bound with cords, follow him to his car.

[3] [An instance does, however, occur of the king seated in his car. Greek vases also represent a car made with a seat and place for the feet.—G. W.]

accustomed to forego the use of seats, there could be little necessity for its introduction; and though the Egyptian rooms were furnished with chairs and raised sofas, it was not unusual for persons of all ranks to sit upon the ground, crouched like the Nubians on a pedestrian journey, or cross-legged like the modern inhabitants of Eastern countries, when in the house, and even in their carriages. The same remark applies to the chariots of those enemies with whom they fought; and the representation of wounded warriors falling backwards out of their car, frequently occurring in the battle scenes of Thebes, and so forcibly calling to mind the descriptions of Homer,[1] may be adduced as an additional argument to prove the absence of any seat or bench within it.

In some Egyptian chariots, the bottom part consisted of a frame interlaced with thongs or rope, forming a species of network, in order, by its elasticity, to render the motion of a carriage without springs more easy: and this custom is very prevalent at the present day in Italy and other countries in carts and carriages used by the lower orders; but it is difficult to determine whether it was adopted in every Egyptian car.

That the chariot was of wood[2] is abundantly proved by the sculptures, wherever workmen are seen employed in making it; and the fact of their having, at the earliest period of their known

No. 60. Making the pole and other parts of a chariot. *Thebes.*

history, already invented and commonly used a form of pole whose introduction into our own country dates only about a century ago,[3] is a remarkable instance of the truth of Solomon's

[1] Il. Θ, 122; and E, 585.

[2] In Joshua we read of the Canaanites having 'chariots of iron' (xvii. 16). Solomon made a chariot of the wood of Lebanon (Sol. Song, iii. 9).

[3] The pole of the Greek chariots was usually straight; but instances are met with of it curved, as in those of Egypt.

assertion, 'there is no new thing under the sun,'[1] and shows the advancement they had made at that very remote era, and the skill of their workmen. And that this last was of wood, and not, as some have imagined, of bronze or other metal, we have a decided proof, from the representations of workmen cutting and fashioning it with an axe.[2]

The body of the car was exceedingly light, consisting of a wooden framework, strengthened and ornamented with metal and leather binding, like many of those mentioned by Homer:[3] the bottom part, on which the charioteer stood, was flat, whether of an entire piece or of the thongs already alluded to, the whole resting on the axle-tree and lower extremity of the pole, which was itself inserted into the axle. Its centre was not placed directly over the axle, in order to be on an equilibrium, but much more forward, the back part seldom extending behind the middle of the wheel, so that the body pressed considerably upon the pole, to which also the upper rim of its front was connected by means of thongs or straps. The weight was therefore divided between the wheels and the horses; but as a chariot was easily carried by one man,[4] we may conclude that even with the addition of two persons it was not such as to fatigue the horses, and this mode of placing it had the advantage of rendering the motion far more easy to the driver.[5] When the horses were taken out, the pole, unless propped up in some manner, fell to the ground; they therefore rested it on a support, which was sometimes a wooden figure of a man, intended to represent a captive, or enemy, who was considered fitted for this degrading office.

The greater portion of the sides, and the whole of the back, were open; the latter indeed entirely so, without any rim or framework above; and the hinder part of the lateral framework commenced nearly in a line with the centre of the wheel, and rising perpendicularly, or slightly inclined backwards, from the base of the car, extended with a curve, at the height of about two feet and a half, to the front, serving as well for a safeguard to the driver as a support for his quivers and bow-case. To strengthen it, three thongs of leather were attached at either side, and an

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[1] Eccles. i. 9.

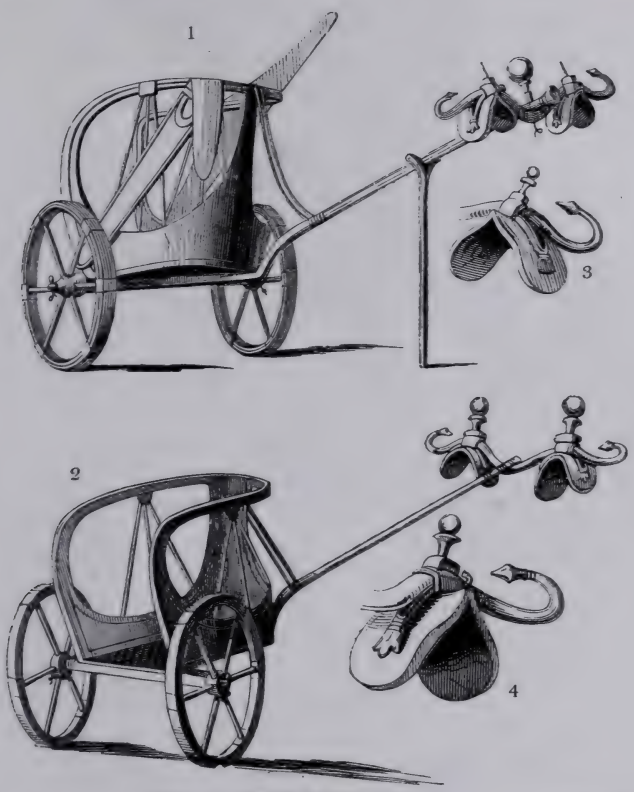
[2] Woodcut No. 60, *fig.* 3.

[3] Homer, Il. K, 438. Rhesus' car was bound with gold and silver; that of Diomede, with gold and tin.

[4] In the sculptures. Another supports the pole and traces.

[5] The body of the Greek car was also placed very forward, less so than that of Egypt; but it must have been much heavier.

upright of wood connected it with the base of the front part immediately above the pole, where the straps before mentioned were fastened; as may be seen in those I have already given from the ancient paintings and sculptures of Thebes, and in the accompanying view of the simple body of a car, represented according to our European mode of drawing. It is, however, reason-

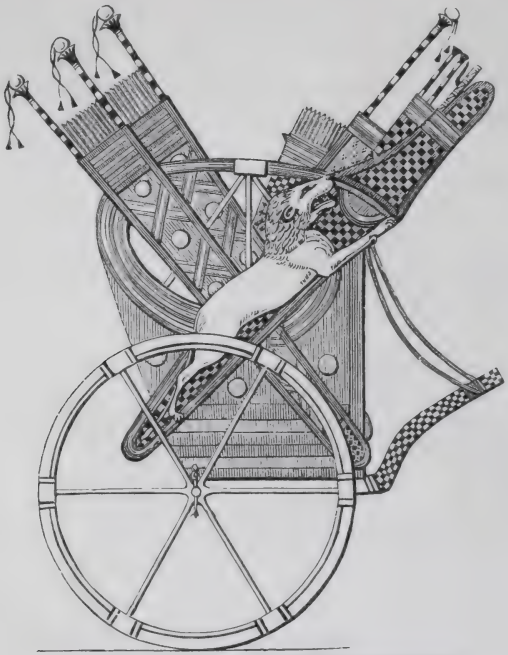


No. 61. *Figs.* 1, 2. Chariots, in perspective.
3, 4. Saddles and part of the yoke. *From different Sculptures.*

able to suppose that they sometimes varied slightly in form, and that the car of war was of a different construction in some respects from the *plaustrum*,[1] or from the curricle of towns; and we not only find the two last destitute of all the cases for weapons

[1] The Roman *plaustrum* had two, sometimes four, wheels. The waggons, or rather carts, sent by Pharaoh for Jacob are called, in Hebrew, עֲגָלוֹת, wheeled carriages; the chariot was מֶרְכָּבָה, or רֶכֶב (*une monture*). *Plaustrum* is here used for a two-wheeled chariot drawn by oxen.

except that of the bow, and sometimes of that also, but the solid



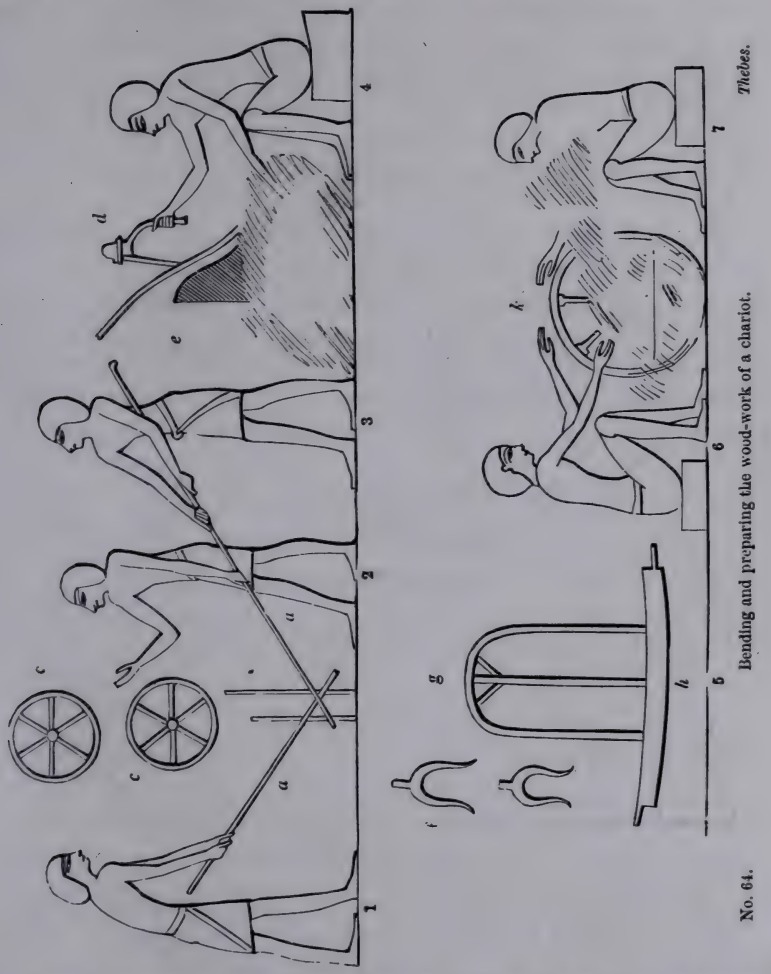
No. 62. A war chariot, with bow-cases and complete furniture. *Thebes.*

No. 63. Chariot of the Rut-en-nu. *Thebes.*

portion of their sides was generally lower than in the former, where greater protection was required for those within; and on

this account the Greek cars were entirely closed, except at the back.[1]

The bow-case, frequently richly ornamented with the figure of a lion or other devices, was placed in an inclined position,

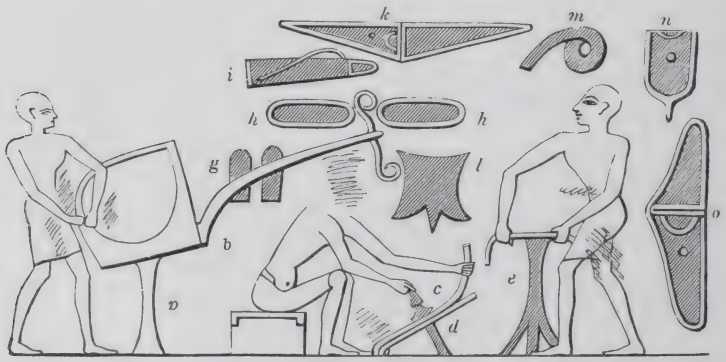


pointing forwards; its upper edge, immediately below the flexible leather cover, being generally on a level with the summit of the framework of the chariot; so that when the bow was drawn out, the leather cover fell downwards, and left the upper part on an uninterrupted level. In battle this was of course a matter of no

[1] In pl. iii. of Hope's 'Costumes' is a car less closed than usual.

importance; but in the city, where the bow-case was considered an elegant part of the ornamental hangings of a car, and continued to be attached to it, they paid some attention to the position and fall of the pendent cover, deprived as it there was of its bow, since, as I have elsewhere observed, the civilised state of Egyptian society required the absence of all arms, except on service. The quivers and spear-cases were suspended in a contrary direction, pointing backwards; sometimes an additional quiver was attached close to the bow-case, with a mace and other arms, and every war chariot containing two men was furnished with the same number of bows.

The framework, as I have stated, was of wood, like the pole, wheels, and other parts of the chariot; and we even find the mode of bending the wood for that purpose represented in the sculptures.[1] In the ornamental trappings, hangings, and binding of the framework and cases, leather was principally used, dyed of various hues, and afterwards adorned with metal edges and studs, according to the taste of the workman or purchaser; and the



No. 65. Cutting leather and binding a car. *Thebes.*

wheels, strengthened at the joints of the felloe with bronze or brass bands, were bound with a hoop of metal.[2] The Egyptians themselves have not failed to point out what parts were the peculiar province of the carpenter and the currier. The body and framework of the car, the pole, yoke, and wheels, were the work of the former; the cases for the bows and other arms, the saddle and harness, the binding of the framework, and the coverings of the body, were finished by the currier; and lest it should not be

[1] Woodcut No. 64, in the preceding page. [2] Conf. Hom. Il. E, 724.

sufficiently evident that they are engaged in cutting and bending the leather for this purpose, the artist has distinctly pointed out the nature of the substance they employed, by figuring an entire skin, and the soles of a pair of shoes,[1] or sandals, suspended in the shop; and no European can look at the subject without remarking that the semicircular knife[2] used by the Egyptians to cut leather was precisely similar to our own, even in the remote age of King Amenophis II., who lived 1450 years before our era.

In war chariots, the wheels had six spokes;[3] in many curricles, or private cars, employed in towns, only four;[4] and the wheel was fixed to the axle and by a small linch-pin, sometimes surmounted with a fanciful head, and secured by a thong which passed through the lower end: plainly proving that the axle-tree itself did not turn, as some have imagined. There are no instances of chariots with more than two wheels;[5] *currus falcati*, or cars armed with scythes, were unknown in Egypt,[6] being probably contemned by them as by all nations who made any great advances in military tactics: nor was it their custom to use camels, or elephants, in war, like the Indians and some other nations of antiquity;[7] and it is probable that the former were only employed in their army for the transport of baggage and provisions, much of which was carried upon asses,[8] in those parts where water was abundant. One instance alone occurs of an Egyptian carriage with four wheels similar to that mentioned by Herodotus.[9]

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[1] Woodcut No. 65, *l* and *g*.

[2] It occurs very frequently. Woodcut No. 65, *c*. It was like the Greek *arbēlon*. —S. B.

[3] The spokes appear to have been generally round.

[4] Homer gives the car of Juno wheels with eight spokes (Il. E, 723), which is the usual number in the Greek sculptures; instances, however, occur of four, six, and twelve. (*Vide* Hope's 'Costumes' pl. iii. 205 and 236.)

[5] There is only one representation of a carriage with four wheels: woodcut No. 69, p. 237.

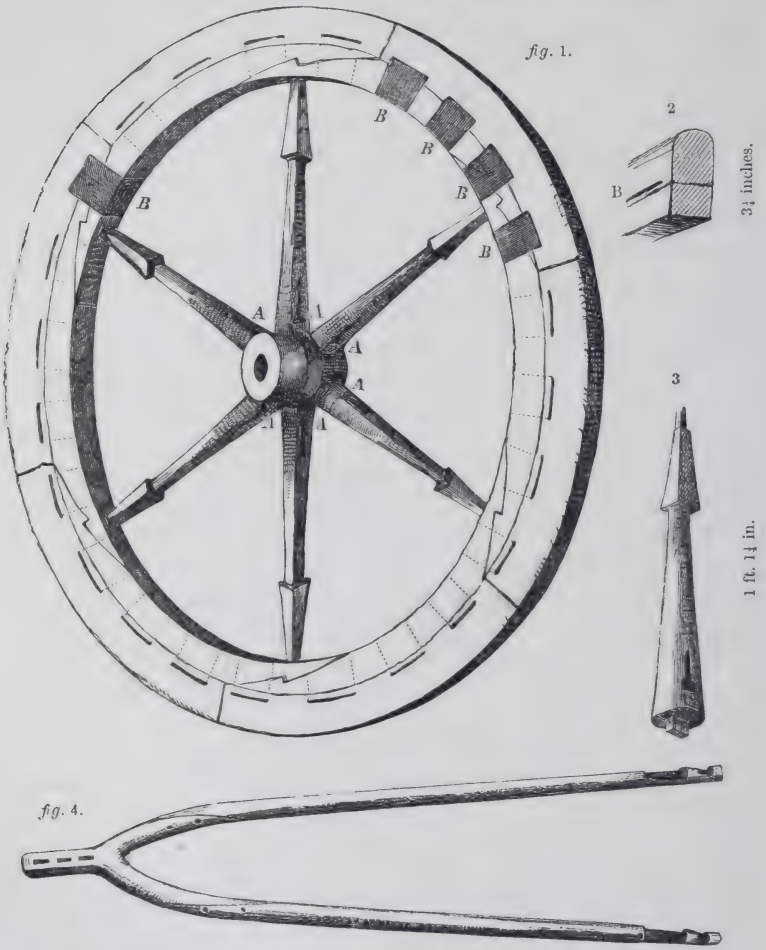
[6] [They were used by Cyrus, and had other scythes pointed downwards against the fallen enemy. The cars had also turrets in them, reaching to the elbow of the driver, and the men in them were clad in armour covering all but the eyes. (Xen. Cyrop. 6.) The axle-tree was very low, to prevent their upsetting.—G. W.]

[7] And even by the Greeks after the time of Alexander.

[8] Baggage carried by asses is represented at Thebes and other places, but no camels have yet been met with, either in the sculptures or the hieroglyphics; a remark which has been made even by Abd-el-Azees, the Arab historian. For this I can give no reason, since we know that camels existed in Egypt in the time of Abraham. (Gen. xii. 16.) [I have, however, in my possession a singular instance of two camels, with a vase between them, on a seal or stamp from Taphis in Nubia. It is rudely engraved on a facet an inch and a half long by rather more than half an inch wide.—G. W.] This is now in the museum of Harrow School.—C. C. W.

[9] Herod. ii. 63. Athenæus also (Deip. v. p. 200, edit. 1598) mentions a four-wheeled car.

No instance occurs of Egyptian chariots with more than two horses; nor is there any representation of a carriage with shafts drawn by one horse; but a pair of shafts have been found, with a wheel of curious construction, having a wooden tire to the felloe, and an inner circle, probably of metal, which passed through,



No. 66. *Fig.* 1. Wheel; 3 ft. 1 in. diameter. *In the Collection of Dr. Abbott.*
4. Shafts; 11 feet in total length.

and connected, its six spokes a short distance from the nave (A A). The diameter of the wheel was about 3 ft. 1 in. The felloe was in six pieces, the end of one overlapping the other; and the tire was fastened to it by bands of raw hide passing through

long narrow holes made to receive them (B B). It is uncertain whether the carriage they belonged to had two or four wheels; for though an instance does occur of an Egyptian four-wheeled car, it is a singular one, and it was only used for religious purposes, like that mentioned by Herodotus.[1]

The travelling carriage drawn by two oxen was very like the common chariot; but the sides appear to have been closed. It had also one pair of wheels with six spokes, and the same kind of pole and harness. An umbrella was sometimes fixed over it

No. 67. An Ethiopian princess travelling in a *plaustrum* or car drawn by oxen. Over her is a sort of umbrella. 3. An attendant. 4. The charioteer or driver. *Thebes.*

when used for women of rank, as over the king's chariot on certain occasions; and the bow-case with the bow in it shows that a long journey from Ethiopia required arms; the lady within being on her way to pay a visit to the Egyptian king. She has a very large retinue with her, bringing many presents: and the whole subject calls to mind the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon.

The chariots used by contemporary Eastern nations with whom the Egyptians were at war, were not dissimilar in their general form, or in the mode of yoking the horses (even if they differed in the number of persons they contained, having usually three instead of the two in Egyptian and Greek cars); as may be seen

[1] Herod. ii. 63.

from that which is brought, with its two unyoked horses, as a present to the Egyptian monarch, by the conquered people of

No. 68. Car and bow, in the Collection at Florence (from the great work of Professor Rosellini).

Rut-en-nu, and one found in Egypt, and now in the museum at Florence.[1] This last is supposed to have been taken in war from the Scythians; but it appears rather to be one of those brought to Egypt with the rest of a tribute, as a token of submission, being too slight for use.

In Solomon's time chariots and horses were exported from Egypt, and supplied Judæa, as well as 'the kings of the Hittites, and of Syria;'[2] but in early times they appear not to have been used in Egypt, and they are not found on the monuments before the 18th Dynasty. For though the Egyptian name of the horse was *hthor*, the mare was called, as in Hebrew, *sûs*, in the plural *susim*,[3] which argues its Semitic origin; *fáras*, 'the mare,' being still the generic name of the Arab horse: and if its introduction was really owing to the invasion of the Shepherds, they thereby benefited Egypt as much, as by causing the union of the whole country under one king.

The Egyptians sometimes drove a pair of mules, instead of horses, in the chariots used in towns, or in the country; an instance of which occurs in a painting now in the British Museum.

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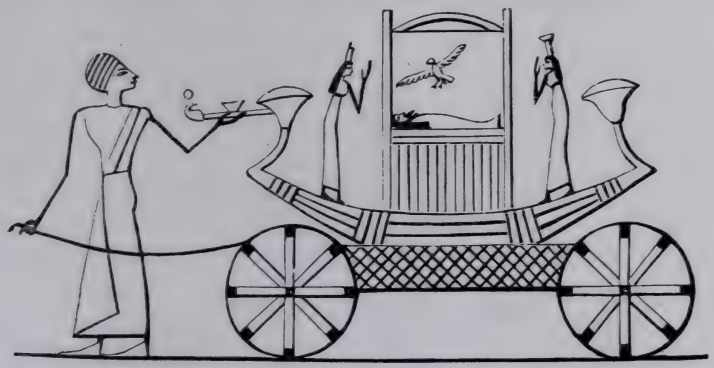
[1] Woodcut No. 68.

[2] 1 Kings x. 29. 2 Chron. i. 16, 17.

[3] *Htar* means rather 'the pair' of horses of the chariot.—S. B.

A representation of a car bearing a small shrine in a boat, found on the bandages of a mummy belonging to Signor d'Athanasi, seems to be similar to the one mentioned by Hero-



No. 69. Four-wheeled hearse. From an inscribed wrapper.

dotus, with this difference, that the figure representing the deceased is recumbent instead of being the standing image of a deity.

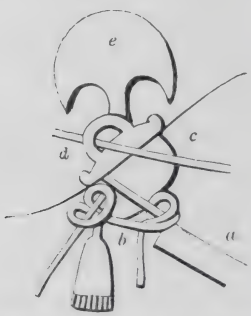
[A painting from the side of a tomb in the British Museum, Egyptian Galleries, represents a chariot drawn by two white mules, and is of the time of the 18th Dynasty. The first appearance of the war chariot of two horses, called *urr*, *akaruta*, is in the reign of Amenophis III., no chariots being represented, and the horse unknown, before the Shepherd invasion of Egypt.

Under the 4th and 5th Dynasties the ass only was used, and the wheel had not been invented, the substitute for a carriage being a board or seat placed between two asses, to which it was strapped, on which the person sat as on a kind of open litter. Under the 18th Dynasty, chariots of wood, plated with gold and silver, and painted, were brought from the Rut-en-nu or Syrians and other Asiatic nations as tribute.—S. B.]

Car without wheel strapped to two asses 4th Dynasty.
No. 70. *Gizeh.*

The harness of curricles and war chariots was nearly similar; and the pole in either case was supported on a curved yoke fixed to its extremity by a strong pin, and bound with straps or thongs

of leather. The yoke, resting upon a small well-padded saddle, was firmly fitted into a groove of metal; and the saddle, placed upon the horses' withers, and furnished with girths and a breast-band, was surmounted by an ornamental knob; and in front of it a small hook secured the bearing rein. The other reins passed through a thong or ring at the side of the saddle, and thence over the projecting extremity of the yoke; and the same thong secured the girths, and even appears in some instances to have been attached to them. In the war chariots, a large ball, placed upon a shaft, projected above the saddle, which is generally supposed to have been connected with the reins, and to have been intended to give a greater power to the driver,[1] by enabling him to draw them over a groove in its centre; but there is reason to believe it was added solely for an ornamental purpose, like the fancy head-dresses of the horses, and fixed to the yoke immediately above the centre of the saddle,[2] or to the head of a pin which connected the yoke to the pole.[3] The same kind of ornament,[4] though of a different form, is met with in Persian[5] cars; and that it was not a necessary part of the harness is shown by the many instances of its omission in Egyptian curricles, and even in some of the chariots of war.[6]



Saddle of a horse yoked in a Persian car. No. 71. *British Museum.*

The traces were single, one only on the inner side of each horse, fastened to the lower part of the pole, and thence extending to the saddle; but no exterior trace was thought necessary: and no provision was made for attaching it to the car. Indeed the yoke sufficed for all the purposes of draught as well as for backing the chariot; and being fixed to the saddle, it kept the horses at the same distance and in the same relative position, and prevented their breaking outwards from the line of draught, a remark which applies equally to the Greek car; and the description given of it by Homer[7] agrees very nearly with

[1] Such was my own opinion; but on further examination of numerous drawings of chariots, I am inclined to believe it stood on the yoke or the pole.

[2] Woodcut No. 61, *fig.* 2.

[3] Woodcut No. 61, *fig.* 1.

[4] Woodcut No. 71, at *e*.

[5] *V.* Rollin, 2.

[6] Woodcuts Nos. 56 and 57.

[7] Il. E, 722 *et seq.*

that used by the Egyptians. In order to render this more intelligible, I shall introduce a pair of horses yoked to a chariot according to the rules of European drawing, derived from a comparison of the numerous representations in the sculptures,

No. 72. An Egyptian car and horses in perspective, designed from a comparison of different sculptures.

omitting only their housings and head-dress, which may be readily understood in an Egyptian picture.

On grand occasions the Egyptian horses were decked[1] with fancy ornaments: a rich striped or checkered housing,[2] trimmed

[1] Conf. Virg. Æn. vii. 275; and Hom. Il. Ω, 280.

[2] Plate V.

with a broad border and large pendent tassels, covered the whole body, and two or more feathers inserted in lions' heads, or some other device of gold, formed a crest upon the summit of the head-stall. But this display was confined to the chariots of the monarch, or the military chiefs; and it was thought sufficient, in the harness of other cars and of the town curricle, to adorn the bridles with rosettes, which resemble, and cannot fail to call to mind, those used in England at the present day.[1]

Blinkers[2] were deemed unnecessary, as in many countries of modern Europe; but a severe bit appears to have been employed by the Egyptians[3] as by other ancient people;[4] though, from their mode of representing it, we should rather feel disposed to consider it a sort of snaffle than a curb.

The head and upper part of the neck were frequently enveloped in a rich covering similar to the housing, trimmed with a leather fringe; and the bridle, consisting of two cheek-pieces, a throat-lash, head-stall, and the forehead and nose straps, though simple, was not unornamental.

No instance occurs of Egyptian chariots with more than two horses, nor of any carriage furnished with shafts and drawn by one horse; they therefore resembled those in general use among the early Greeks, as described by Homer;[5] though the poet occasionally mentions the four-horsed car, answering to the *quadriga* of the Latins, so frequently represented in sculpture and on ancient coins. [The representation, however, of these cars is not seen after the 20th Dynasty, so that it is uncertain when the transition took place from the two-horse to the four-horse chariot. The absence of representations, either in the later temples or tombs, of chariots in battle-scenes of importance, quite prevents the determination of the first use of the *quadriga*, which is, however, seen on monuments of the Ptolemaic period long after it had appeared in Greece. The *htar*, or pair of horses, bore a single name, and each horse was not separately designated. No name has been found given to chariots, although other articles had often an appropriate name or appellation by which they were distinguished from others.—S. B.]

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[1] Woodcut No. 72.

[2] In one or two instances we find something projecting above and at the side of the eyes, which may be intended to represent blinkers.

[3] This I conclude from the appearance of their mouths; and a simple bit may be made very severe.

[4] Hor. Od. lib. i. 8.

[5] Hom. Il. E, 195. Like the *biga* of the Romans.

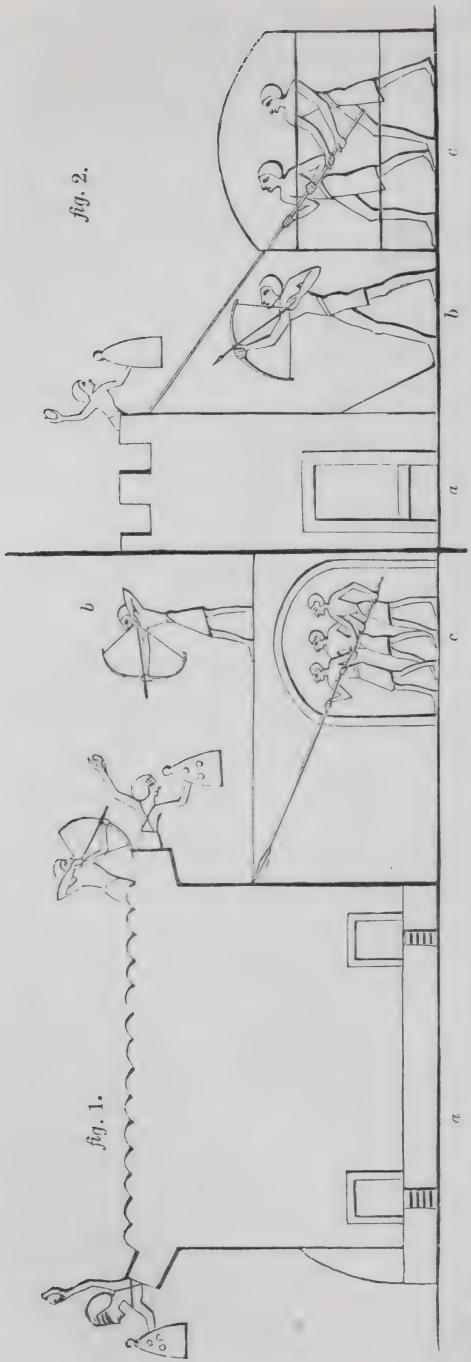
The harness of the Persian chariots figured at Persepolis is equally simple; and as it is interesting to compare the customs of different ancient nations, it may not be irrelevant to the subject to introduce a copy of one taken from the work of Sir R. Ker Porter.[1]

No. 73. Persian car (from Sir R. Ker Porter).

The Egyptian chariot corps, like the infantry, were divided into light and heavy troops, both armed with bows: the former chiefly employed in harassing the enemy with missiles, and in evolutions requiring rapidity of movement; the latter called upon to break through opposing masses of infantry, after having galled them during their advance with a heavy shower of arrows: and in order to enable them to charge with greater security they were furnished with a shield, which was not required for the other mounted archers, and a long spear was substituted on these occasions for the missiles they had previously employed. The light-armed chariot corps were also supplied with weapons adapted to close combat, as the sword, club, and javelin; but they had neither the spear nor shield; and indeed this last was confined to certain corps, even of infantry, as the spearmen and others, already mentioned. But the heavy foot, and light troops employed in the assault of fortified towns, were all provided with shields, under cover of which they made approaches to the place; and so closely was the idea of a siege connected with this arm,[2] that a figure of the king, who is sometimes introduced in the

[1] It may be seen in the British Museum. See also woodcut No. 71.

[2] Conf. 2 Kings xix. 32; Isaiah xxxvii. 33.



No. 74.

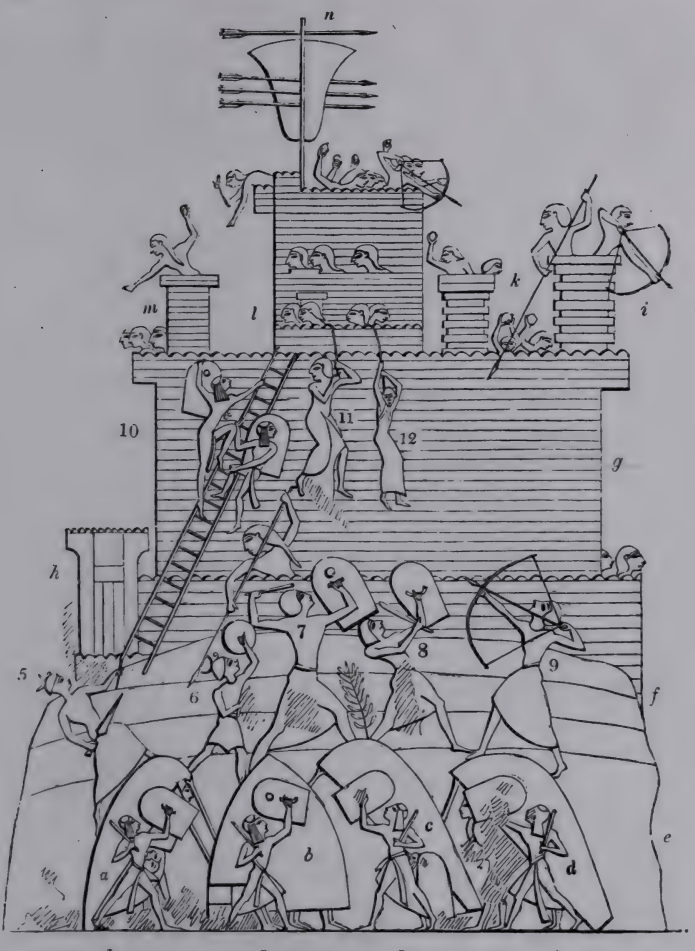
sculptures as the representative of the whole army, advancing with his shield before him, is intended to show that the place was taken by assault.

In attacking a fortified town, they advanced under cover of the arrows of the bowmen; and either instantly applied the scaling-ladder to the ramparts, or undertook the routine of a regular siege: in which case, having advanced to the walls, they posted themselves under cover of testudos, and shook and dislodged the stones of the parapet with a species of battering-ram,[1] directed and impelled by a body of men expressly chosen for this service. But when the place held out against these attacks, and neither a *coup de main*, the ladder, nor the ram were found to succeed, they probably used the testudo for concealing and protecting the sappers, while they mined the place;[2] and certainly,

[1] See woodcut No. 74, *a*, *b*, *c*.

[2] The *testudo ad fodiendum* of Vitruvius, which, he says,

of all people, the Egyptians were the most likely to have recourse to this stratagem of war, from the great practice they had in underground excavations, and in directing shafts through the solid rock.



No. 75. Assault of a fort. The testudo and scaling-ladder. *Thebes.*

The testudo was of framework, sometimes supported by poles having a forked summit, and covered, in all probability, with hides; it was sufficiently large to contain several men, and

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the Greeks call *oryx* (lib. x. c. 21). There was another, '*quæ ad congestionem fossarum paratur*' (lib. x. c. 20).—'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 235, note †.

so placed that the light troops might mount upon the outside, and thus obtain a footing on more elevated ground, apply the ladders with greater precision, or obtain some other important advantage; and each party was commanded by an officer of skill, and frequently by those of the first rank.[1]

The *trypanon* or pike of the *testudo arietaria* of the Greeks and Romans, and the covering or *vinea* which protected the men while they worked the battering-ram, were nearly on the same principle, and the Greeks most probably borrowed theirs originally from Egypt.

They also endeavoured to force open the gates of the town, or hew them down with axes; and when the fort was built upon a rock, they escaladed the precipitous part by means of the testudo, or by short spikes of metal, which they forced into the crevices of the stone,[2] and then applied the ladder to the ramparts.

It is reasonable to conclude that several other engines were employed in sieges with which the sculptures[3] have not made us acquainted; and the bulwarks used by the Jews,[4] on their march to the promised land, were doubtless borrowed from those of Egypt, where they had lived until they became a nation, and from whence they derived the greater part of their knowledge upon every subject. These bulwarks being only constructed in the case of a siege, appear to have been similar to some of the mounds or towers employed by the Greeks in later times: they were of wood, and made on the spot during the siege, the trees of the neighbouring country being cut down for the purpose. But the Jews deemed it unlawful to fell a fruit tree for the construction of warlike engines, nor were they permitted to use any other than those which grew wild, or in an uncultivated spot.[5]

Besides bulwarks or movable towers, we may also suppose the Egyptians adopted destructive missiles for burning the houses and works of the besieged, like the fire-balls, *pyroboloi lithoi*, of the Greeks, or the *scytalaia*, wooden staves, armed with an iron point, and carrying with them lighted firebrands; and the same mode of protecting their own works from the assaults

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[1] Woodcut No. 75. Four of the king's sons command the four testudos, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*.

[2] Woodcut No. 75, *fig.* 5.

[3] The scaling-ladder is most frequently represented, and seems to have been very generally used.

[4] Deut. xx. 20.

[5] Deut. xx. 19.

of the besieged, was probably resorted to by the Egyptians as by that people.

The northern and eastern tribes against whom the Egyptians fought, were armed in many instances with the same weapons as the disciplined troops of the Pharaohs, as bows and spears; they had besides long swords, rude massive clubs, and knives; and their coats of mail, helmets, and shields varied in form, according to the custom of each nation. They also used stones, which were thrown by the hand, while defending the walls of a besieged town; but it does not appear that either the Egyptians or their enemies threw them on any other occasions, except with a sling. Indeed we seldom find any people armed with stones, except those who have not yet advanced beyond their infancy in the art of war;[1] and the same remark applies to the Greeks during the siege of Troy, some of whom are introduced by Homer, fighting with these rude weapons,—an era when Grecian manners and military tatics were only beginning to emerge from a state of primitive simplicity.

The most distinguishing peculiarities of some of the nations at war with the Egyptians, were the forms of the head-dress and shield. One of these, the Shairetana,[2] a people inhabiting a maritime country,[3] wore a helmet ornamented with horns projecting from its circular summit, and frequently surmounted by a crest, consisting of a ball raised upon a small shaft, which, as I have before observed, is remarkable, from being the earliest instance of a crest, and bears testimony to the accuracy of Herodotus in ascribing to it an Asiatic origin. He mentions it as an invention of the Carians, from whom it was borrowed by the Greeks, together with the custom of introducing certain figures upon the exterior, and of fixing handles to the interior, of the shield; 'for previously those who were in the habit of using shields carried them without handles, supporting them by means of leathern thongs, which passed over the neck and the left shoulder.'[4] [Herodotus also mentions the people of Bithynia as forming part of the army of Xerxes, and armed with javelins, daggers, and light shields.[5]—G. W.]

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[1] Horace, Sat. i. 3, 101; and Lucretius (lib. v. ver. 1283) mentions the hands, nails, teeth, stones, and branches of trees, as the earliest weapons.

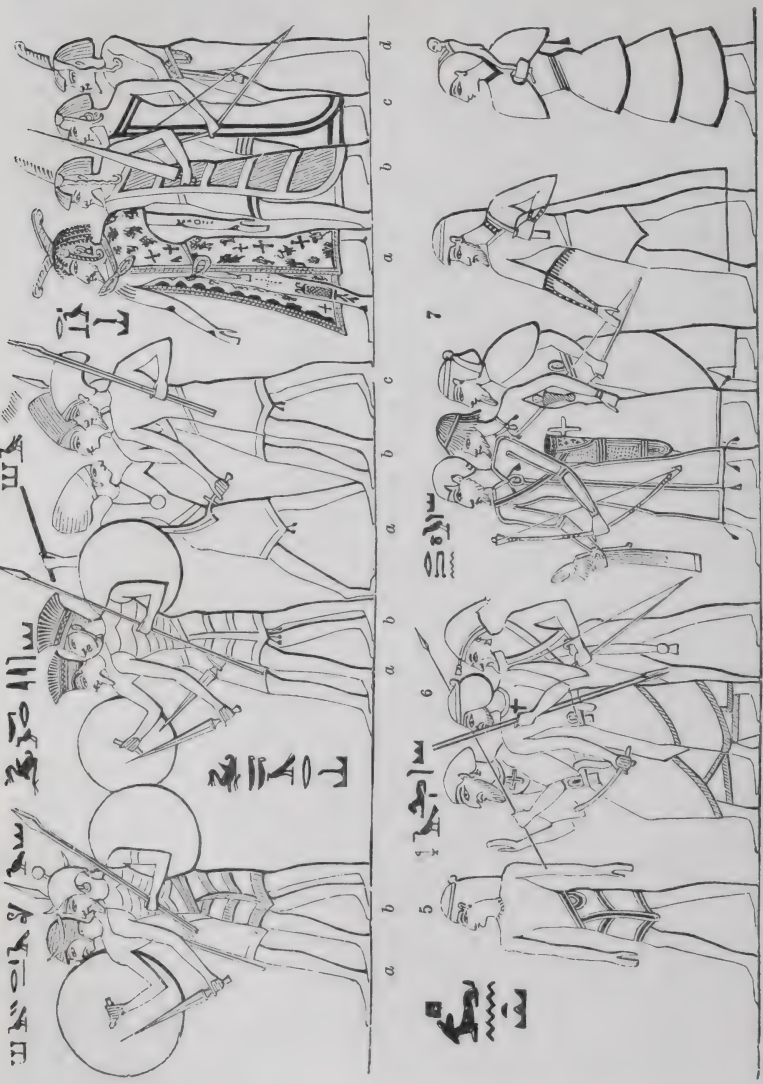
[2] The Shairetana appear in the reign of Rameses II. as the guard.—S. B.

[3] Or a country situated near some large piece of water, as a lake: those who lived near a river had not the same distinction, as the Sheta.

[4] Herodot. i. 171.

[5] [*V.* Herodot. vii. p. 75.—G. W.]

The Shairetana were also distinguished by a round shield,[1] and the use of long spears and javelins, with a pointed sword;



No. 76. Some of the people with whom the Egyptians were at war.

1. Shairetana, Sardinians. 2. Takkari or Teucri. 3. Shasu, Arabs. 4. Rebu or Libyans. 5. Punt, Somal or S.E. Africans. 6. Kharu, N. Syrians. 7. Kut-en-nu, E. Syrians.

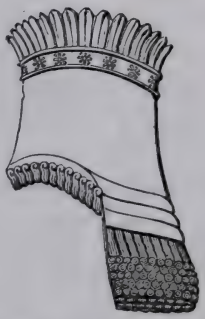
they were clad in a short dress, and frequently had a coat of

[1] The Greeks had usually round shields; this kind was called *aspis*, the *clypeus* of the Romans. They also used the Amazonian buckler, or *peltè*; the Theban buckler; and an oblong concave shield, *thyreos*, the *scutum* of the Romans.

mail, or rather a cuirass, composed of broad metal plates overlying each other, adapted to the form of the body, and secured at the waist by a girdle. Some allowed their beards to grow; and they very generally adopted a custom, common to most early nations, of wearing large earrings.[1]

Their features were usually large, the nose prominent and aquiline; and in their complexion as well as their hair they were of a far lighter hue than the Egyptians. At one time they were the enemies, at another the allies,[2] of the Pharaohs; and the duration of their friendship and subsequent rupture with the Egyptians I have already alluded to, and shall have occasion again to notice.

The Takkari[3] wore a helmet in form and appearance very similar to those represented in the sculptures of Persepolis, some of which have been brought to England, and are now in the British Museum.[4] It appears to have been made of a kind of cloth, marked with coloured stripes;[5] the rim adorned with a row of beads or other ornamental devices, and it was secured by a thong or riband tied below the chin. They had also a round shield and short dress, frequently with a coat of armour similar to that of their neighbours, the Shairetana; and their offensive weapons consisted principally of a spear and a large pointed knife or straight sword. They sometimes, though rarely, had a beard, which was still more unusual with the chiefs. Their features were regular, the nose slightly aquiline; and whenever the Egyptian artists have represented them on a large scale, their face presents a more pleasing outline than the generality of these people. They fought, like the Egyptians, in chariots; and had carts or waggons, with two solid wheels similar to the *tympana* of the



Persian head-dress (from Sir R. Ker Porter). No. 77.

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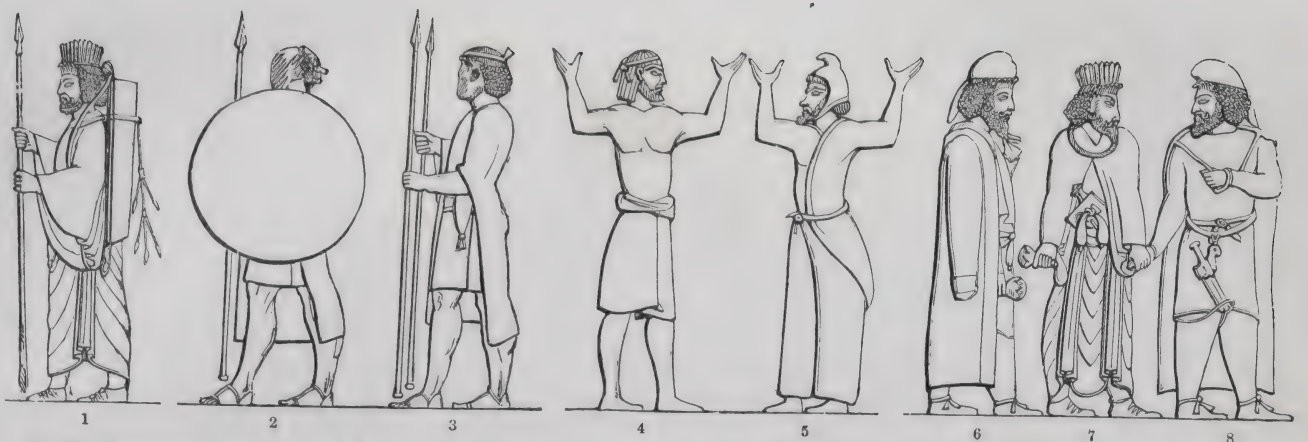
[1] Woodcut No. 76, *fig.* 1, *a*, *b*. For the identity of the Sardinians and Shairetana, cf. Chabas, 'Études,' pp. 186–300.

[2] Woodcut No. 75, *figs.* 5 and 6.

[3] The Takkarui, Takkari, or Tsekkariu, are recognised as the Teukroi, or Teucrians of the Pelasgic family; they are allied to the Dardani, the Leka or Lycians, and the Maasu or Mysians. (Chabas, 'Études,' p. 294.)—S. B.

[4] Woodcuts No. 77 and No. 78, *figs.* 1 and 7.

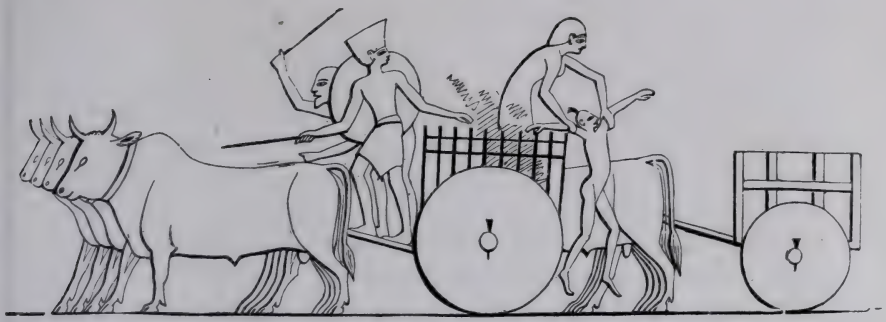
[5] Woodcut No. 76, *fig.* 2, *a*, *b*.



No. 78. Persepolitan figures (from Sir R. Ker Porter). [Observe the peculiarity of the sleeves, *figs.* 6, 7, and 8, and also that the sword or dirk is worn on the right side.—G. W.]

No. 79. Persepolitan figures. *British Museum.*

Romans, drawn by a pair of oxen, which appear to have been placed in the rear, as in the Scythian and Tartar armies. This



No. 80. Carts of the Takkari, at the time of their defeat. *Thebes.*

circumstance, and that of their women carrying off the children in these carts at the moment of a defeat, might lead us to infer them to have been a roving people, who did not live in towns; which is still farther argued by their taking refuge, when routed by Rameses III., in the ships of their neighbours, the Shairetana, already mentioned; but their civilised appearance argues against this opinion. They were also at one time allies of the Pharaohs, and assisted them in their long wars against the Rebu.

Another people, whose name is lost,[1] were distinguished by a costume of a very Oriental character, consisting of a high fur cap, not unlike one worn by the ancient Persians, and that of the modern Tartars and Dellee Turks; a tight dress, with the usual girdle; and a short kilt, common to many Asiatic nations, which, apparently divided and folding over in front, was tied at the bottom with strings. Round their neck, and falling upon the breast, was a large round amulet,[2] very similar to those of agate worn by the dervishes of the East, in which they resembled the Assyrian captives of Tirhakah, represented on the walls of Medeenet Haboo.[3] Their features were remarkable; and though in the sculptures they occasionally vary in appearance, from the presence or the absence of a beard, the strongly-defined contour of the face and the high bridge of their prominent nose sufficiently distinguish them from other people, and show that the artist has intended to convey a notion of these peculiar characteristics.

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[1] Woodcut No. 76, *fig.* 3. It is the *Shasu* or Shôs, a people of the Arab race, and the former conquerors of Egypt.—S. B.

[2] Woodcut No. 76, *fig.* 3 *a.*

[3] Woodcut No. 81, *fig.* 1.

Their arms consisted of two javelins, a club, a falchion and a shield like that of the Egyptians, with a round summit. They were on terms of friendship with the third Rameses, and assisted him in his wars against the Rebu; and though they occur among the foreigners who had been conquered by the arms of Egypt, the same feeling of inveterate enmity, resulting from a repeated succession of conflicts, did not exist towards them as towards many other Asiatic tribes. The same remark applies to another people, represented at Medeenet Haboo[1] as allies of the Egyptians, whose name has been unfortunately lost: they were clad in a short tight dress, and carried a shield, like the former, with a bow and a heavy club; but of their features we have little or no knowledge, owing to the imperfect state of the sculptures.

One of the most formidable Asiatic enemies encountered by the Egyptians were the Rebu,[2]—a fact attested by the frequent representations of severe contests; the large masses of troops they brought into the field; the great duration of a war which, commencing at a very remote era, continued long after the accession of the 19th Dynasty.[3]

One of the principal military events in the glorious reign of the great Rameses was his success against these powerful enemies; and three victories over the Rebu, won with great slaughter, by Rameses III. about a century later, added a far brighter lustre to his name than the numerous defeats of other Asiatic people, though they enriched him with immense booty, and considerably increased the extent of the Egyptian conquests.[4] In these encounters several thousand of the enemy were killed, as reported in the Egyptian returns; and the obstinacy of the fight, and the firm resistance they opposed to the highly disciplined and numerous forces of their antagonists, distinctly prove them to have been a nation both powerful and skilled in the art of war. They were defeated, but not conquered; nor would any portion of them submit to become allies of the Egyptians. And from the long duration of the war, the

[1] The allies, in woodcut No. 16, *fig.* 3.

[2] Woodcut No. 76, *fig.* 4.

[3] The Rebu are the Libyes or Libyans. They, or the Tamahu or Tahennu, also Libyan nations, are represented amongst the four races of mankind in the tomb of Seti I. at Thebes.—S. B.

[4] The campaign against the Rebu, the Mashuasha, the Tamahu and Libyans of the fifth and eleventh years of the reign of Rameses III., is detailed by Chabas ('Études,' pp. 231 and foll.): 2175 Maxyes were killed on the spot, and 2052 prisoners taken, besides 239 sabres, 603 bows, 93 cars, 2310 quivers, 92 lances, 185 horses and asses, and 139 bulls.—S. B.

repeated attempts made by the Pharaohs to subjugate their country, their marked hatred of them, and their eagerness to commemorate each victory, we may conclude the Egyptians had also suffered during these campaigns; and though, as might be expected, the sculptured history in the Theban temples merely relates the victories of the Pharaohs, the Rebu themselves had probably reason to record their own successful resistance, and sometimes even the defeat of the invaders.

From the style of their costume, and the lightness of their complexion, it is evident they inhabited a northern [1] country, very distant from Egypt, and of a far more temperate climate. Their dress consisted of an under-garment, with the usual short kilt, and a long outer robe, highly coloured, and frequently ornamented with fancy devices, or a broad rich border, which descended to the ankles, and was fastened at the neck with a large bow, or by a strap over the shoulder, the lower part being open in front. It was not bound by a girdle: this was worn beneath it; though the Egyptian artists occasionally represent it as if worn above, or seen through the transparent robe. But the substance of the latter was generally too thick to admit of this, being sometimes of bulls' hide or leather, and sometimes of a woollen stuff. Their girdle was highly ornamented, and the extremity falling down in front terminated in a large tassel;[2] and so fond were they of decorating their persons, that besides earrings, necklaces, and trinkets common to Asiatic and other tribes, the chiefs decked their heads with feathers, and some painted or tattooed their arms and legs.

If the costumes of several foreign nations met with in the Egyptian sculptures call to mind those of Persia and Parthia, none perhaps resemble them more than that of the Rebu, or of the Rut-en-nu,[3] whom I shall presently describe. The hair of the Rebu was not less singular than their dress: it was divided into separate parts, one of which fell in ringlets over the forehead, and the other over the back of the head; and a plaited

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[1] Besides colour, we have always a distinguishing mark in the termination of the bands that secure the prisoners; which have an entire edged flower, supposed to be the papyrus, to denote those nations living to the north of Egypt, and the three-leaved flower of another water-plant, to point out the African or southern tribes, as may be seen in the woodcut No. 84, *fig.* 6, of the Amauzu, and *fig.* 10, of a black captive from Africa. These two plants, in like manner, are chosen as emblems of the lower or northern, and upper or southern, divisions of Egypt.

[2] Very like that of a Persepolitan figure in woodcut No. 78, *fig.* 3.

[3] The inhabitants of Northern Syria or Mesopotamia. From the animals brought as tribute, it appears they extended to India.—S. B.

lock of great length, passing nearly over the ear, descended to the breast, and terminated in a curled point. In feature they were as remarkable as in costume; and the Egyptians have not failed to indicate their most striking peculiarities, as blue eyes, aquiline nose, and small red beards. Their arms consisted principally of the bow, and a long straight sword with an exceedingly sharp point; and it is probable that to their skill in the use of the former we may attribute their effectual resistance to the repeated invasions of the Egyptians.

Another Eastern nation, with whom the Egyptians were already at war in the remote age of Amenemha II.,[1] or about 1680 years before our era, was the Pount;[2] who were subsequently compelled to pay tribute to Egypt in the reign of the third Thothmes. Proud of their liberty, they neglected no opportunity to throw off the yoke; and the records of the repeated invasion of their country by successive Pharaohs prove their independent spirit, and their courage in expelling the invaders.

Their features were less marked than those of many Oriental people represented in the sculptures: they shaved their beards, and wore their hair enveloped in a large cap, bound with a fillet, like many of the tribes of the interior, and the Syrians who bordered upon Egypt. Their dress consisted chiefly of a short kilt, secured with the usual girdle: and though of a lighter hue than the Egyptians, they appear to have inhabited a region lying more to the south than the Rut-en-nu or the Kufa, who were also tributary at the same period to Thothmes III. Among the presents brought by them to the Egyptian monarch were the ibex, leopard,[3] baboon, ape, ostrich eggs and feathers, dried fruits and skins; and exotic shrubs, with ebony and ivory, seem to prove that they lived in a cultivated country as well as a warm climate.[4]

The Shari[5] were another Eastern or Northern people, against whom the Egyptians waged a successful war, principally in the

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[1] Mentioned on a stone found by Mr. Burton in the desert of the Red Sea; where I met with the small temple and station of Wadee Gasoos, mentioned in my 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 364.

[2] Or, Pouônt. Woodcut No. 76, *fig.* 5. [The correct name is Pun or Punt, and it is supposed to be the country situated on the eastern bank of the Red Sea. It is mentioned as early as the time of Cheops, and was inhabited by a mixed population, partly Nigritic. Some see in it the modern Somal or Somali.—S. B.]

[3] Very like the hunting leopard of India, or *Felis jubata*.

[4] Upper line of figures in Plate II.

[5] The Shari, or rather Kharu, were the inhabitants of Northern Palestine, and the coast generally of Palestine and South Asia Minor.—S. B.

reigns of Osirei[1] and his son, the great Rameses; and I am inclined to think them either an Assyrian tribe, or the inhabitants of some part of Arabia. The former appears more probable, though the fact of the Arabian Gulf having been called by the Egyptians the Sea of Shari may argue in favour of the latter. Their features were marked by a prominent aquiline nose and high cheek-bones: they had a large beard; and their head-dress consisted either of a cap bound, like that of the Pount, with a fillet, or a skull-cap fitting loosely to the head, secured by a band, and terminating at the end, which fell down behind, in a ball or tassel.[2] Their dress consisted of a long loose robe reaching to the ankles, and fastened at the waist by a girdle, the upper part furnished with ample sleeves. The girdle was sometimes highly ornamented: and men as well as women wore earrings; and they frequently had a small cross suspended to a necklace, or to the collar of their dress. The adoption of this last was not peculiar to them; it was also appended to, or figured upon, the robes of the Rut-en-nu; and traces of it may be seen in the fancy ornaments of the Rebu, showing that it was already in use as early as the fifteenth century before the Christian era.

Their principal arms were the bow, spear, two javelins, and a sword or club; and their country was defended by several strongly fortified towns. But no want of courage prevented their resisting the Egyptian invaders in the open field; and it was only after severe struggles that they retired to those strongholds, which were bravely, though unsuccessfully, defended. Some wore a sort of double belt, crossing the body and passing over each shoulder; and this, together with the pointed cap, so much resembling the dress

No. 81. Prisoners of Tirhakah. *Thebes.*

[1] Seti I.

[2] Woodcut No. 76, *fig.* 6 *c.*

of Tirhakah's captives,[1] cannot fail to remind us of the Syrians or Assyrians, whose name bears a strong analogy to the one before us.

The Rut-en-nu,[2] supposed by M. Champollion to be Lydians,[3] were a nation with whom the Egyptians waged a long war, commencing at least as early as, and perhaps prior to, the reign of the third Thothmes. Their white complexion, tight dresses, and long gloves,[4] decide them to have been natives of a much colder climate than Egypt or Syria; and the productions of their country, which they bring as a tribute to the victorious Pharaoh, pronounce them to have lived in the East. These consist of horses, and even chariots, with four spoked wheels,[5] very similar to the Egyptian curricle, rare woods, ivory, elephants and bears,[6] a profusion of elegant gold and silver vases, with rings of the same precious metals, porcelain, and jars filled with choice gums and resins used for making incense, of which a greater quantity was derived from their country than from any other tributary to Egypt. Their features were regular, without the very prominent nose that characterises some Eastern people represented in the sculptures; and they were of a very light colour, with brown or red hair, and blue eyes. Their long dress, usually furnished with tight sleeves[7] and fastened by strings round the neck, was either closed or folded over in front, and sometimes secured by a girdle. Beneath the outer robe they wore a kilt; and an ample cloak, probably woollen, like the modern *herám*, or blanket, of the coast of Barbary, was thrown over the whole dress;[8] the head being generally covered with a close cap, or a fuller one bound with a fillet.

The women wore a long garment secured with a girdle, and trimmed in the lower part with three rows of flounces; the

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[1] Woodcut No. 81. The same may be observed in the Persian figures of the beautiful tessellated pavement lately discovered at Pompeii.

[2] Woodcut No. 76, *fig.* 7.

[3] The Ruten, or Rut-en-nu, are translated in the inscription of the trilingual tablet of Canopus, of the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes I., B.C. 38, as Syrians in the extended sense of the word, and ruled all Syria till the rise of the Khita, and carried on war with Egypt during the reigns of Thothmes I., Thothmes III., and their successors. They appear to have been the ancient Assyrians or Babylonians. (Cf. Chabas, 'Études,' p. 129.)—S. B.

[4] *Vide* Plate II. There are other instances of gloves in Egyptian sculptures; but they are very rare. The expression 'shoe' in Ruth iv. 7 is in the Targum 'right-hand glove.' [The object is not a glove, but a silver rhyton or cup, in shape of a human arm.—S. B.]

[5] Woodcut No. 63. The Egyptian town curricle had four spokes; the war-car six.

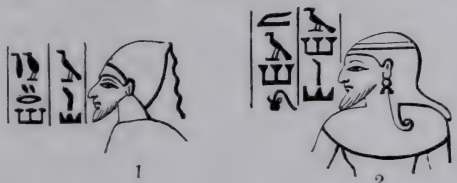
[6] The *Ursus Syriacus*, Linn.

[7] A dress with sleeves is seen in woodcut No. 78, *fig.* 6.

[8] Woodcut No. 89, and No. 76, *fig.* 7 *d.*

sleeves sometimes large and open, sometimes fastened tight round the wrist; and the hair was either covered with a cap, to which a long tassel was appended, or descending in ringlets was encircled with a simple band.[1]

The Tuirsha,[2] a maritime people,[3] are also mentioned among the enemies of Egypt; and their close cap, from whose pointed summit a crest of hair falls to the back of the neck, readily distinguishes them from other Eastern tribes. Their features offer no peculiarity; and we have not sufficient data from the sculptures to form any opinion respecting their wars with the Egyptians, though they are introduced among the tribes conquered by the third Rameses. The same applies to the Mashuasha,[4] who resemble the former in their general features



No. 82. Other enemies of the Egyptians. 1. Tuirsha. 2. Mashuasha. *Thebes.*

and the shape of their beards; but their head-dress is low, and rather more like that of Tirhakah's prisoners, already mentioned,[5] descending in two points at the side and back of the head, and bound with a fillet.

The people of Kufa[6] appear to have inhabited a part of Asia lying considerably north of the latitude of Palestine; and their long hair, rich dresses, and sandals of the most varied form and colour, render them remarkable among the nations represented in Egyptian sculpture.[7] In complexion they were much darker than the Rut-en-nu, but far more fair than the Egyptians; and to

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[1] Woodcut No. 89, and No. 76, *fig.* 7 *e.*

[2] Woodcut No. 82, *fig.* 1.

[3] The Tuirsha, called also the Tuirsha of the Sea, are recognised to be the Etruscans, the *Tyrse-noi* of the Greeks. They invaded Egypt in alliance with the Libyans in the reigns of Menephtah and Rameses II. (Chabas, 'Études,' p. 302.)—S. B.

[4] Woodcut No. 82, *fig.* 2. The Mashuasha—identical with the Maxyes, Mazyes, or Mazaces of the ancients—were a Libyan people. They invaded Egypt from the west, in the reign of Menephtah, in alliance with the Achæans or Greeks, Etruscans, Lycians, Sardinians, and Sicilians, and fought the battle of Paarisheps or Prosopis, and were defeated with great slaughter. Part of the Mashuasha were at the time in the service of Egypt, 12,535 being killed in battle. They renewed the war in the fifth and eleventh years of Rameses III.—S. B.

[5] Woodcut No. 81.

[6] The Phœnicians, according to the trilingual inscriptions of Canopus.—S. B.

[7] Plate II., second line from the top.

judge from the tribute they brought to the Pharaohs, they were a rich people, and, like the Rut-en-nu, far advanced in the arts and customs of civilised life. This tribute, which is shown to have been paid to the Egyptians as early as the reign of Thothmes III., consisted almost entirely of gold and silver, in rings and bars, and vases of the same metals. Many of the latter were silver, inlaid with gold, tastefully ornamented, of elegant form, and similar to many already in use among the Egyptians; and from the almost exclusive introduction of the precious metals, and the absence of animals, woods, and such productions as were brought to Egypt by other people, we may suppose the artist intended to convey a notion of the great mineral riches of their country: and they are occasionally represented carrying knives or daggers, beads, a small quantity of ivory, leathern bottles, and a few bronze and porcelain cups. Their dress was a simple kilt, richly worked and of varied colour, folding over in front, and fastened with a girdle; and their sandals, which, being closed like boots, differed entirely from those of the Egyptians, appear to have been of cloth or leather, highly ornamented, and reaching considerably above the ankle. Their long hair hung loosely in tresses, reaching more than half-way down the back; and from the top of the head projected three or four curls, either of real or artificial hair.

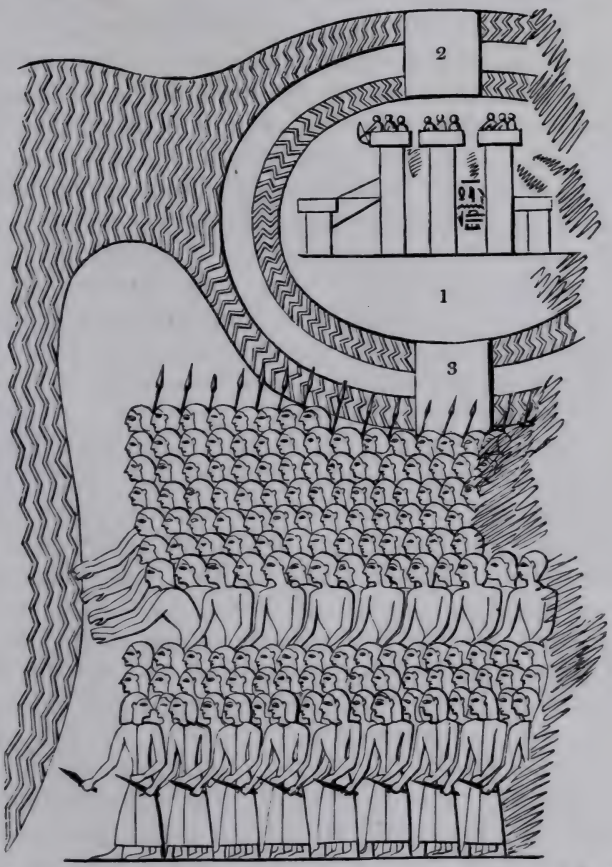
The Khita or Sheta [1] were a warlike people of Asia, who had made considerable progress in military tactics, both with regard to manœuvres in the field, and the art of fortifying towns, some of which they surrounded with a double fosse. It is worthy of remark, that in these cases the approach to the place led over a *bridge*;[2] and the sculptures acquainting us with the fact are highly interesting, as they offer the earliest indication of its use, having been executed in the reign of the great Rameses, about 1350 years before our era. But whether the bridges were supported on arches, or simply of wooden rafters resting on piers of the same materials, we are unable to decide, since the view is given as seen from above, and is therefore confined to the level upper surface.[3] Their troops appear to have been disciplined; and the close array of their phalanxes of infantry, the style of their chariots, and the arms they used, indicate a great

[1] Khita, Sheta, Getæ, or *Skeethæ* (Scythai), Scythians, are the same name. *Kh* and *Sh* were sometimes used synonymously by the Egyptians.

[2] There was a bridge at Tsaru, or Tanis, in the reign of Seti I. (Rosellini, 'Monumenti Reali,' No. 1.)—S. B.

[3] Woodcut No. 83, *figs.* 2 and 3.

superiority in military tactics, compared with other Eastern nations of that early period. The wars waged against the Khita by the Egyptians, and the victories obtained over them by the great Rameses, are pictured on the walls of his palace at Thebes,[1] and are again alluded to in the sculptures of Rameses III. at



No. 83. Phalanx of the Khita, drawn up as a *corps de reserve*, with the fortified town, Katesh on the Orontes, surrounded by double ditches, over which are *bridges* (figs. 2 and 3). *Thebes.*

Medeenet Haboo, where this people occurs in the list of nations conquered by the Pharaohs. Their arms were the bow, sword, and spear; and their principal defence was a wicker shield, either rectangular or concave at the sides, and convex at each end, approaching in form the Theban buckler.

[1] Usually called the Memnonium.

Their dress consisted of a long robe, reaching to the ankles, with short sleeves, open, or folding over in front, and secured by a girdle round the waist; but though frequently made of a very thick stuff, and perhaps even quilted, it was by no means an effectual substitute for armour, nor could it resist the spear or the metal-pointed arrow. They either wore a close or a full cap; and their arms were occasionally decked with bracelets, as their dresses with brilliant colours. Their cars were drawn by two horses, like those of Egypt, but they each contained three men,[1] and some had wheels with four instead of six spokes; in both which respects they differed from those of their opponents. They had some cavalry: but large masses of infantry, with a formidable body of chariots, constituted the principal force of their numerous and well-appointed army; and if, from the manner in which they posted their *corps de reserve*, we may infer them to have been a people skilled in war, some idea may also be formed of the strength of their army from the numbers composing that division, which amounted to 24,000 men,[2] drawn up in three close phalanxes, consisting each of 8000.

The nation of Khita seems to have been composed of two distinct tribes,[3] both comprehended under the same name, uniting in one common cause, and probably subject to the same government. They differed in their costume and general appearance: one having a large cap, and the long loose robe, with open sleeves or capes covering the shoulders, worn by many Asiatic people already mentioned, a square or oblong shield,[4] and sometimes a large beard;[5] the other the dress and shield before described, and no beard. They both fought in cars and used the same weapons; and we even find they lived together, or garrisoned the same towns.

Whether they were Scythians,[6] or a nation inhabiting the banks of the Euphrates, I do not yet pretend to decide: the

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[1] In the poem of Pentaur describing the campaign of Rameses II. against the Khita, the confederation is described as coming three men in a chariot. ('Records of the Past,' vol. ii. p. 69.)—S. B.

[2] At the Memnonium. 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 19.

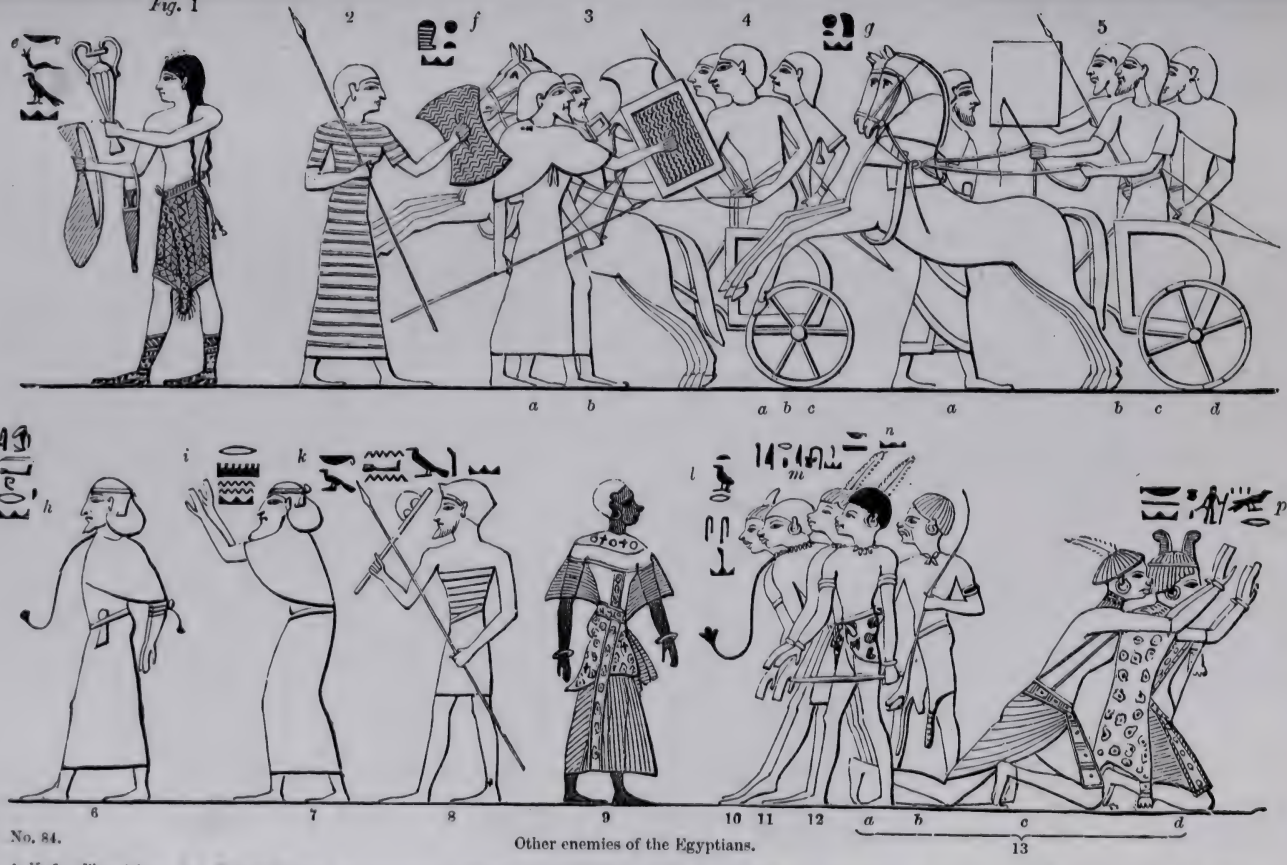
[3] Woodcut No. 84, *figs.* 2, 3, 4, and 5.

[4] The Persian shield was square or oblong, or of the form of a diamond, called *gerron* by the Greeks. (Strabo, xv.)

[5] [Clemens describes the Scythians with long hair of a flaxen or red colour ('Pædagog.' iii. 3). He speaks of the sobriety of the Scythians (ii. 62).—G. W.]

[6] The Khita are supposed to be the Hittites. They were divided into two races, the northern in the gorges of the Amanos, and the southern in the mountain ranges to the west of the Dead Sea. (Maspero, 'Histoire ancienne,' pp. 192–3.) They are supposed to have been of Turanian origin, and used a kind of hieroglyphic writing, the so-called Hamathite.—S. B.

Fig. 1



No. 84.

Other enemies of the Egyptians.

1. Kufa—Phœnician. 2–5. Khita—Hittite. *h.* Amauru—Amorite. *i.* Remenen—Armenian. *k.* Kanana—Canaanite. *l.* Turuses. *m.* Taruau—Negro. *n.* Kush—Ethiopian Negro. *p.* The chiefs of Kush or Ethiopia.

name strongly argues in favour of the former opinion, which is that of the much regretted Champollion; and if any confirmation can be obtained from the sculptures of the accounts given by Herodotus, Diodorus, Tacitus, and other historians, relating to the march of Sesostris or Rameses,[1] it is certainly to be looked for in those of the second and third Rameses; and the possibility of such extended conquests is not inconsistent with the known power and resources of ancient Egypt.

Several other nations and tribes, who inhabited parts of Asia, are shown by the monuments[2] to have been invaded and reduced to subjection by the arms of the Pharaohs; and in the names of some[3] we recognise towns or districts of Syria, as in Amauri,[4] Lemanon,[5] Kanana,[6] and Ascalon. The inhabitants of the first two are figured with a round full head-dress, bound with a fillet: and those of Kanana are distinguished by a coat of mail and helmet, and the use of spears, javelins, and a battle-axe similar to that of Egypt.[7]

Thus we find that the Theban sculptors intentionally maintained a marked difference in the arms and costume peculiar to many of these people, though the same attention was not always extended to their faces. They were frequently conventional; a certain general style being adopted for eastern nations, another for those of the north, a third for the Ethiopians, and a fourth for the Blacks of the interior of Africa; and accuracy in portraying the features was dispensed with, except in the larger and more detailed sculptures, or when any remarkable difference was observable, as in the prominent nose of one of their allies.[8]

Some are clad in loose, others in tight dresses; some have shields of a square, others of an oblong, round, or other form, which are merely held by a single handle in the centre, like those now used by the Ababdeh and modern Ethiopians.

The country of Lemanon is shown by the artist to have been mountainous, inaccessible to chariots, and abounding in lofty trees, which the affrighted mountaineers are engaged in felling, in order to impede the advance of the invading army. Having taken by assault the fortified towns on the frontier, the Egyptian

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[1] 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 22, and the Introduction.
[2] Woodcut No. 84, preceding page.
[3] Woodcut No. 84, *figs.* 6, 7, and 8.
[4] The Amorites.
[5] Ermenen or Armenia.
[6] Canaan.
[7] Woodcut No. 84, *fig.* 8. In Joshua xvii. 16, the Canaanites are said to 'have chariots of iron.'
[8] Woodcut No. 16, *fig.* 2, and woodcut No. 76, *fig.* 3.

monarch advances with the light infantry in pursuit of the fugitives who had escaped and taken refuge in the woods: and sending a herald to offer terms on condition of their surrender, the chiefs are induced to trust to his clemency, and return to their allegiance; as are those of Kanana, whose strongholds yield in like manner to the arms of the conqueror.

That these two names point out the inhabitants of Mount Lebanon and Canaan is highly probable, since the campaign is said to have taken place in the first year, or soon after the accession, of Osirei,[1] the father of the great Rameses; and the events which previously occurred in Egypt, during the reign of Amenophis III., and the unwarlike character of his two successors, may have given an opportunity to these people, though so near Egypt, to rebel, and assert their independence.

Many black nations were also conquered by the early monarchs of the 18th and 19th Dynasties, as the Toreses, the Taruau, and another whose name is lost,[2] as well as the Cush,[3] or Ethiopians. These last were long at war with the Egyptians; and part of their country, which was reduced at a very remote period by the arms of the Pharaohs, was obliged to pay an annual tribute to the conquerors: but whether the name of Cush was applied merely to the lower districts of Ethiopia, or comprehended the whole of the southern portion of that country, I am unable to determine.

The Blacks,[4] like the Ethiopians, wore short aprons of bulls' hides,[5] or the skins of wild beasts, frequently drawn by the Egyptian artists with the tail projecting from the girdle, for the purpose of adding to their grotesque appearance by this equivocal addition: the chiefs, decked with ostrich and other feathers, had large circular gold ear-rings, collars, and bracelets; and many of the Ethiopian grandees were clad in garments of fine linen, with leathern girdles highly ornamented, a leopard-skin being occasionally thrown over the shoulder.[6] It is reasonable to suppose that the linen was purchased from the Egyptians, whose conquests in the country would naturally lead to its intro-

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[1] Seti I. The name of Osirei was a later substitution, consequent on a religious revolution.—S. B.

[2] Woodcut No. 84, *fig.* 12.

[3] It is the scriptural as well as the hieroglyphical name. Woodcut No. 84, *fig.* 13, *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d*.

[4] The Blacks were called generally *Nahsi* or revolters.—S. B.

[5] [*V.* Strabo, p. 565, edit. 1587. Strabo says the Ethiopians wore skins, and that sheep have no wool in Ethiopia, but hair like goats, which is true.—G. W.]

[6] Woodcut No. 84, *fig.* 13, *c*, *d*.

duction among them; and this is rendered more probable, from its transparent fineness being represented in the same manner as in the dresses of the Egyptians, and from its being confined to the chiefs as an article of value, indicative of their rank.

The Ethiopian tribute consisted of gold and silver, precious stones, ostrich feathers, skins, ebony, ivory, apes, oxen of the long-horned breed still found in Abyssinia, lions, oryxes, leopards, giraffes, and hounds; and they were obliged to supply the victors with slaves, which the Egyptians sometimes exacted even from the conquered countries of Asia. Their chief arms were the bow, spear, and club:[1] they fought mostly on foot, and the tactics of a disciplined army appear to have been unknown to them.

The names of foreign nations who acted as auxiliaries of the Egyptians I have already noticed. The first unequivocal mention of these alliances[2] is in the sculptures of the great Rameses,[3] where the Shairetana[4] unite with him in an expedition against the Khita.[5] They had been previously conquered by the Pharaohs, with whom they entered into a treaty, agreeing to furnish troops and to assist them in their future wars: and firm to their engagements, they continued to maintain a friendly intercourse with the Egyptians for a considerable length of time, and joined the army of the third Rameses, when, about a century later, he marched into Asia, to attack the Takkari[6] and the Rebu.[7] In the war against the Rebu, Rameses was assisted by another body of auxiliaries, whose high fur cap sufficiently denotes their Oriental origin;[8] and a third tribe, whose name is likewise lost, aided the Egyptians in the same campaign.

It is evident that the Takkari also united with the invaders against the Rebu, and contributed to the successes of the third Rameses; but either a portion of their tribe still remained hostile to the Egyptians, or some cause of complaint alienated their friendship, and we find that they were soon afterwards engaged in war with that monarch. Being joined by many of the Shairetana, to whose country they fled for refuge after their first defeat, and relying on the protection promised them by the fleet of that maritime people, they offered battle to the Egyptians:

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[1] [Herodotus describes the Ethiopian dresses and arms in Bk. vii. 69.—G. W.]

[2] Perhaps we may also trace them in the time of Usertesen I.

[3] At the Memnonium and Aboosimbel. Woodcut No. 75, *figs.* 5 and 6.

[4] Sardinians.

[5] Hittites.

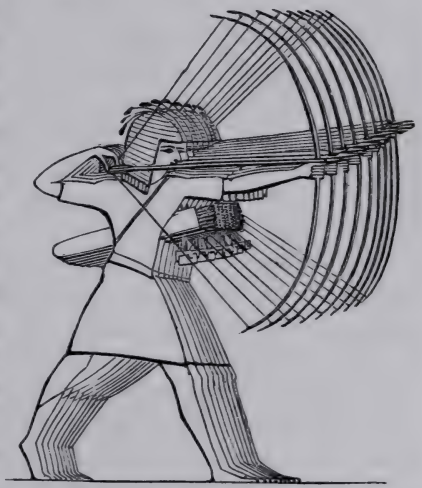
[6] Teucri.

[7] Libyans.

[8] The Shasu or Arabs. Woodcut No. 16, *fig.* 2, the same as *fig.* 3 in woodcut No. 76.

but their combined efforts were ineffectual; they were again reduced to subjection; and Rameses, loaded with booty and a considerable number of captives, returned to Egypt, accompanied by the auxiliary legions of those of the Shairetana,[1] Takkari,[2] and the other allies who had remained faithful to him.

When an expedition was resolved upon against a foreign nation, the necessary preparations were made throughout the country, each province furnishing its quota of men; and the members of the military class were summoned to muster in whatever numbers the monarch deemed it necessary to require. The troops were generally commanded by the king in person; but in some instances a general was appointed to that post, and intrusted with the sole conduct of the war.[3] A place of rendezvous was fixed, in early times, generally at Thebes, Memphis, or Pelusium; and the troops having assembled in the vicinity, remained encamped there, awaiting the leader of the expedition. As soon as he arrived, the necessary preparations were made; and orders having been issued for their march, a signal was given by sound of a trumpet; the troops fell in, and with a profound bow each soldier in the ranks saluted the royal general, and acknowledged his readiness to receive his orders, and to follow him to the field.



No. 85. A body of archers. *Thebes.*

The march then commenced;[4] the chariots led the van; and the king, mounted in his car of war and attended by his chief officers[5] carrying flabella, took his post in the centre, preceded and followed by bodies of infantry armed with bows, spears, or other weapons, according to their respective corps.

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[1] Sardinians.

[2] Teucri.

[3] This was the case when the army was sent by Apries against the Cyreneans. Herod. ii. 161.)

[4] It is represented at Medeenet Haboo. If the whole of the back part of that temple were cleared, much more might be obtained from those interesting sculptures.

[5] If he had sons, they held this office, which was considered a very honourable post.

On commencing the attack in the open field, a signal was again made by sound of trumpet. The archers drawn up in line first discharged a shower of arrows on the enemy's front, and a considerable mass of chariots advanced to the charge; the heavy infantry, armed with spears or clubs, and covered with their shields, moved forwards at the same time in close array, flanked by chariots and cavalry,[1] and pressed upon the centre and wings of the enemy, the archers still galling the hostile columns with their arrows, and endeavouring to create disorder in their ranks.[2]

Their mode of warfare was not like that of nations in their infancy, or in a state of barbarism; and it is evident, from the number of prisoners they took, that they spared the prostrate who asked for quarter: and the representations of persons slaughtered by the Egyptians who have overtaken them, are intended to allude to what happened in the heat of action, and not to any wanton cruelty on the part of the victors. Indeed, in the naval fight of Rameses III.,[3] the Egyptians, both in the ships and on the shore, are seen rescuing the enemy whose galley has been sunk, from a watery grave; and the humanity of that people is strongly argued, whose artists deem it a virtue worthy of being recorded among the glorious actions of their countrymen.

Indeed, when compared with the Assyrians and other Asiatic conquerors, the Egyptians hold a high position among the nations of antiquity from their conduct to their prisoners; and the cruel custom of flaying them alive, and the tortures represented in the sculptures of Nineveh, show the Assyrians were guilty of barbarities at a period long after the Egyptians had been accustomed to the refinements of civilised communities.

To judge from the mode of binding their prisoners, we might suppose they treated them with unnecessary harshness and even cruelty, at the moment of their capture, and during their march with the army; and the contempt with which they looked upon all foreigners, whom they stigmatised by the name of impure gentiles, did probably lead many of the soldiers to commit acts of brutal severity. They tied their hands behind their backs, or over their heads, in the most strained positions, and a rope passing round their neck fastened them to each other; and some

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[1] The chariots are represented in this position; the cavalry I suggest from probability, though not indicated in the sculptures.

[2] At Medeenet Haboo, in Thebes.

[3] At Medeenet Haboo.

had their hands enclosed in an elongated fetter of wood,[1] made of two opposite segments, nailed together at each end; such as are still used for securing prisoners in Egypt at the present day. In the capture of a town some were beaten with sticks,[2] in order to force from them the secret of the booty that had been concealed; many were compelled to labour for the benefit of the victors; and others were insulted by the wanton soldiery, who pulled their beards and derided their appearance. But when we remember how frequently instances of harsh treatment have occurred, even among civilised Europeans, at an epoch which deemed itself much more enlightened than the fourteenth century before our era, we are disposed to excuse the occasional insolence of an Egyptian soldier; and the unfavourable impressions conveyed by such scenes are more than counterbalanced by the proofs of Egyptian humanity, as in the sea-fight above mentioned. Indeed, I am inclined to think the captives bound beneath the chariot of the conqueror in his triumph,[3] a licence of the sculptors, who, as Gibbon[4] observes, 'in every age have felt the truth of a system which derives the sublime from the principle of terror.'

I cannot therefore suppose that the Egyptians, who surpassed all others in the practices of civilised life, were in the habit of indulging in wanton cruelty, and much less do I believe that the captives represented on the façades of their temples, bound at the feet of the king, who holds them by the hair of the head, and with an uplifted arm appears about to immolate them in the presence of the deity, were intended to refer to a human sacrifice:[5] but rather that the subject was a religious allegory, purporting to be an acknowledgment of the victory he had obtained by the assistance of the deity,—in short, an emblematic record of his successes over the enemies of Egypt; and this is strongly confirmed by the fact of our finding the same subject on monuments erected by the Ptolemies and Cæsars.[6]

Those who sued for mercy and laid down their arms were spared and sent bound from the field; and, as I have already observed, the hands of the slain being cut off and placed in

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[1] *Vide* woodcut No. 111, at the end of Chap. IV.

[2] This is the usual mode in the East of eliciting the truth at the present day.

[3] At Medeenet Haboo and Karnak.

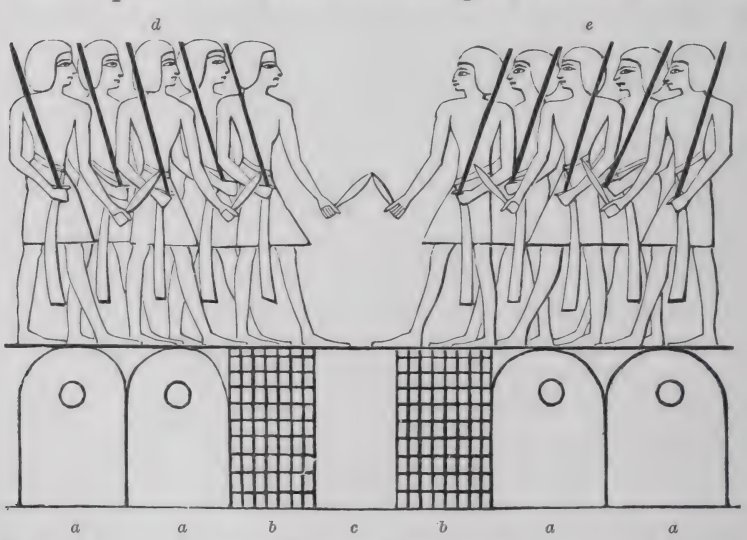
[4] Gibbon, vol. ii. 64, note.

[5] Herodotus justly blames the Greeks for their ignorance of the Egyptian character, in taking literally their allegorical tales of human sacrifices (ii. 45).

[6] At E'Dayr, near E'snè, at Dendera, and other places.

heaps before the king, immediately after the action, were counted by the military secretaries in his presence, who thus ascertained and reported to him the amount of the enemy's slain. Sometimes their hands, with occasionally other members, were laid before him in the same manner; in all instances being intended as authentic returns of the loss of the foe: for which the soldiers received a proportionate reward, divided among the whole army: the capture of prisoners probably claiming a higher premium, exclusively enjoyed by the captor.

The arms, horses, chariots, and booty taken in the field, or in the camp, were also collected, and the same officers wrote an account of them, and presented it to the monarch. The booty was sometimes collected in an open space, surrounded by a temporary wall, indicated in the sculptures by the representation of shields placed erect, with a wicker gate,[1] on the inner and



No. 86. A guard at the gates of an encampment. *Thebes.*

outer face of which a strong guard was posted, the sentries walking to and fro with drawn swords. The subject from which this is taken[2] may serve to show their mode of encamping; for though, after they had been victorious and no longer feared an attack, the strongly-fortified camp was unnecessary, its general form may be hence inferred; and the only difference between this and a permanent station, or regular encampment, the *castra*

[1] Woodcut No. 86. [2] On the N.E. tower of the Memnonium, at Thebes.

stativa of the Romans, probably consisted in the latter being constructed with greater attention to the principles of defence, and furnished with ditches and a strong efficient rampart. Judging from those of El Kab, Hieracon, and other fortified places in the valley of the Nile, distinct from the towns themselves, their fixed stations were surrounded by a massive and lofty wall of brick, whose broad rampart, having a wide staircase, or inclined way,[1] was furnished with a parapet wall, for the protection of the soldiers; and though, from the nature of the ground or other accidental causes, they were not strictly confined to the figure of a square, the quadrangular form was always preferred, and no instance occurs of a round camp like that of the Lacedæmonians. It was forbidden to the Spartan soldier, when on guard, to have his shield, in order that, being deprived of this defence, he might be more cautious not to fall asleep; and the same custom appears to have been common also to the Egyptians, since we find the watch on duty at the camp gates are only armed with swords and maces, though belonging to the heavy-armed corps, who, on other occasions, were in the habit of carrying a shield.[2]

The field encampment was either a square or a parallelogram, with a principal entrance in one of the faces; and near the centre were the general's tent, and those of the principal officers. In form it resembled a Roman camp; but the position of the general's tent agreed with the Greek custom mentioned by Homer,[3] and differed from that of the Romans, who placed the prætorium[4] on the side most distant, or least exposed to attack, from the enemy. The general's tent was sometimes surrounded by a double rampart or fosse, enclosing two distinct areas, the outer one containing three tents, probably of the next in command, or of the officers on the staff; and the guards, like the Roman *excubiæ*, slept or watched in the open air. Other tents were pitched without these enclosures; and near the external circuit, a space was set apart for feeding horses and beasts of burden, and another for ranging the chariots and baggage. It was probably near the general's tent, and within the same area, that the altars of the gods, or whatever related to religious matters, the standards, and the military chest, were kept; and we find an instance of persons kneeling before certain

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[1] The ramp.—S. B.
[2] Woodcut No. 86.
[3] Hom. Il. Θ, 222.
[4] Or general's tent.

sacred emblems beneath a canopy, within an enclosure similar to that where the tent stood, which formed a portable chapel for the army, like the Jewish tabernacle or tent. The sculptures at the Memnonium in Thebes show their mode of encamping on the field, when they had been victorious and no longer feared an attack; but the permanent station, or regular encampment, was constructed with greater attention to the principles of defence, and furnished with ditches and a strong efficient rampart.

A system of regular fortification was adopted in the earliest times. The form of the fortresses was quadrangular; the walls of crude brick 15 feet thick, and often 50 feet high, with square towers at intervals along each face. These were generally the same height as the walls, and when they only reached part of the way up they were rather buttresses; and sometimes the whole wall was doubled by an outer casing, leaving a space between the two, filled in here and there by a solid buttress, which strengthened and united them, and prevented anyone passing freely round the inner wall when the outer one was broken through. The towers, like the rest of the walls, consisted of a rampart and parapet, which last was crowned by the usual round-headed battlements, in imitation of Egyptian shields, like those on their stone walls. But a singular arrangement was followed in the position of the towers at the corners, two being placed not upon, but at each side of the very angle which remained recessed between them, and was slightly rounded off. Whenever it was possible, the fortress was square, with one or occasionally two entrances; but generally with one, and a sally-port, or a water-gate, if near the river: and, when built on an irregularly-shaped height, the form of the works was regulated by that of the ground.

One great principle in the large fortresses was to have a long wall, on the side most exposed to attack, projecting from 70 to 100 feet, at right angles from, and at the same height as, the main wall, upon which the besieged were enabled to run out and sweep the faces, or curtains, by what we should call a 'flanking fire.' But the great object was, of course, to keep the enemy as far from the main wall as possible. This was done by raising it on a broad terrace or basement, or by having an outer circuit, or low wall of circumvallation, parallel to the main wall, and distant from it, on every side, from 13 to 20 feet; and a tower stood at each side of the entrance, which was towards one

corner of the least exposed face. This low wall answered the purpose of a second rampart and ditch; it served to keep the besiegers' movable towers and battering-rams at a distance from the main wall, who had to carry the outer circuit before they could attempt a breach in, or an assault on, the body of the fortress; while, from the lowness of the outer circuit, they were exposed to the missiles of the besieged.

Another more effectual defence, adopted in larger fortifications, was a ditch with a counterscarp, and in the centre of the ditch a continuous stone wall, parallel to the face of the curtain and the counterscarp, a sort of ravelin, or a tenaille, and then came the scarp of the platform on which the fortress stood. Over the ditch was a wooden bridge, which was removed during a siege.

Occasionally, as at Semneh, there was a glacis of stone, sloping down from the counterscarp of the ditch towards the level country; so that they had in those early days some of the peculiarities of our modern works, the glacis, scarps, and counterscarps, and a sort of ravelin (or a tenaille) in the ditch. But though some were kept up after the accession of the 18th Dynasty, the practice of fortifying towns seems to have been discontinued, and fortresses or walled towns were not then used, except on the edge of the desert, and on the frontiers where large garrisons were required. To supply their place, the temples were provided with lofty pyramidal stone towers, which, projecting beyond the walls, enabled the besieged to command and rake them, while the parapet-wall over the gateway shielded the soldiers who defended the entrance; and the old plan of an outer wall of circumvallation was carried out by the large crude brick enclosure of the *temenos*, within which the temple stood. Each temple was thus a detached fort, and was thought as sufficient a protection for itself and for the town as a continuous wall, which required a large garrison to defend it; and neither Thebes nor Memphis, the two capitals, were walled cities.

On returning from war, the troops marched according to the post assigned to each regiment, observing the same order and regularity as during their advance through the enemy's country: and the allies who came with them occupied a position towards the rear of the army, and were followed by a strong corps of Egyptians. Rewards were afterwards distributed to the soldiers, and the triumphant procession of the conqueror was graced by the presence of the captives, who were conducted in bonds beside his chariot.

On traversing countries tributary to or in alliance with Egypt, the monarch received the homage of the friendly inhabitants, who, greeting his arrival with joyful acclamations and rich presents, complimented him on the victory he had obtained; and the army, as it passed through Egypt, was met at each of the principal cities by a concourse of people, who, headed by the priests, and chief men of the place bearing bouquets of flowers, green boughs, and palm branches, received them with loud acclamations, and welcomed their return.[1] Then addressing themselves to the king, the priests celebrated his praises; and, enumerating the many benefits he had conferred on Egypt by the conquest of foreign nations, the enemies of his country, they affirmed that his power was exalted in the world like the sun in the heavens, and his beneficence only equalled by that of the deities themselves.[2]

Having reached the capital, preparations commenced for a general thanksgiving in the principal temple: and suitable offerings were made to the presiding deity, the guardian of the city, by whose special favour and intercession the victory was supposed to have been obtained. The prisoners were presented to him, as well as the spoils taken from the enemy, and the monarch acknowledged the manifest power of his all-protecting hand, and his own gratitude for so distinguished a proof of heavenly favour to him and to the nation. And these subjects, represented on the walls of the temples, not only served as a record of the victory, but tended to impress the people with a religious veneration for the deity towards whom their sovereign set them so marked an example of respect. The troops were also required to attend during the performance of the prescribed ceremonies, and to return thanks for the victories they had obtained, as well as for their personal preservation; and a priest offered incense, meat-offerings, and libations, in their presence.[3] Each soldier carried in his hand a twig of some tree, probably olive, with the arms of his peculiar corps; and being summoned by sound of trumpet, they marched forwards to the temple, to the beat of drum.

Not only the light infantry, but even the heavy-armed troops, presented themselves on this occasion without shields; and we may infer from their absence, and the substitution of a green

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[1] Burton, 'Excerpta,' plate xxxvi.

[2] Conf. Rosetta stone, where King Ptolemy is compared to Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, and is called a beneficent deity.

[3] Such is the subject of a procession met with at the small temple in the Assaseef, at Thebes.

branch, emblematic either of peace or victory, that the artist intended to convey an idea of the security they felt, under the protecting influence of the deity to whose presence they were summoned. It is difficult to decide whether this were a twig of olive, or what peculiar tree among the Egyptians was symbolic of peace or of victory; and if the bay-tree were cultivated in Egypt, there is no reason to suppose it bore the same emblematic force as in Greece.[1]

A judicious remark has been made[2] respecting the choice of the olive as the emblem of peace. After the devastation of a country by hostile invasion, and the consequent neglect of its culture, no plantation requires a longer period to restore its previously flourishing condition than the olive grove; and this tree may therefore have been appropriately selected as the representative of peace.[3] There is, however, reason to suppose that its emblematic character did not originate in Greece, but that it dated from a far more remote period; and the tranquillity and habitual state of the earth[4] were announced to the ark through the same token.

It was not customary for the Egyptian soldier to wear arms except on service, when on garrison duty, or in attendance upon the king; nor did the private citizen at any time carry offensive weapons about his person, either in the house or in the street; and this circumstance, as I have already observed, goes far to prove the advanced state of civilisation in that country, at a time when the rest of the world was immersed in barbarism.

The captives, being brought to Egypt, were employed in the service of the monarch, in building temples,[5] cutting canals, raising dykes and embankments, and other public works: and some who were purchased by the grandees, were employed in the same capacity as the Memlooks of the present day. Women

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[1] Garlands from Thebes have been seen, apparently of bay leaves; but though cultivated there, the tree is not indigenous to Egypt.

[2] By Mr. Bankes.

[3] Virg. Æn. viii. 116.

[4] The Arabs have an amusing legend respecting the dove, or pigeon. The first time, it returned with the olive branch, but without any indication of the state of the earth itself; but on its second visit to the ark, the red appearance of its feet proved that the red mud on which it had walked was already freed from the waters: and to record the event, Noah prayed that the feet of those birds might for ever continue of that colour, which marks them to the present day. The similarity of the Hebrew words *adoom*, red, *admeh*, earth, and *Adm*, Adam, is remarkable. A 'man' is still called *A'dam* in Turkish. [The dove was the ancient banner of Assyria.—G. W.]

[5] Herodotus and Diodorus state that the prisoners of Sesostris were condemned to perform all the laborious part of the works he undertook on his return to Egypt. (Herod. ii. 108. Diod. i. 56.) Diodorus here mentions some Babylonian captives.

slaves were also engaged in the service of families, like the Greeks and Circassians in modern Egypt, and other parts of the Turkish empire; and from finding them represented in the sculptures of Thebes, accompanying men of their own nation, who

No. 87. Woman of the Rut-en-nu sent to Egypt. *Thebes.*

bear tribute to the Egyptian monarch, we may conclude that a certain number were annually sent to Egypt from the conquered provinces of the north and east, as well as from Ethiopia. It

No. 88. Black slaves, with their women and children. *Thebes.*

is evident that both white and black slaves were employed as servants: they attended on the guests when invited to the house of their master; and from their being in the families of priests, as well as of the military chiefs, we may infer that they were

purchased with money, and that the right of possessing slaves was not confined to those who had taken them in war. The traffic in slaves was tolerated by the Egyptians; and it is reasonable to suppose that many persons were engaged, as until recent times, in bringing them to Egypt for public sale, independent of those who were sent as part of the tribute, and who were probably at first the property of the monarch: nor did any difficulty occur to the Ishmaelites[1] in the purchase of Joseph from his brethren, nor in his subsequent sale to Potiphar on arriving in Egypt.

According to Diodorus, the Egyptians were not actuated in the administration of punishments by any spirit of vengeance, but solely by the hope of reclaiming an offender, and of preventing for the future the commission of a similar crime. Impressed with this feeling, they were averse to making desertion and insubordination capital offences; the soldier was degraded, and condemned publicly to wear some conspicuous mark of ignominy, which rendered him an object of reproach to his comrades; and without fixing any time for his release, he was doomed to bear it, till his contrition and subsequent good conduct had retrieved his character, and obtained for him the forgiveness of his superiors. 'For,' says the historian,[2] 'by rendering the stigma a more odious disgrace than death itself, the legislator hoped to make it the most severe of punishments, at the same time that it had a great advantage in not depriving the State of the services of the offender; and deeming it natural to every one who had been degraded from his post, to desire to regain the station and character he had lost, they cherished the hope that he might eventually reform, and become a worthy member of the society to which he belonged.' For minor offences, it may be presumed, they inflicted the bastinado which was commonly employed for punishing servants and other people; but the soldier who treacherously held communication with the enemy was sentenced to the excision of his tongue.[3]

[Although the Egyptians placed many soldiers in the field, it may be doubted if they were ever a very warlike race. This seems proved by the constant employment in their armies at the earliest period of negroes raised in the south, and transferred under Egyptian officers to the north and east. Later the

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[1] Gen. xxxvii. 28. Conf. also Gen. xliv. 9.
[2] Diodor. i. 78.
[3] The ancient practice of punishing the offending member.

Shairetana, either the Sardinians or a generic name for the Italians and Greeks, were enrolled in their service, and with the Libyans also enlisted, led the van, and sustained, under Egyptian leaders, the brunt of the campaigns. Finally the Greeks passed into the ranks of the armies of Egypt and were of the greatest importance. These troops were probably under a discipline of their own, suited to the national habits and character, while the command of the armies was vested in the royal family. The Egyptian army appears to have been raised by a kind of conscription, from which not even the hierodules of the temple were altogether exempt, except by special favour or edict of the sovereign. The adventures of an officer or hero at the time of the 19th Dynasty and his exploits in Palestine have been detailed in a literary composition,[1] and give a graphic account of the life of a military officer, his quarters, wounds, marches and sufferings, campaigns in Syria, and exploits; the hardship of his life being unfavourably contrasted with the more quiet and intellectual life of a scribe, and showing that the Egyptian did not regard with any great favour a military career, or the profession of arms.[2]—S. B.]

The sailors of the 'king's ships,' or royal navy, were part of the military class, a certain number of whom were specially trained for the sea; though all the soldiers were capable of handling galleys, from their constant practice at the oar on the Nile. The Egyptian troops were therefore employed on board ship by Xerxes, in his war against Greece, 'being,' as Herodotus says, 'all sailors.' And as ships of war then depended on the skill of their crews in the use of the oar, the employment of the Egyptian soldiers in a sea-fight is not so extraordinary. Many, too, of the Nile boats were built purposely for war, and were used in the expeditions of the Pharaohs into Ethiopia; officers who commanded them are often mentioned on the monuments; and chief, or captain, of the king's ships is not an uncommon title.

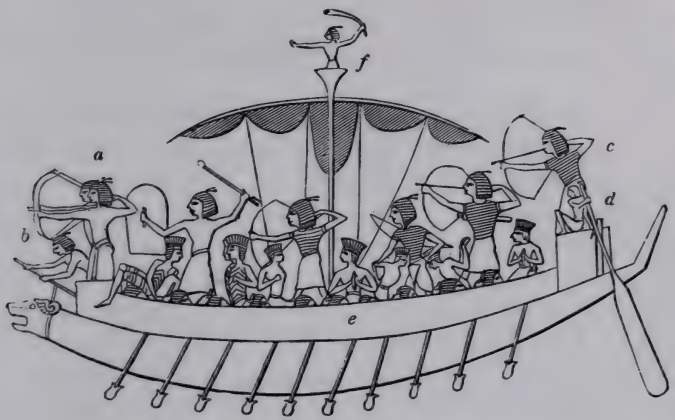
Herodotus and Diodorus both mention the fleet of long vessels,[3] or ships of war, fitted out by Sesostris on the Arabian Gulf. They were four hundred in number; and there is every reason to believe that the trade, and the means of protecting it by ships of war, existed there at least as early as the 12th Dynasty, about two thousand years before our era.

[1] Chabas, 'Voyage d'un Égyptien,' 4to; Paris, 1866.

[2] Maspero, 'Genre épistolaire,' pp. 41–43.

[3] Called *ua*, 'long' ships. Transports were called *usch*, broad. The word for galley is *mensh*.—S. B.

The galleys, or ships of war, used in their wars out of Egypt differed from those of the Nile. They were less raised at the head and stern; and on each side, throughout the whole length of the vessel, a wooden bulwark, rising considerably above the gunwale, sheltered the rowers, who sat behind it, from the missiles of the enemy; the handles of the oars passing through an aperture at the lower part.



No. 89. War galley; the sail being pulled up during the action. *Thebes.*

a. Raised forecastle, in which the archers were posted. *c*. Another post for the archers, and the pilot, *d*. *e*. A bulwark, to protect the rowers. *f*. Slinger, in the top.

The ships in the sea-fight represented at Thebes fully confirm the statement of Herodotus that the Egyptian soldiers were employed on board them, as their arms and dress are exactly the same as those of the heavy infantry and archers of the army; and the quilted helmet of the rowers shows they also were part of the same corps. Besides the archers in the raised poop and forecastle, a body of slingers was stationed in the tops, where they could with more facility manage that weapon, and employ it with effect on the enemy.

On advancing to engage a hostile fleet, the sail was used till they came within a certain distance, when the signal or order having been given to clear for action, it was reefed by means of ropes running in pulleys, or loops, upon the yard. The ends of these ropes, which were usually four in number, dividing the sail as it rose into five folds, descended and were attached to the lower part of the mast, so as to be readily worked, when the sail required to be pulled up at a moment's notice, either in a squall

of wind or on any other occasion; and in this respect, and in the absence of a lower yard, the sail of the war galley greatly differed from that of the boats on the Nile. Having prepared for the attack, the rowers, whose strength had been hitherto reserved, plied their oars; the head was directed towards an enemy's vessel, and showers of missiles were thrown from the forecastle and tops as they advanced. It was of great importance to strike their opponent on the side; and when the steersman, by a skilful manœuvre, could succeed in this, the shock was so great that they sank it, or obtained a considerable advantage by crippling the oars.

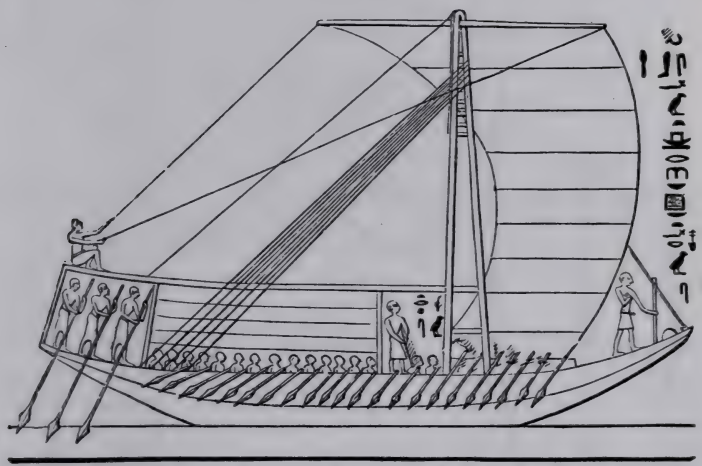
The small Egyptian galleys do not appear to have been furnished with a beak, like those of the Romans, which being of bronze sharply pointed, and sometimes below the water's surface, often sank a vessel at once; but a lion's head fixed to the prow supplied its place, and being probably covered with metal, was capable of doing great execution, when the galley was impelled by the force of sixteen or twenty oars. This head occasionally varied in form, and perhaps served to indicate the rank of the commander, the name of the vessel, or the deity under whose protection they sailed; unless indeed the lion was always chosen for their war galleys, and the ram, oryx, and others, confined to the boats connected with the service of religion.

Some of the war galleys on the Nile were furnished with forty-four oars, twenty-two being represented on one side; which, allowing for the steerage and prow, would require their total length to be about 120 feet. They were furnished, like all the others, with one large square sail; but the mast, instead of being single, was made of two limbs of equal length, sufficiently open at the top to admit the yard between them, and secured by several strong stays, one of which extended to the prow, and others to the steerage of the boat. Over the top of the mast a light rope was passed, probably intended for furling the sail, which last, from the horizontal lines represented upon it, appears to have been like those of the Chinese, and is a curious instance of a sail apparently made of the papyrus.

This double mast was common of old, during the 4th and other early dynasties; but it afterwards gave place entirely to the single one, with bars, or rollers, at the upper part, serving for pulleys, over which the ropes passed; and sometimes rings were fixed to it, in which the halliards worked.

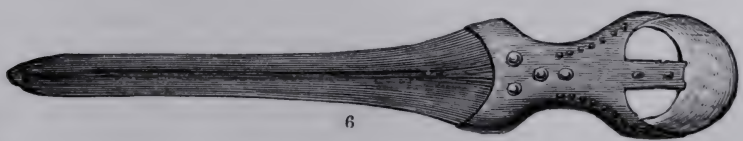
In this, as in other Egyptian boats, the braces were fixed to

the end of the yard; which being held by a man seated in the steerage, or upon the cabin, served to turn the sail to the right and left. They were common to all boats; and at the lower end of the sail (which in these boats had no yard) were the sheets, which were secured within the gunwale. The mode of steering is different from that usually described in the Egyptian paintings; and instead of a rudder in the centre of the stern, or at either side, it is furnished with three on the same side: a peculiarity



Large boat with sail apparently made of the papyrus, a double mast, and many rowers.
No. 90. *In a tomb at Kom Ahmar, above Minieh.*

which, like the double mast and the folding sail, was afterwards abandoned as cumbrous and imperfect. This boat shows satisfactorily their mode of arranging the oars, while not required during a favourable wind: they were drawn up, through the ring or band in which they turned, and they were probably held in that position by a thong or loop passing over the handle. The ordinary boats of the Nile were of a different construction; which will be mentioned in describing the boat-builders, one of the members of the fourth class of the Egyptian community.



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No. 91. Egyptian dagger, length 11¼ inches. *British Museum.*

No. 92. Egyptian arms. *British Museum; and from Thebes.*

Fig. 1*a*. Hatchet, 1 foot 5 inches in length.
Fig. 3. Dagger 15½ inches in length.
Figs. 4 and 5. Slings, from the sculptures.
Fig. 6 is transferred to woodcut No. 91.

Fig. 7. Dagger 10¼ inches long.
Fig. 8. Head of dart, 3 inches.
Fig. 9. Javelin head, 14 inches long.

VIGNETTE D.—Modern shadoof, or pole and bucket, used for raising water, in Upper and Lower Egypt.

CHAPTER IV.

The other members of the Castes—The Peasants, Huntsmen, and Boatmen—The Lands farmed—Irrigation—Tradesmen, Artificers, Public Weighers, and Notaries—Money—Writing—Pastors, Fishermen, and common People—Legislative Rights of the King—Judges—Laws—Passports—The Bastinado—Punishment—Marriages—Civil Government—Greek and Roman Administration.

HAVING concluded the foregoing chapter with an account of the military order, which, as it holds a rank so far above all the other subdivisions of the second caste, I may be excused for treating almost as if distinct from it, I now proceed to notice the other members of this caste; the principal subdivisions of which consisted of the military just mentioned, the farmers, husbandmen, gardeners, huntsmen, and boatmen.

The statement of Diodorus, who says the husbandmen were hired to till the estates of the kings, priests, and soldiers, is so strongly confirmed by the scriptural account of the cession of all the landed property to the government on the occasion of Joseph's famine, that we are reduced to the necessity of concluding the husbandmen had no rights in the soil, the richer peasants farming the land from the proprietor, while the poor were hired as labourers for the cultivation of the ground. The wages paid them were trifling,[1] and it may be inferred that the farmer received the land on very moderate terms. The cattle,

[1] Diodor. i. 74.

flocks, or herds, which were tethered in the clover, appear also to have belonged to the landowner; but those employed in the plough, and for other agricultural purposes, were usually the property of the farmer. In extensive domains, the peasants frequently acted as superintendents of the herdsmen, and were obliged to give account to the steward of the number and condition of the cattle on the estate, the direct care of them being the office of an inferior class of people: the clover was also let, as at the present day, to any person who had cattle, which were tethered in the meadows about the close of autumn; and, at other seasons of the year, particularly during the period of the inundation, were fed in the villages and farmyards on hay, which had been dried and preserved for the purpose.[1]

If the farmer had no right in the soil, it is still reasonable to suppose that the choice of the crop depended chiefly on his decision, care being taken, as is still the custom in Egypt, as well as in other countries, that the land should not be injured by an imprudent repetition of similar crops:[2] and, indeed, from what Diodorus says, it is evident the farmers were not only permitted to choose the grain they intended to cultivate, but were justly deemed the only persons of sufficient experience to form a judicious opinion on the subject; and so skilful were they, says the historian, about these matters, in the study of which they were brought up from their youth, that they far excelled the agriculturists of every other nation. They carefully considered the nature of the soil, the proper succession of crops, and the mode of tilling and irrigating the fields; and by a constant habit of observation, and by the lessons received from their parents, they were acquainted with the exact season for sowing and reaping, and with all the peculiarities of each species of produce.

The gardeners were employed by the rich in cultivating trees and flowers in the parterres attached to their houses; and the vineyard, orchard, and tanks which served for ornament as well as for the purposes of irrigation, were under their superintendence and direction. In Egypt, the garden and the fields were both watered by the *shadoof*,[3] or by buckets carried on a yoke

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[1] Diodor. i. 36. Like the *drees*, dried clover of modern Egypt.

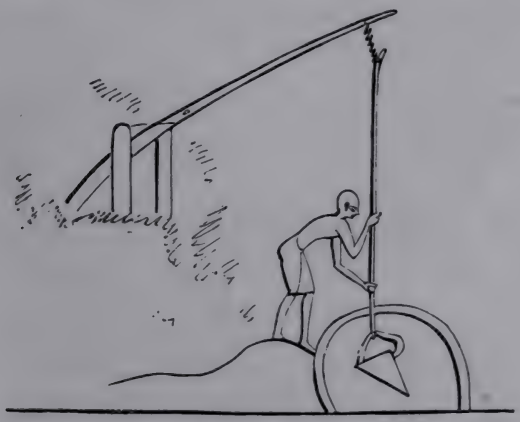
[2] M. Macaire has shown the reason of this, and proved by experiments that the noxious matter thrown out by roots of vegetables unfits the soil for the growth of the same plant, though it may be beneficial to another kind.

[3] The pole and bucket still used in Egypt. This is the Arabic name. (*Vide* Vignette D.)

across the shoulders; but there is no appearance of their having used any hydraulic machine similar to the Persian wheel, now so common in the East; nor do the sculptures represent the foot

No. 93. Shadoof, or pole and bucket, for watering the garden. *Thebes.*

machine mentioned by Philo, which is supposed to be referred to in the sacred writings.[1] It is, however, not a little remarkable

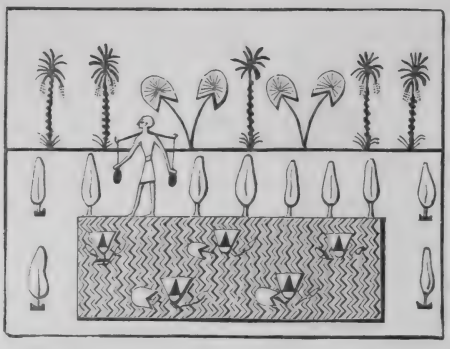


No. 94. Shadoof for watering the lands. *Thebes.*

that an Arab tradition still records the use of the shadoof in the time of the Pharaohs: and I have found a part of one in an

[1] Deut. xi. 10. It is more probable that this alludes to the mode of stopping the small watercourses with mud by the foot, and turning off the water into another channel, still adopted in their gardens and fields.

ancient tomb at Thebes, consisting of an angular piece of wood, on which the pole turned, and the rope that secured it to the cross bar.



No. 95. Water buckets carried by a yoke on the shoulders. *Thebes.*

The huntsmen constituted another subdivision of this caste, many of whom were employed to attend and assist the chiefs, during their excursions in pursuit of the wild animals of the country; the scenes of which amusements were principally in the deserts of Upper Egypt. They conducted the dogs to the field, they had the management of them in loosing them for the chase, and they secured and brought home the game, having generally contributed with their own skill to increase the sport of the chasseur. They also followed this occupation on their own

No. 96. Ostrich, with the feathers and eggs. *Thebes.*

account, and secured for themselves considerable profit, by catching those animals that were prized for the table, by the rewards given for destroying the hyæna and other noxious animals, and by the lucrative chase of the ostrich, which was

highly valued for its plumes and eggs,[1] and was sold to the wealthier Egyptians.

The boatmen, like others who composed the subdivisions of each caste, were of different grades: some belonged to the private sailing or pleasure boats of the grandees; others to those of burden; and the rank of each depended on the station he held. The office of steersman seems to have been the most important, and to have ranked above all the other grades; but it is reasonable to suppose that when the Egyptians undertook naval expeditions, the more warlike occupation of the sailor raised that class of people in the estimation of their countrymen, and the pilots of ships of war bore the highest station in the class of boatmen. The officers of their fleet were probably selected from the army,[2] and the marines, or fighting men, who served on board, were all of the military order.[3]

The third caste consisted of artificers, tradesmen, or shopkeepers, musicians, builders, masons, carpenters, cabinet-makers, potters, public weighers, and an inferior class of notaries.

Among the artificers may be reckoned braziers and smiths of all kinds,—in short, all who pursued any handicraft occupation not included among those which I have distinctly mentioned; and the leather-cutters, many of whom are said to have lived at Thebes in the quarter of the Memnonia,[4] were doubtless a branch of the same class. Their skill in stamping leather was very remarkable; and many specimens of unusual thinness and delicacy, presenting figures and other devices, show how well they understood the art of tanning, and of turning it to an ornamental purpose.

The workers in linen, and other manufactures, were comprehended under the same general head; but each class had its peculiar branch, and no one presumed to interfere with the occupation of another. Indeed it is probable that certain portions of the city in which they dwelt were set apart for, and exclusively belonged to, each of the different trades (as is still the case in a great degree at Cairo[5]): and this may be inferred from the mention of 'the leather-cutters of the Memnonia,'

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[1] That ostrich eggs were also highly prized, is evident from their forming part of the tributes brought to the kings.

[2] The officer Aahmes-Pennishem, in the reign of the kings of the 17th and 18th Dynasties, served in both capacities.—S. B.

[3] Sculptures at Medeenet Haboo.

[4] In the papyrus of Mr. Grey. (Dr. Young on Egyptian Lit. p. 65.)

[5] As the Seroogëëh, or saddlers; the Harrateen, turners; the Warakeen, paper-sellers, and others, which are the names of the streets of Cairo where they have their shops.

alluded to before, who appear to have been a body of workmen living in a particular part of Thebes.

All trades, says Diodorus,[1] vied with each other in improving their own peculiar branch, no pains being spared to bring it to perfection; and to promote this object more effectually, it was enacted that no artisan should follow any other trade or employment but that which had been handed down to him from his parents,[2] and defined by law. Nor was anyone permitted to meddle with political affairs, or to hold any civil office in the State, lest his thoughts should be distracted by the inconsistency of his pursuits, or by the jealousy and displeasure of the master in whose business he was employed. They foresaw that without such a law constant interruptions would take place, in consequence of the necessity, or the desire, of becoming conspicuous in a public station; that their proper occupations would be neglected, and that many would be led by vanity and self-sufficiency to interfere in matters which were out of their sphere. Moreover, they considered that to follow more than one occupation would be detrimental to their own interests, and to those of the community at large; and that when men, from a motive of avarice, are induced to engage in numerous branches of art, the result generally is, that they are unable to excel in any. Such, adds Diodorus, is the case in some countries where artists occupy themselves in agricultural pursuits, or in commercial speculation, and frequently in two or three different arts at once. Many, again, in those communities which are governed according to democratical principles, are in the habit of frequenting popular assemblies, and, dreaming only of their own interests, receive bribes from the leaders of parties, and do incredible mischief to the State. But with the Egyptians, if any artisan meddled with political affairs, or engaged in any other employment than the one to which he had been brought up, a severe punishment was instantly inflicted upon him; and it was with this view that the regulations respecting their public and private occupations were instituted by the early legislators of Egypt.

It is unnecessary to enter into any detail of the peculiar employments of the various members of the class of artificers and tradesmen, as mention will be made of them in noticing the manufactures of the country; I therefore confine myself to a few

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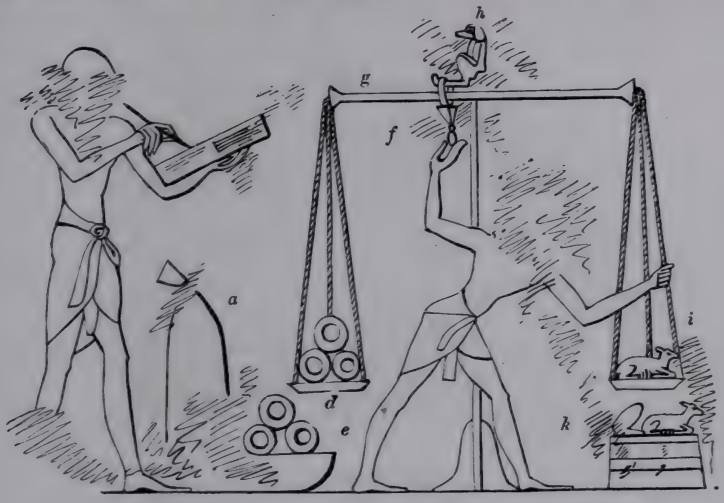
[1] Diodor. i. 74.

[2] Like many other things, this is plausible in theory, but bad in practice [and, it may be added, doubtful if carried into practice in earlier times.—S. B.].

remarks on the office of the public weighers or notaries. The business of the former was to ascertain the exact weight of every object presented to them in the public street, or market,[1] where they temporarily erected their scales, and to adjust the sale of each commodity with the strictest regard to justice, without favouring either the buyer or seller. All things sold by weight were submitted to this test;[2] and even the value of the money



No. 97. Public weighers and notaries. *Thebes.*

paid for them was settled by the same unquestionable criterion. It was owing to this custom that the money paid by the sons of Jacob for the corn they purchased, and which had been returned into their sacks, was said to be found of 'full *weight*;'[3] and it is highly probable that the purity of gold and silver was subjected to the trial of fire.[4]

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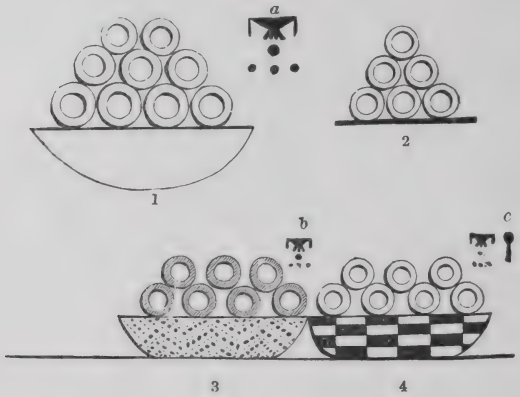
[1] 'The *superintendence* of weights and measures' belonged to the priests, until the Romans took away that privilege. [The weigher was called *mer masha*, superintendent of the weight; the scribe or notary *an hebs*, scribe of the account.—S. B.]

[2] Small objects were, no doubt, weighed at the shop by the seller; but if any question arose, it was decided by the public scales; larger goods being always weighed by the *masha* or balance, the Arabic *qabbáneh*, as in Modern Egypt.

[3] Gen. xliii. 21. The Jews also weighed their money. Their weights were of stone; and the word weight, in Hebrew, אֶבֶן, also means a stone. (Deut. xxv. 13, 15.) They had certain standard weights, as the shekel of the sanctuary. Roman money was also weighed in ancient times. (Liv. iv. 60.) The Egyptian mode of weighing and of noting down the account frequently occurs in the sculptures.

[4] As with the modern Ethiopians. Conf. Zech. xiii. 9, and 1 Pet. i. 7. [The gold was divided into *nub nefer*, 'good' or 'fine gold;' *nub her tu f*, native gold; *nub sep snau*, gold of the second quality; and *nub hut*, white gold. (Cf. the papyrus of Rameses III., now in the British Museum. Fol. Lond. 1876.)—S. B.]

Their money, as I shall have occasion to observe, was in rings of gold and silver; and it is remarkable that the same currency is to this day employed in Sennár and the neighbouring countries. But whether those rings had any government stamp to denote their purity, or to serve as a test of their value, I have not been able to determine; and it is singular that none have yet been discovered in the ruins or tombs of Thebes, though so frequently represented in the sculptures.



No. 98. Rings of gold and silver. *Thebes.*

A scribe or notary marked down the amount of the weight, whatever the commodity might be: and this document, being given or shown to the parties, completely sanctioned the bargain, and served as a pledge that justice had been done them. The same custom is still retained by the modern Egyptians, the scales of the public *qabbáneh* in the large towns being a criterion to which no one can object; and the weight of meat, vegetables, honey, butter, cheese, wood, charcoal, and other objects, having been ascertained, is returned in writing on the application of the parties. The scribes or notaries were probably public writers, like the Arab *kátebs* of the present day, or the *scrivani* of Italy, who, for a small trifle, compose and pen a petition to government, settle accounts, and write letters, or other documents, for those who are untaught, or for those who are too idle to do so for themselves. These persons, however, must not be confounded with the royal and priestly scribes, who were of a very different grade, and who ranked among the principal people of the country: though it is sometimes difficult to distinguish them

from an inferior class of scribes, of the sacerdotal order.[1] Most of the shopkeepers, and of the master tradesmen, learned to write:[2] but the workmen were contented to occupy their time in acquiring from their parents or friends that art to which they were brought up; and the common people, as might be supposed, were entirely ignorant of the art of writing.

The characters used by the Egyptians consisted of three different kinds,—the hieroglyphic,[3] the hieratic,[4] and enchorial or demotic; the first and last known to all who received a good education; the hieratic confined more particularly to the priests. There is reason to believe the enchorial did not exist at a very remote period.[5] Indeed, the appearance of the letters proves them to have been derived from the hieratic, which is itself directly taken from the hieroglyphic; and it is probable that this last was the sole mode of writing known to the Egyptians in the earliest periods of their history, though the hieratic, a much earlier invention than the enchorial, dates from a very remote era.

Clement of Alexandria[6] says, those who are educated among the Egyptians learn three different modes of writing, one of which is the epistolary (enchorial), the other the sacerdotal (hieratic), and the third, the hieroglyphic; and though Porphyry, in his Life of Pythagoras, gives to the hieratic the name of symbolic, it is evident he alludes to the same modes of writing, when he says that the philosopher, during his stay in Egypt, learned the three different kinds of letters,—the epistolic, the hieroglyphic, and the symbolic. Herodotus[7] mentions two,—the sacred and demotic; but as he speaks of their writing from right to left, it is possible that he only here alludes to the two cursory characters, the hieratic and enchorial, without comprehending the hieroglyphics under the head of writing.[8]

The great confidence reposed in the public weighers rendered

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[1] The scribes were, like the clerks of the government, accountants, registrars, and civil officers of the hierarchy and law; they were also attached to the troops, and formed the bureaucracy of Ancient Egypt. Besides which, they were the literati of the country, and recorded all the events of Egypt, law annals and history. The authors of all known compositions are stated to be scribes.—S. B.

[2] Diodor. i. 81.

[3] The hieroglyphic has been called the monumental, but it is also used in papyri, and for all the purposes for which the other two are employed. It is as old as the 2nd Dynasty.—S. B.

[4] As old as the 5th Dynasty. It was the writing or cursive hand of Egypt till the accession of the 25th Dynasty, and was used for religious purposes till the 2nd century A.D.—S. B.

[5] The first appearance of this modified cursive writing is B.C. 691, in the reign of Taharak or Tirhakah. (Devéria, Cat. p. 206.)—S. B.

[6] Stromat. lib. v.

[7] Herodot. ii. 36.

[8] [The libraries of Egypt were always famous, and they, as well as its literature, were dedicated to the gods.—G. W.]

it necessary to enact suitable laws in order to bind them to their duty; and considering how much public property was at their mercy, and how easily bribes might be taken from a dishonest tradesman, the Egyptians inflicted a severe punishment as well on the weighers as on the shopkeepers who were found to have false weights and measures, or to have defrauded the purchaser in any other way. Scribes who kept false accounts, made erasures from public documents, forged a signature, or altered any agreements without the consent of the parties, were punished, like the preceding offenders, with the loss of both their hands; on the principle, says Diodorus, that the offending member should suffer,[1] and, while the culprit expiated the crime with a most signal punishment, that the severity of the example might deter others from the commission of a similar offence.

The fourth caste was composed of pastors, poulterers, fowlers, fishermen, labourers, servants,[2] and common people.

The pastors, who were divided into different classes, consisted of oxherds, shepherds, goatherds, swineherds, and others, whose occupation was to tend the herds of the rich in the pastures, during the grazing season, and to prepare the provender required for them, when the waters of the Nile covered the irrigated lands. They were looked upon by the rest of the Egyptians as a degraded class, who followed a disgraceful employment; and it is not surprising that Pharaoh should have treated the Jews with that contempt which it was customary for every Egyptian to feel towards shepherds. Nor can we wonder at Joseph's warning his brethren, on their arrival, of this aversion of the Egyptians, who, he assured them, considered 'every shepherd an abomination;'[3] and from his recommending them to request they might dwell in the land of Goshen, we may conclude it was with a view to avoid as much as possible those who were not shepherds like themselves, or to obtain a settlement in the land peculiarly adapted for pasture;[4] and it is probable that much of Pharaoh's cattle was also kept there, since the monarch gave orders that if any of the Jews were remarkable for skill in the management of herds, they should be selected to overlook his own cattle,[5] after they were settled in the land of Goshen. The hatred borne against

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[1] Diodor. i. 78. Deut. xix. 21.

[2] Gen. xii. 16. Exod. ii. 5.

[3] Gen. xlvi. 34. According to Herodotus, ii. 46, goatherds were much honoured in the Mendesian nome.

[4] The Delta and those lands lying to the east of the Damietta branch of the Nile are still preferred for grazing cattle.

[5] Gen. xlvii. 6.

shepherds by the Egyptians, was not owing solely to their contempt for that occupation: this feeling originated in another and a far more powerful cause,—the previous occupation of their country by a pastor race, who had committed great cruelties during their possession of the country; and the already existing prejudice against shepherds, when the Hebrews arrived, plainly shows their invasion to have happened previous to that event. As if to prove how much they despised every order of pastors, the artists, both of Upper and Lower Egypt, delighted on all occasions in representing them as dirty and unshaven; and at Beni-Hassan and the tombs near the Pyramids of Gizeh, we find them caricatured as a deformed and unseemly race. The swine-herds were the most ignoble, and of all the Egyptians the only persons who are said not to have been permitted to enter a temple;[1] and even if this statement is exaggerated, it tends to show with what contempt they were looked upon by the individuals from whom Herodotus received his information, and how far they ranked beneath any others of the whole order of pastors. Like the other classes, their office descended from father to son, and the same occupation was followed by successive generations.

The skill of these people in rearing animals of different kinds was the result, says Diodorus,[2] of the experience they had inherited from their parents, and subsequently increased by their own observation; and the spirit of emulation which is natural to all men constantly adding to their stock of knowledge, they introduced many improvements unknown to other people. Their sheep were twice shorn, and twice brought forth lambs, in the course of one year;[3] and though the climate was the chief cause of these phenomena, the skill and attention of the shepherd were also necessary; nor, if the animals were neglected, would unaided nature alone suffice for their continuance.

But of all the discoveries to which any class of Egyptians attained, the one, says the historian, which is most worthy of admiration, is their mode of rearing fowls[4] and geese; and by a

[1] Herodot. ii. 47.

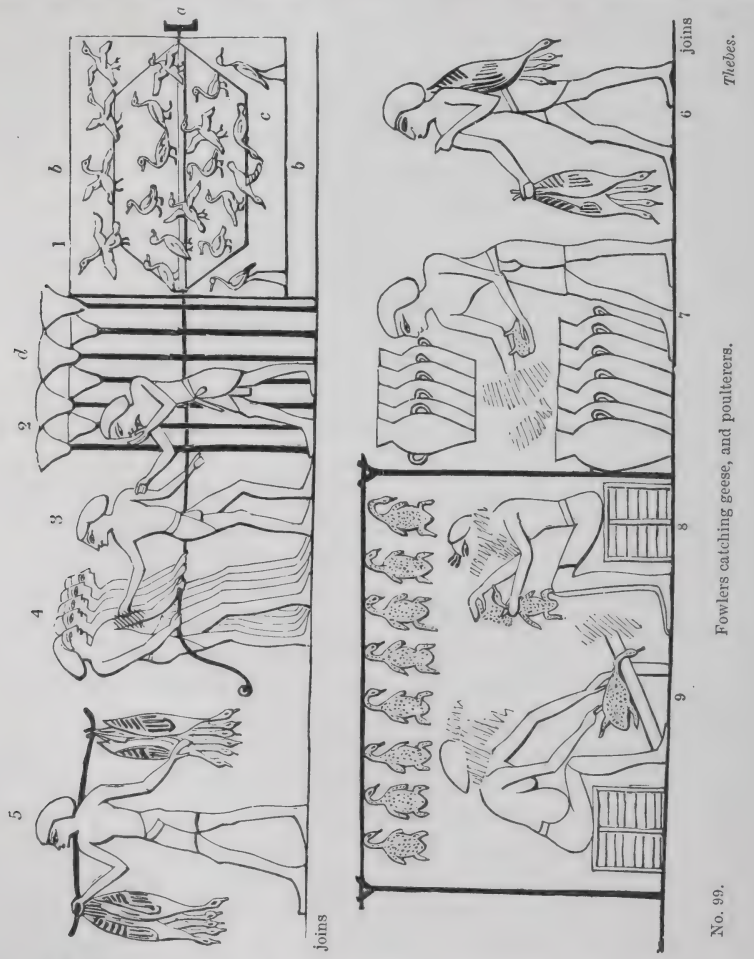
[2] Diodor. i. 74.

[3] Ibid., i. 36. This happens now, but not unless the sheep are properly fed and attended to.

[4] The modern Egyptians, particularly the Copts, have borrowed this custom from their predecessors, and eggs are annually hatched in the towns of Upper and Lower Egypt. [There were no domestic fowls or chickens in ancient Egypt. The great papyrus of Rameses III. mentions geese of various kinds, waterfowl, fowls of the air, pigeons and doves, as offered for the purposes of food to the temples. At an earlier period herons and cranes are mentioned as viands, but domestic fowls never. —S. B.]

process their ingenuity has devised, they hatch the eggs, and thereby secure an abundance of poultry, without the necessity of waiting for the incubation of the hens.

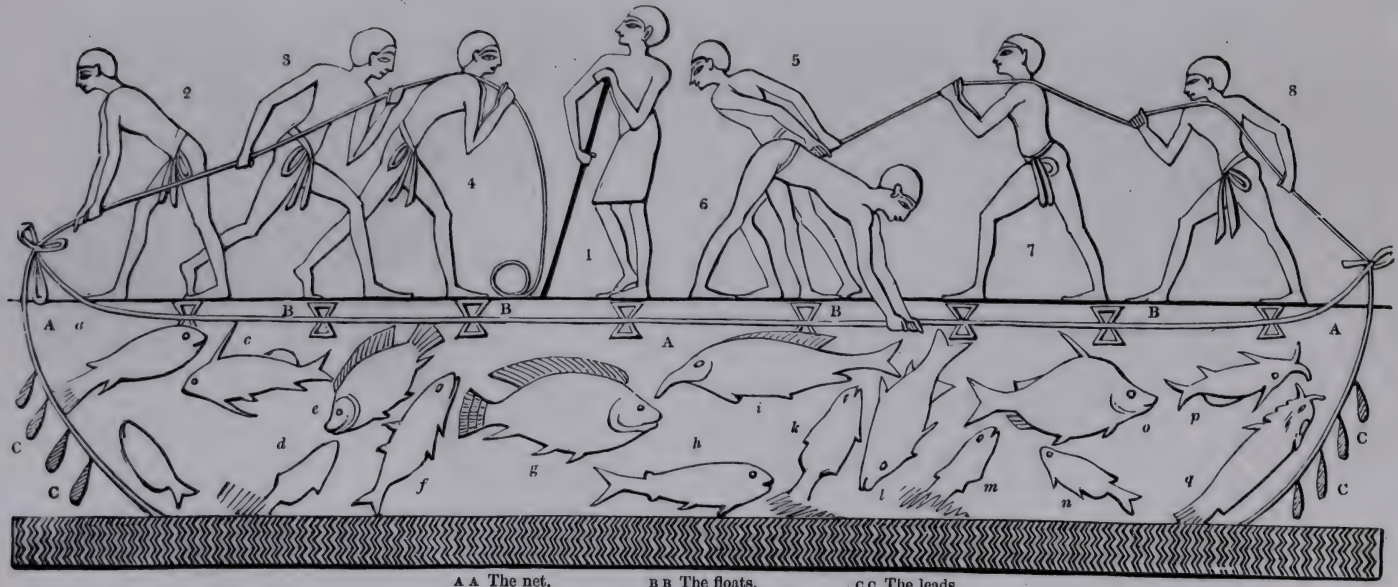
The poulterers may be divided into two classes,—the rearers, and those who sold poultry in the market; the former living in the country and villages, and the latter in the market towns.



They fed them for the table; and, independent of the number required for private consumption, a great many were exclusively fattened for the service of the temple, as well as for the sacred animals,[1] and for the daily rations[2] of the priests and soldiers,

[1] Diodor. i. 84.

[2] Herodot. ii. 37. Gen. xlvii. 22.



A A The net. B B The floats. C C The leads.

No. 100. Fishing with a drag-net. *Tomb near the Pyramids.*

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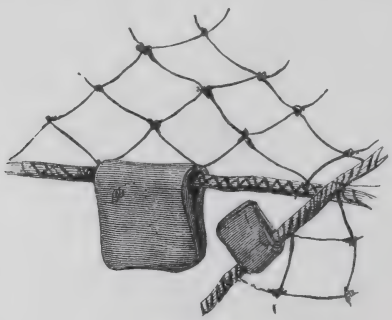
or others who lived at the government expense, and for the king himself.[1]

Their geese were the *vulpanser* of the Nile, and others of the same genus still common on its banks, many of which were tamed and fed like ordinary poultry. Those in a wild state were caught in large clap nets, and, being brought to the poulterers, were salted and potted in earthenware vases. Others were put up in the shop for immediate sale; and whenever eggs could be procured they carefully collected them, and submitted them to the management of the rearers, who thereby increased the more valuable stock of tame fowl. The same care was taken to preserve the young of gazelles, and other wild animals of the desert, whose meat was reckoned among the dainties of the table; and by paying proper attention to their habits, they were enabled to collect many head of antelopes, which frequently formed part of the herds of the Egyptian nobles. And in order to give an idea of the pains they took in rearing these timid animals, and to show the great value of the possessions of the deceased, they are introduced with the cattle, in the sculptures of the tombs.

The fishermen mostly used the net: it was of a long form, like the common drag-net, with wooden floats on the upper, and leads on the lower, side; but though it was sometimes let down



No. 101. Leads, with part of a net. *Berlin Museum.*

from a boat, those who pulled it generally stood on the shore, and landed the fish on a shelving bank. The leads were occasionally of an elongated shape, hanging from the outer cord or border of the net, but they were more usually flat, and, being

[1] Diodor. i. 70.

folded round the cord, the opposite sides were beaten together; a satisfactory instance of which is seen in the ancient net preserved in the Berlin Museum, and this method still continues to be adopted by the modern Egyptians.[1]

In a country where fish will not admit of being kept, the same persons who caught them were the sole vendors, and the fishermen may be considered an undivided body.[2] The class of labourers, on the contrary, consisted of several different subdivisions, according to their occupation; among whom we may, perhaps, include the workers in mud and straw, and brickmakers,[3] as well as those who performed various drudgeries in the field and in the town:[4] but as I shall have occasion to speak of them hereafter, I now content myself with these general remarks, and pass on to the consideration of the government and laws of the country.

The king had the right of enacting laws,[5] and of managing all the affairs of religion and of the State; and so intimate was the connection of these two, that the maintenance of the one was considered essential for the very existence of the other. This notion has, indeed, always been cherished in the East; and we find Khandemir and other Moslem writers give it as a received opinion, that the State cannot exist without religion, and that 'it is of minor consequence if the former perishes, provided the latter survives, since it is impossible that the State can survive if religion is subverted.'

We are acquainted with few of the laws of the ancient Egyptians; but the superiority of their legislature has always been acknowledged as the cause of the duration of an empire which lasted with a very uniform succession of hereditary sovereigns, and with the same form of government, for a much longer period than the generality of ancient states. Indeed, the wisdom of that people was proverbial, and was held in such consideration by other nations, that we find it taken by the Jews as the

[1] There is a large net (a seine) in the British Museum, No. 5507a.—S. B.

[2] Fish was not eaten by all classes, although Rameses III. gave some kinds to the temples. The Ethiopian conqueror Pianchi would not admit to his presence the princes who ate fish.—S. B.

[3] Many of those who made bricks and worked in the field were foreign slaves, as I have already observed; and on them, no doubt, fell the most arduous portion of these laborious tasks. But it was not only the Jews who were so treated: other captives were similarly employed, as we see in the sculptures at Thebes, where the Jews never lived, and where people of other conquered nations are mentioned.

[4] The hard life of these various conditions is described in the 2nd Sallier papyrus, in a composition supposed to have been written during the 12th Dynasty. (Maspero, 'Le Genre épistolaire;' Paris, 1872, pp. 48 and foll.)—S. B.

[5] Herodot. ii. 136, 177. Diodor. i. 79.

standard to which superior learning [1] in their own country was willingly compared; and Moses had prepared himself for the duties of a legislator by becoming versed 'in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.' [2]

Besides their right of enacting laws, the kings administered justice to their subjects on those questions which came under their immediate cognizance,[3] and they were assisted in the management of state affairs by the advice of the most able and distinguished members of the priestly order.[4] With them the monarch consulted upon all questions of importance, relating to the internal administration of the country; and previous to the admission of Joseph to the confidence of Pharaoh, the opinion of his ministers was asked, as to the expediency and propriety of the measure.[5]

Their edicts appear to have been issued in the form of a *firmán*,[6] or written order, as in all Oriental countries; and from the expression used by Pharaoh in granting power to Joseph, we may infer that the people who received that order adopted the usual Eastern mode [7] of acknowledging their obedience and respect for the sovereign. Nor can there be any doubt that, besides the custom of *kissing* the signature attached to those documents, they were expected to 'bow the knee' [8] in the presence of the monarch and chiefs of the country, and even to prostrate themselves to the earth before them.[9]

Causes of ordinary occurrence were decided by those who held the office of judges;[10] and the care with which persons were elected to this office is a strong proof of their regard for the welfare of the community, and of their earnest endeavours to promote the ends of justice. None were admitted to it but the most upright and learned individuals; and, in order to make the

[1] Of Solomon. 1 Kings iv. 30.

[2] Acts vii. 22.

[3] Diodor. i. 71. Herodot. ii 173.

[4] Diodor. i. 73.

[5] Gen. xli. 38. And Isaiah xix. 11.

[6] Like the *Khot ê Shereef*, 'handwriting of the Shereef,' or order of the soltans of Constantinople.

[7] The expression in the Hebrew is, 'according unto thy word shall all my people *kiss* (be ruled),' alluding evidently to the custom of kissing a *firmán*. (Gen. xli. 40.)

[8] Gen. xli. 43. The word *abrek* אַבְרֵךְ is very remarkable, as it is used to the present day by the Arabs when requiring a camel to kneel and receive its load.

[9] Gen. xliii. 26, 28. These prostrations are frequently represented in the sculptures.

[10] The judges were called *satem en as en kat en ma*, 'auditors of plaints of the tribunal of Truth;' scribes, keepers of the books or writings, and other officers were attached to it. At the time of the Romans the judges went the circuit. (Böckh, 'Corpus Ins. Græc.' iii. p. 321.) Besides the judges were the magistrate, *tá* or *ten*; the *tai seri em sem*, bearer of the flabellum, who administered justice, the fountain of which was the sovereign; and royal commissioners, appointed to try specific or extraordinary cases, especially treason.—S. B.

office more select, and more readily to obtain persons of known character, ten only were chosen from each of the three cities, Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis; a body of men, says Diodorus, by no means inferior either to the Areopagites of Athens, or to the senate of Lacedæmon.

These thirty individuals[1] constituted the bench of judges; and at their first meeting they elected the most distinguished among them to be president, with the title of Arch-judge. His salary was much greater than that of the other judges, as his office was more important; and the city to which he belonged enjoyed the privilege of returning another judge, to complete the number of the thirty from whom he had been chosen. They all received ample allowances from the king; in order that, possessing a sufficiency for their maintenance and other necessary expenses, they might be above the reach of temptation, and be inaccessible to bribes: for it was considered of primary importance that all judicial proceedings should be regulated with the most scrupulous exactitude, sentences pronounced by authorised tribunals[2] always having a decided influence, either salutary or prejudicial, on the affairs of common life. They felt that precedents were thereby established, and that numerous abuses frequently resulted from an early error which had been sanctioned by the decision of some influential person, and for this reason they weighed the talents as well as the character of the judge.

The first principle was that offenders should be discovered and punished, and that those who had been wronged should be benefited by the interposition of the laws; since the least compensation which can be made to the oppressed, and the most effectual preventive of crime, are the speedy discovery and exposure of the offender. On the other hand, if the terror which hangs over the guilty in the hour of trial could be averted by bribery or favour, nothing short of distrust and confusion would pervade all ranks of society; and the spirit of the Egyptian laws was not merely to hold out the distant prospect of rewards and punishments, or merely threaten the future vengeance of the gods,[3] but to apply the more persuasive stimulus of present retribution. Besides the care taken by them that justice should be administered according to the real merits of the case, and that before their tribunals no favour or respect of persons should be

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[1] A council of thirty, apparently a kind of privy council, accompanied the king on military expeditions.—S. B.

[2] Diodor. i. 75.

[3] Ibid., i. 93.

permitted, another very important regulation was adopted, that justice should be gratuitously administered; and it was consequently accessible to the poor as well as to the rich. The very spirit of their laws was to give protection and assistance to the oppressed,[1] and everything that tended to promote an unbiassed judgment was peculiarly commended by the Egyptian sages.[2]

When a case was brought for trial, it was customary for the arch-judge to put a golden chain round his neck, to which was suspended a small figure of Truth, ornamented with precious stones.[3] This was, in fact, a representation of the goddess who was worshipped under the double character of Truth and Justice,

No. 102. The goddess of Truth and Justice. *Thebes.*

and whose name, Ma,[4] appears to have been the origin of the Hebrew Thummim;[5] a word, according to the Septuagint translation, implying truth,[6] and bearing a further analogy[7] in its plural termination. And what makes it more remarkable is, that the chief priest of the Jews, who before the election of a king was also the judge of the nation, was alone entitled to wear this honorary badge; and the Thummim, like the Egyptian figure,

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[1] Diodor. *loc. cit.*

[2] Herodot. ii. 160. Diodor. i. 95.

[3] Figures of this goddess, made of lapis lazuli, are not uncommon, and may have been suspended to the necks of the judges. —S. B.

[4] Thmei, the Egyptian or Coptic name of justice or truth.

[5] Lord Prudhoe has very ingeniously suggested that the Urim is derived from the *two* asps or basilisks, *urœi*, which were the emblems of royalty in Egypt. *Ouro* is the Coptic word implying a king.

[6] Exod. xxviii. 30.

[7] The goddess frequently occurs in the sculptures in this double capacity, represented by two figures exactly similar.

was studded with precious stones of various colours. The goddess was represented 'having her eyes closed,'[1] purporting that the duty of a judge was to weigh the question according to the evidence he had heard, and to trust rather to his mind than to

No. 103. The goddess of Truth, 'with her eyes closed.' *Thebes.*

what he saw; and was intended to warn him of that virtue which the deity peculiarly enjoined: an emblematic idea, very similar to 'those statues at Thebes of judges without hands, with their chief or president at their head having his eyes turned downwards,' signifying, as Plutarch observes, 'that justice ought neither to be accessible to bribes, nor guided by favour and affection.'[2]

It is not to be supposed that the president and the thirty judges above mentioned were the only house of judicature in the country; each city or capital of a nome had no doubt its own court, for the trial of minor and local offences; and it is probable that the assembly returned by the three chief cities resided wherever the royal court was held, and performed many of the same duties as the senates of ancient times. And that this was really the case, appears from the account of Diodorus,[3] who mentions the thirty judges and their president, represented at Thebes in the sculptures of the tomb of Osymandyas.

The president or arch-judge having put on the emblem of truth, the trial commenced, and the eight volumes which contained the laws of the Egyptians were placed close to him,[4] in

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[1] Diodor. i. 48.
[2] Plut. de Isid. s. x.
[3] Diodor. i. 48. Probably a mistake for the forty-two *daimons* or assessors of the dead.—S. B.
[4] Diodor. i. 48, 75.

order to guide his decision, or to enable him to solve a difficult question, by reference to that code, to former precedents, or to the opinion of some learned predecessor. The complainant stated his case. This was done in writing; and every particular that bore upon the subject, the mode in which the alleged offence was committed, and an estimate of the damage or the extent of the injury sustained, were inserted.

The defendant then, taking up the deposition of the opposite party, wrote his answer to each of the plaintiff's statements, either denying the charge, or endeavouring to prove that the offence was not of a serious nature, or, if obliged to admit his guilt, suggesting that the damages were too high, and incompatible with the nature of the crime. The complainant replied in writing; and the accused having brought forward all he had to say in his defence, the papers were given to the judges; and if no witnesses could be produced on either side,[1] they decided upon the question according to the deposition of the parties. Their opinion only required to be ratified by the president, who then proceeded, in virtue of his office, to pronounce judgment on the case; and this was done by touching the party who had gained the cause with the figure of truth. They considered that this mode of proceeding was more likely to forward the ends of justice than when the judges listened to the statements of pleaders; eloquence having frequently the effect of fascinating the mind, and tending to throw a veil over guilt and to pervert truth. The persuasive arguments of oratory, or those artifices which move the passions and excite the sympathy of the judges, were avoided, and thus neither did an appeal to their feelings, nor the tears and dissimulation of an offender, soften the just rigour of the laws.[2] And while ample time was afforded to each party to proffer or to disprove an accusation, no opportunity was given to the offender to take advantage of his opponent, but poor and rich, ignorant and learned, honest and dishonest, were placed on an equal footing; and it was the case, rather than the persons, upon which the judgment was passed.

The laws of the Egyptians were handed down from the earliest times, and looked upon with the greatest reverence. They had the credit of having been dictated by the gods themselves, and Thoth[3] was said to have framed them for the benefit of mankind.

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[1] Diodor. i. 77, 92. [2] Ibid., i. 76. [3] Hermes or Mercury.

The names of many of the early monarchs and sages who had contributed to the completion of their code were recorded and venerated by them; and whoever at successive periods made additions to it was mentioned with gratitude as the benefactor of his country.[1]

Truth or justice was thought to be the main cardinal virtue among the Egyptians, inasmuch as it relates more particularly to others; prudence, temperance, and fortitude being relative qualities, and tending only to the immediate benefit of the individual who possesses them. It was, therefore, with great earnestness that they inculcated the necessity of fully appreciating it; and falsehood was not only considered disgraceful, but when it entailed an injury on any other person, was punishable by law. A calumniator of the dead was condemned to a severe punishment;[2] and a false accuser was doomed to the same sentence which would have been awarded to the accused, if the offence had been proved against him;[3] but to maintain a falsehood by an oath was deemed the blackest crime, and one which, from its complicated nature, could be punished by nothing short of death. For they considered that it involved two distinct crimes,—a contempt for the gods, and a violation of faith towards man; the former the direct promoter of every sin, the latter destructive of all those ties which are most essential for the welfare of society.

In order more effectually to protect the virtuous and detect the wicked, it was enacted[4] that every one should at certain times present himself before the magistrates or provincial governors, and give his name, his place of abode, his profession or employment, and, in short, the mode in which he gained his livelihood; the particulars being duly registered by the official scribes. The time of attendance was fixed, and they proceeded in bodies to the appointed office, accompanied with their respective banners; each member of the body being introduced singly to the registering clerks. In approaching these functionaries, it was required that the individual should make a profound bow, which was similar to that described by Herodotus,[5] the hand falling down to the knee; and this mark of deference was expected from every one, as a token of respect to the court, on all occasions,

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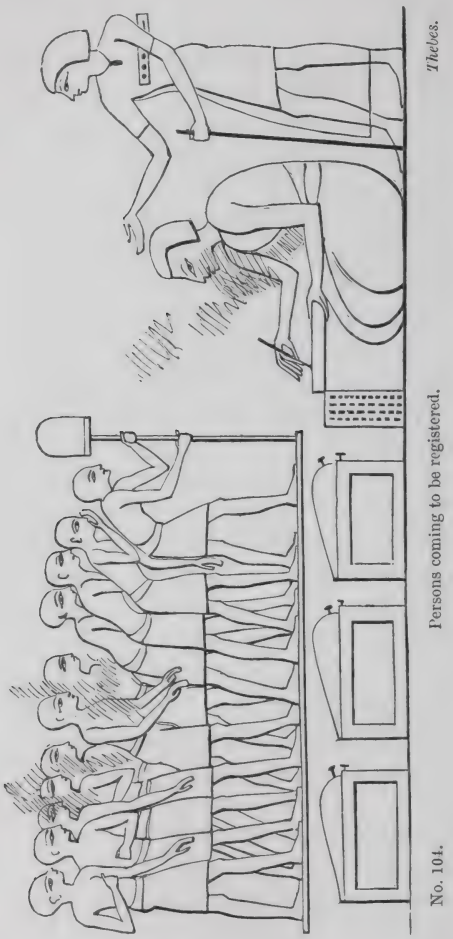
[1] Diodor. i. 94.
[2] Ibid., i. 92.
[3] Conf. Deut. xix. 19.
[4] Herodotus, ii. 177, attributes it to Amasis. Diodorus, i. 77, mentions it merely as an Egyptian law.
[5] Herodot. ii. 80.

both when accused before a magistrate, and when attending at the police office to prefer a complaint, or to vindicate his character from an unjust imputation.



Whether they received a passport from the magistrates, or merely enrolled their names and the other particulars required of them, does not appear, nor can we come to any conclusion on this head, either from the sculptures, the accounts of ancient writers, or even from the mode of describing persons who were parties to the sale of estates, and other private or public contracts: but the formula much resembles that adopted in the passport offices of modern Europe.

In a deed of the time of Cleopatra Cocce and Ptolemy Alexander I., written in Greek, and relating to the sale of a piece of land at Thebes, the parties are thus described:[1]—'Pamonthes, aged about forty-five,[2] of middle size, dark complexion, and handsome figure, bald, round-faced and straight-nosed; Snachomneus, aged about twenty, of middle size, sallow complexion, round-faced and straight-nosed; Semmuthis Persineï, aged about twenty-two, of middle size, sallow complexion, round-faced, flat-nosed, and of quiet demeanour; and Tathlyt Persineï, aged about thirty, of middle size, sallow complexion, round face, and straight nose,—the four being children of Petepsais, of the leather-cutters of the Memnonia; and Nechutes the less, the son

No. 105. Persons brought before the scribes.[3] *Thebes.*

of Asos, aged about forty, of middle size, sallow complexion, cheerful countenance, long face and straight nose, with a scar upon the middle of his forehead.' Even if the mode of registering the names, which is noticed by Diodorus and the sculptures of Thebes, does not in reality refer to passports, it is at least very similar in spirit and intent, and may be considered the earliest indication of a custom so notoriously unpleasant to modern travellers.

During their examination, if any excesses were found to have been committed by them, in consequence of an irregular mode of life, they were sentenced to the bastinado; but a false statement,[4] or the proof of being engaged in unlawful pursuits, entailed upon them the punishment of a capital crime.

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[1] Papyrus Anastasi. (*Vide* Dr. Young on Hieroglyphical Literature, p. 65.)

[2] It is remarkable that, in the East, no one knows his exact age; nor do they keep any registers of births or deaths. [*V.* Strabo, ii. p. 69, edit. Siebel.—G. W.]

[3] The hieroglyphic inscription reads, 'the royal scribe, Tanani.'—S. B.

[4] Diodor. i. 77.

The wilful murder of a freeman, or even of a slave, was punished with death, from the conviction that men ought to be restrained from the commission of sin, not on account of any distinction of station in life, but from the light in which they viewed the crime itself; while at the same time it had the effect of showing, that if the murder of a slave was deemed an offence deserving of so severe a punishment, they ought still more to shudder at the murder of one who was a compatriot and a free-born citizen.

In this law we observe a scrupulous regard for justice and humanity, and have an unquestionable proof of the great advancement made by the Egyptians in the most essential points of civilisation, affording a pleasing comment on their character; and it is a striking fact, that neither Greece[1] nor Rome,[2] proud as they both were of their superiority and of their skill in jurisprudence, had the good sense to adopt or imitate this wise regulation.[3] Indeed, the Egyptians considered it so heinous a crime to deprive a man of life, that to be the accidental witness of an attempt to murder, without endeavouring to prevent it, was a capital offence, which could only be palliated by bringing proofs of inability to act. With the same spirit they decided, that to be present when anyone inflicted a personal injury on another, without interfering, was tantamount to being a party, and was punishable according to the extent of the assault; and everyone who witnessed a robbery was bound either to arrest, or, if that was out of his power, to lay an information, and to prosecute the offenders: and any neglect on this score being proved against him, the delinquent was condemned to receive a stated number of stripes, and to be kept without food for three whole days.

Although, in the case of murder, the Egyptian law was inexorable and severe, the royal prerogative might be exerted in favour of a culprit, and the punishment was sometimes commuted by a mandate from the king. Sabaco, indeed, during the fifty

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[1] I must do the Greeks the justice to say they acknowledged the superior wisdom and equity of the Egyptians, and were in the habit of consulting them, and of visiting Egypt to study their institutions.

[2] Masters had an absolute power of life and death over their slaves, and they generally crucified them, when convicted of a capital offence. (Juv. Sat. vi. 219.) Constantine abolished this punishment.

[3] The Athenian lawgiver did, however, according to Demosthenes, institute a very proper custom, that the funerals of slaves should be properly solemnised by the magistrates (demarchs). And slaves received much better treatment at Athens than at Sparta.

years of his reign, 'made it a rule not to punish his subjects with death,' whether guilty of murder or any other capital offence, but, 'according to the magnitude of their crimes, he condemned the culprits to raise the ground about the town to which they belonged. By these means the situation of the different cities became greatly elevated above the reach of the inundation, even more than in the time of Sesostris;'[1] and either on account of a greater proportion of criminals, or from some other cause, the mounds of Bubastis[2] were raised considerably higher than those of any other city.

But far from adopting so barbarous a custom as the exposure of infants, or allowing a father any right over the life of his offspring, the Egyptians deemed the murder of a child an odious crime, that called upon the direct interposition of the laws. They did not, however, punish it as a capital offence, since it appeared inconsistent to take away life from one who had given it to the child,[3] but preferred inflicting such a punishment as would induce grief and repentance. With this view they ordained that the corpse of the deceased should be fastened to the neck of its parent, and that he should be obliged to pass three whole days and nights in its embrace, under the surveillance of a public guard. Parricide was visited with the most cruel of chastisements; and conceiving, as they did, that the murder of a parent was the most unnatural of crimes, they endeavoured to prevent its occurrence by the marked severity with which it was avenged. The criminal was therefore sentenced to be lacerated with sharpened reeds, and after being thrown on thorns he was burnt to death.

When a woman was guilty of a capital offence, and judgment had been passed upon her, they were particularly careful to ascertain if the condemned was in a state of pregnancy; in which case her punishment was deferred till after the birth of her child, in order that the innocent might not suffer with the guilty,[4] and thus the father be deprived of that child to which he had at least an equal right.[5]

But some of their laws regarding the female sex were cruel

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[1] Herodot. ii. 137.

[2] The mounds of Bubastis, Tel Basta, are of very great height, and are seen from a considerable distance.

[3] Diodor. i. 77.

[4] A law adopted also by the Athenians.

[5] It appears from the Judicial Papyrus of Turin (cf. p. 304, note [1]), that they were punished in the same manner as men. Under certain circumstances self-destruction seems to have been allowed.—S. B.

and unjustifiable; and even if, which is highly improbable, they succeeded, by their severity, in enforcing chastity and in putting an effectual stop to adultery, yet the punishment rather reminds us of the laws of a barbarous people than of a wise and civilised state. A woman who had committed adultery was sentenced to lose her nose,[1] upon the principle that being the most conspicuous feature, and the chief, or at least an indispensable, ornament of the face, its loss would be most severely felt, and be the greatest detriment to her personal charms; and the man was condemned to receive a bastinado of one thousand blows. But if it was proved that force had been used against a free woman, he was doomed to a cruel and inhuman punishment.[2]

The object of the Egyptian laws was to preserve life and to reclaim an offender. Death took away every chance of repentance, it deprived the country of his services, and he was hurried out of the world when least prepared to meet the ordeal of a future state. They, therefore, preferred severe punishments, and, except in the case of murder and some crimes which appeared highly injurious to the community, it was deemed unnecessary to sacrifice the life of an offender.

Some of the laws and punishments of the Egyptian army I have already noticed: and in military as well as civil cases, minor offences were generally punished with the stick;[3] a mode of chastisement still greatly in vogue among the modern inhabitants of the valley of the Nile, and held in such esteem by them, that convinced of (or perhaps by) its efficacy, they relate 'its descent from heaven as a blessing to mankind.'[4]

If an Egyptian of the present day has a government debt or tax to pay, he stoutly persists in his inability to obtain the money, till he has withstood a certain number of blows, and considers himself compelled to produce it; and the ancient inhabitants, if not under the rule of their native princes, at least in the time of the Roman emperors, gloried equally in the obstinacy they evinced, and the difficulty the governors of the country experienced in extorting from them what they were bound to pay; whence Ammianus Marcellinus tells us, 'An Egyptian blushes if

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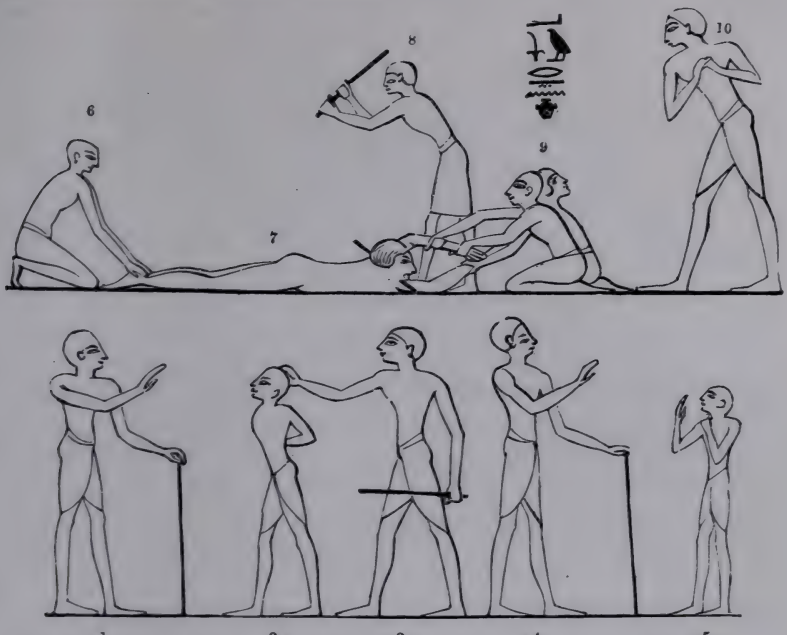
[1] Cutting off the nose and ears was one of the punishments for treason against Rameses III. (Devéria, 'Le Papyrus judiciaire de Turin;' Paris, 1868, p. 119.)—S. B.

[2] Diod. i. 77. With the Jews it was punished by death. (Deut. xxii. 22.)

[3] The stick was called *batana;* it was applied to extort confession. (Chabas, 'Mélanges;' Paris.)—S. B.

[4] The Moslems say, 'Nézel min e'semma e'nebóot, báraka min Allah.' 'The stick came down from heaven, a blessing from God.'

he cannot show numerous marks on his body that evince his endeavours to evade the duties.'[1]



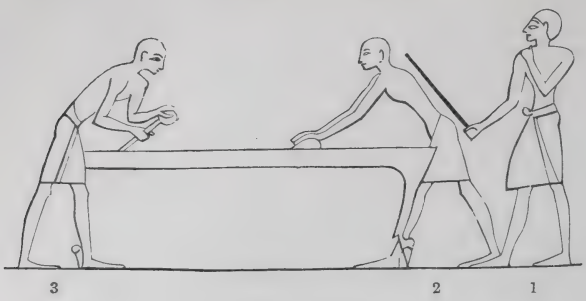
No. 106. The bastinado. *Beni-Hassan.*

The bastinado was inflicted on both sexes,[2] as with the Jews.[3] Men and boys were laid prostrate on the ground,[4] and frequently held by the hands and feet while the chastisement was administered;[5] but women, as they sat, received the stripes on their back, which were also inflicted by the hand of a man. Nor was it unusual for the superintendents to stimulate labourers to their work by the persuasive powers of the stick, whether engaged in the field or in handicraft employments; and boys were sometimes

No. 107. Woman bastinadoed. *Beni-Hassan.*

[1] Amm. Marcel. Life of Julian. Ælian, Var. Hist. vii. 18.
[2] Sculptures at Beni-Hassan.
[3] Exodus xxi. 20.
[4] As with the Jews: Deut. xxv. 2.
[5] The inscription on woodcut No. 106 reads, *ta su er ta en hat*, 'given to the region of the heart.'—S. B.

beaten without the ceremony of prostration, the hands being tied behind their back, while the punishment was applied.



No. 108. Workman beaten. *Tomb at the Pyramids.*

It does not however appear to have been from any respect to the person that this less usual method was adopted.

Having noticed the pertinacity of the modern Egyptians in resisting the payment of their taxes, I shall introduce the following story as remarkably illustrative of this fact. In the year 1822, a Copt Christian, residing at Cairo, was arrested by the Turkish authorities for the non-payment of his taxes, and taken before the Kehia, or deputy of the Pasha. 'Why,' inquired the angry Turk, 'have you not paid your taxes?' 'Because,' replied the Copt, with a pitiable expression, perfectly according with his tattered appearance, 'I have not the means.' He was instantly ordered to be thrown upon the floor, and bastinadoed. He prayed to be released, but in vain: the stick continued without intermission, and he was scarcely able to bear the increasing pain. Again and again he pleaded his inability to pay, and prayed for mercy: the Turk was inexorable; and the torments he felt at length overcame his resolution: they were no longer to be borne. 'Release me,' he cried, 'and I will pay directly.' 'Ah, you Giower! go.' He was released and taken home, accompanied by a soldier; and the money being paid, he imparted to his wife the sad tidings. 'You coward, you fool!' she exclaimed; 'what, give them the money on the very first demand! I suppose after five or six blows, you cried, "I will pay, only release me." Next year our taxes will be doubled through your weakness; shame!' 'No, my dear,' interrupted the suffering man, 'I assure you I resisted as long as it was possible: look at the state I am in, before you upbraid me. I paid the money, but they had trouble enough for it; for I obliged them

to give me at least a hundred blows before they could get it.'[1] She was pacified; and the pity and commendation of his wife, added to his own satisfaction in having shown so much obstinacy and courage, consoled him for the pain, and, perhaps in some measure, for the money thus forced from him.

Hanging[2] was the customary mode of punishment for many capital crimes, and the criminals were kept 'bound' in prison[3] till their fate was decided, whether it depended on the will of the sovereign, or the decision of the judges; and these places of confinement were under the immediate superintendence, and within the house, of the chief of the police.[4] [No representation of hanging, or indeed of any capital punishment, occurs in the Egyptian sculptures. In the scenes of the Kar-neter, or Hades, decapitation and strangling are represented, and appear to have been practised, as in some places decapitated mummies have been discovered, and there are evidences of such a mode of execution. It also appears that the conspirators and offenders mentioned in the account of the papyrus at Turin, referring to events in the reign of Rameses III., either committed suicide or were allowed to put themselves to death.—S. B.]

The character of some of the Egyptian laws was quite consonant with the notions of a primitive age. In those cases punishment was directed more particularly against the offending member; and adulterators of money, falsifiers of weights and measures, forgers of seals or signatures, and scribes who altered any signed document by erasures or additions without the authority of the parties, were condemned to lose both their hands. But their laws do not seem to have sanctioned the gibbet,[5] or the exposure of the body of an offender; since the conduct of Rhampsinitus, in the case of the robbery of his treasure, is mentioned by Herodotus[6] as a singular mode of discovering an accomplice, and not as an ordinary punishment.

Thefts, breach of trust, and petty frauds were punished with the bastinado: but robbery and housebreaking were sometimes considered capital crimes, and deserving of death; as is evident

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[1] [Cf. Ælian, 'Var. Hist.,' vii. 18, who says, 'The Egyptians behave bravely under torments, and an Egyptian when put to torture will die rather than confess the truth. The Indian women also resolutely go into the same fire with their dead husbands.'—G. W.]

[2] Gen. xl. 22.

[3] Gen. xxxix. 20.

[4] Gen. xxxix. 1; xl. 3.

[5] Amenophis II. slung the dead bodies of slain foreign chiefs before his galley, and hung them up after death on the walls of an Ethiopian fortress.—S. B.

[6] Herodot. ii. 121.

from the conduct of the thief when caught by the trap in the treasury of Rhampsinitus, and from what Diodorus[1] states respecting Actisanes. This monarch, instead of putting robbers

No. 109. Bastinado for petty theft. *Thebes.* joins

1. Scribe registering corn. 2, 3. Measurers of corn. 4. Sweeper. 5. Person holding bag. 6. Administering bastinado. 7. Man bastinadoed. 8. Officer with *batana* stick and other stick. 9. Man with sandals.

to death,[2] instituted a novel mode of punishing them, by cutting off their noses, and banishing them to the confines of the desert, where a town was built, called, according to Pliny, Rhinocolura, or Rhinocorum, from the peculiar nature of their punishment:[3] and thus, by removing the bad and preventing their corrupting the good, he benefited society, without depriving the criminals of life; at the same time that he punished them severely for their crimes, by obliging them to live by their industry in a barren and inhospitable region.

[1] Diodor. i. 60.

[2] Implying that other monarchs did.

[3] From what he afterwards says, we may conclude that the king punished great and petty cases in the same manner; his object being to prevent the contamination of bad example.

The Egyptians had a singular custom respecting theft and burglary. Those who followed the *profession* of thief gave in their names to the chief of the robbers;[1] and agreed that he should be informed of everything they might thenceforward steal, the moment it was in their possession. In consequence of this the owner of the lost goods always applied by letter to the chief for their recovery; and having stated their quality and quantity, the day and hour when they were stolen, and other requisite particulars, the goods were identified, and, on payment of one quarter of their value, they were restored to the applicant, in the same state as when taken from his house.

Being fully persuaded of the impracticability of putting an entire check to robbery, either by the dread of punishment, or by any method that could be adopted by the most vigilant police, they considered it more for the advantage of the community that a certain sacrifice should be made in order to secure the restitution of the remainder, than that the law, by taking on itself to protect the citizen and discover the offender, should be the indirect cause of greater loss; and that the Egyptians, like the Indians, and I may say the modern[2] inhabitants of the Nile, were very expert in the art of thieving, we have abundant testimony from ancient authors.[3] It may be asked, what redress could be obtained, when goods were stolen by those who failed to enter their names in the books of the chief; but, as it is evident that these private speculations would interfere with the interests of all the *profession*, the detection of such persons would inevitably follow, as the natural consequence of their avarice; and thus all others were effectually prevented from robbing, save those of the privileged class. The salary of the chief was not merely derived from his own demands upon the goods stolen, or from any voluntary contribution of the robbers themselves, but was probably a fixed remuneration granted by the government, as one of the chiefs of the police; nor is it to be imagined that he was any other than a respectable citizen,[4] and a man of the greatest integrity and honour.

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[1] The same as the Sheikh el Haraméëh, or Sheikh of the robbers in modern Egypt, and at Constantinople. (Diodor. i. 80.)

[2] The excellent police of Mohammed Ali put a stop to this propensity of the Egyptian peasantry: few instances, therefore, now occur. Some of the robberies in the time of the Memlooks proved their great talent in this department; and the well-known Indian feat of carrying off a horse in the open day, from the midst of a numerous party of English, was performed in nearly the same manner by an Egyptian from a Memlook camp.

[3] Conf. Theocrit. Idyl. xv. 48.

[4] As the Sheikh of the robbers in Cairo at the present day.

As in other countries, their laws respecting debt and usury underwent some changes, according as society advanced, and as pecuniary transactions became more complicated. Bocchoris, who reigned in Egypt about the year 812 B.C., and who, from his learning, obtained the surname of Wise, finding that in cases of debt many causes of dispute had arisen, and instances of great oppression were of frequent occurrence, enacted[1] that no agreement should be binding unless it was acknowledged by a written contract;[2] and if anyone took oath that the money had not been lent to him, no debt should be recognised, and the claims of the suing party should immediately cease. This was done that great regard might always be had for the name and nature of an oath, at the same time that, by substituting the unquestionable proof of a written document, they avoided the necessity of having frequent recourse to an oath, and its sanctity was not diminished by constant repetition.

Usury[3] was in all cases condemned by the Egyptian legislature; and when money was borrowed, even with a written agreement, it was forbidden to allow the interest to increase to more than double the original sum.[4] Nor could the creditors seize the debtor's person:[5] their claims and right were confined to the goods in his possession, and such as were really his own; which were comprehended under the produce of his labour, or what he had received from another individual to whom they lawfully belonged. For the person of every citizen was looked upon as the property of the State, and might be required for some public service, connected either with war or peace; and, independent of the injustice of subjecting anyone to the momentary caprice of his creditor, the safety of the country might be endangered through the avarice of a few interested individuals.

This law, which was borrowed by Solon from the Egyptian code, existed also at Athens; and was, as Diodorus observes, much more consistent with justice and common sense than that which allowed the creditor to seize the person, while it forbade him to take the ploughs and other implements of husbandry: for if, continues the historian, it is unjust thus to deprive men of the means of obtaining subsistence, and of providing for their families,

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[1] Diodor. i. 79.

[2] The number of witnesses in Egyptian contracts is very remarkable. (Dr. Young on Hieroglyph. Lit. p. 71.)

[3] As with the Moslems and the Jews: Psalm xv. 5; Ezek. xviii. 8, 17; and Levit. xxv. 36, 37.

[4] This was also a law at Rome.

[5] [This was also enacted by Bocchoris: Diodor. i. 79.—G. W.]

how much more unreasonable must it be to imprison those by whom the implements were used?

To prevent the accumulation of debt, and to protect the interests of the creditor, another remarkable law was enacted,[1] which, while it shows how greatly they endeavoured to check the increasing evil, proves the high respect paid by the Egyptians to the memory of their parents, and to the sanctity of their religious ceremonies. By this it was pronounced illegal for anyone to borrow money without giving in pledge the body of his father, or of his nearest relative;[2] and, if he failed to redeem so sacred a deposit,[3] he was considered infamous, and at his death the celebration of the accustomed funeral obsequies was denied him, and he could not enjoy the right of burial either in the tomb of his ancestors, or in any other place of sepulture;[4] nor could he inter his children, or any of his family, as long as the debt was unpaid, the creditor being put in actual possession of his family tomb.[5]

In the large cities of Egypt, a fondness for display, and the usual allurements of luxury, were rapidly introduced; and considerable sums were expended in furnishing houses, and in many artificial caprices. Rich jewels and costly works of art were in great request, as well among the inhabitants of the provincial capitals as at Thebes and Memphis: they delighted in splendid equipages, elegant and commodious boats, numerous attendants, horses, dogs, and other requisites for the chase; and, besides, their houses, their villas, and their gardens were laid out with no ordinary expense. But while the funds arising from extensive farms, and the abundant produce of a fertile soil, enabled the rich to indulge extravagant habits, many of the less wealthy envied the enjoyment of those luxuries which fortune had denied to them; and, prompted by vanity, and a desire of imitation, so common in civilised communities, and so generally followed by

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[1] Herodot. ii. 136. Diodor. i. 93. [By Asychis of the 5th Dynasty.—S. B.]

[2] Herodotus only says, his father. We must suppose that some fathers did not die conveniently for their mummies to stand security for their surviving sons. I have, therefore, suggested a relative. [Lucian says, a father or mother.—G. W.]

[3] That is, if the debt was not paid within a certain time, the mummy could be removed from the tomb. It is not to be supposed that this alludes to mummies kept in the houses, which only remained there for a certain time; since it was honourable to be buried, and a disgrace to be refused that right, as in the case of malefactors. We may conclude the body itself was seldom given up, since possession of the tomb was sufficient, and much less inconvenient to the creditor than to have a stranger's mummy in his sitting-room.

[4] Herodot. ii. 136. Diodor. i. 92, 93.

[5] ['The author of such laws,' says Diodorus, 'every one must admire,' &c.: Diod. i. 93.—G. W.]

fatal results, they pursued a career which speedily led to an accumulation of debt,[1] and demanded the interference of the legislature; and it is probable that a law so severe as this must have appeared to the Egyptians, was only adopted as a measure of absolute necessity, in order to put a check to the increasing evil.

The necessary expenses of the Egyptians were remarkably small, less indeed than of any people, and the food of the poorer classes was of the cheapest and most simple kind. Owing to the warmth of the climate, they required few clothes, and young children were in the habit of going without shoes, and with little or no covering to their bodies; and so trifling was the expense of bringing up a child, that, as Diodorus affirms,[2] it never need cost a parent more than twenty drachms,[3] until arrived at man's estate. It was therefore luxury, and the increasing wants of an artificial kind, which corrupted the manners of the Egyptians, and rendered such a law necessary for their restraint; and we may conclude that it was mainly directed against those who contracted debts for the gratification of pleasure, or with the premeditated intent of defrauding an unsuspecting creditor.

[No ancient deeds have been handed down prior to Taharqa or Tirhakah of the 25th Dynasty, or about the 7th century B.C., which confirms the statement of Diodorus that they may have been introduced by Bocchoris. If any such existed, they were probably in the form of letters, mentioning that land or other objects had been given; but at a later time great formalities attended the transfer of real property. None, however, are known later than the Greek rule in Egypt, and they disappear at the conquest of Egypt, and under the Roman empire. They were written in demotic or cursive Egyptian, the third kind of writing, or Greek, and at the time of the Ptolemies duplicates were extant in both languages.—S. B.]

In the mode of executing deeds, conveyances, and other civil contracts, the Egyptians were peculiarly circumstantial and minute; and the great number of witnesses is a singular feature in those documents. In the time of the Ptolemies, sales of property commenced with a preamble, containing the date of the

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[1] In the time of Sesostris (Rameses II.) a very great number of persons were in prison for debt, for whose release he thought it necessary to interfere. (Diodor. i. 54.)

[2] Diodor. i. 80.

[3] Thirteen shillings English; but the value of money was more than three times that of the present day.—S. B.

king in whose reign they were executed; the name of the president of the court, and of the clerk by whom they were written, being also specified. The body of the contract then followed. It stated the name of the individual who sold the land, the description of his person, an account of his parentage, profession, and place of abode; the extent and nature of the land, its situation and boundaries; and concluded with the name of the purchaser, whose parentage and description were also added, and the sum for which it was bought. The seller then vouched for his undisturbed possession of it; and, becoming security against any attempt to dispute his title, the name of the other party was inserted as having accepted it, and acknowledged the purchase. The names of witnesses were then affixed; and the president of the court, having added his signature, the deed was valid. Sometimes the seller formally recognised the sale in the following manner:—'All these things have I sold thee: they are thine, I have received their price from thee, and make no demand upon thee for them from this day; and if any person disturb thee in the possession of them, I will withstand the attempt; and, if I do not otherwise repel it, I will use compulsory means,' or 'I will indemnify thee.'[1] But, in order to give a more accurate notion of the form of these contracts, I shall introduce a copy of the whole of one of them, as given by Dr. Young,[2] and refer the reader to others occurring in the same work. 'Translation of the enchorial papyrus of Paris, containing the original deed relating to the mummies:—"This writing, dated in the year 36, Athyr 20, in the reign of our sovereigns Ptolemy and Cleopatra his sister, the children of Ptolemy and Cleopatra the divine, the gods Illustrious: and the priest of Alexander, and of the Saviour gods, of the Brother gods, of the (Beneficent gods), of the Father-loving gods, of the Illustrious gods, of the Paternal god, and of the Mother-loving gods, being (as by law appointed): and the prize-bearer of Berenice the Beneficent, and the basket-bearer of Arsinöe the Brother-loving, and the priestess of Arsinöe the Father-loving, being as appointed in the metropolis (of Alexandria); and in (Ptolemais) the royal city of the Thebaïd? the guardian priest for the year? of Ptolemy Soter, and the priest of king Ptolemy the Father-loving, and the priest of Ptolemy the Brother-loving, and the priest of Ptolemy the Beneficent, and the priest of Ptolemy the Mother-loving; and the priestess

[1] Young, Hieroglyph. Literature, pp. 70, 74. [2] Ibid. p. 72.

of queen Cleopatra, and the priestess of the princess Cleopatra, and the priestess of Cleopatra, the (queen) mother, deceased, the Illustrious; and the basket-bearer of Arsinóë the Brother-loving (being as appointed): declares: The Dresser in the temple of the Goddess, Onnophris, the son of Horus, and of Senpoeris, daughter of Spotus? aged about forty, lively, tall, of a sallow complexion, hollow-eyed, and bald; in the temple of the goddess to (Horus) his brother the son of Horus and of Senpoeris, has sold, for a price in money, half of one-third of the collections for the dead 'priests of Osiris,' lying in Thynabunun . . . in the Libyan suburb of Thebes, in the Memnonia . . . likewise half of one-third of the liturgies: their names being, Muthes, the son of Spotus, with his children and his household; Chapocrates, the son of Nechthmonthes, with his children and his household; Arsiesis, the son of Nechthmonthes, with his children and his household; Petemestus, the son of Nechthmonthes; Arsiesis, the son of Zminis, with his children and his household; Osoroeris, the son of Horus, with his children and his household; Spotus, the son of Chapochonsis, surnamed? Zoglyphus (the sculptor), with his children and his household: while there belonged also to Asos, the son of Horus and of Senpoeris, daughter of Spotus? in the same manner one-half of a third of the collections for the dead, and of the fruits and so forth . . . he sold it on the 20th of Athyr, in the reign of the king ever-living, to (complete) the third part: likewise the half of one-third of the collections relating to Peteutemis, with his household, and . . . likewise the half of one-third? of the collections and fruits for Petechonsis, the bearer of milk, and of the . . . place on the Asian side called Phrecages, and . . . the dead bodies in it: there having belonged to Asos the son of Horus one-half of the same: he has sold to him in the month of . . . the half of one-third of the collections for the priests of Osiris lying in Thynabunun, with their children and their households: likewise the half of one-third of the collections for Peteutemis, and also for Petechonsis, the bearer of milk, in the place Phrecages on the Asian side: I have received for them their price in silver . . . . and gold; and I make no further demand on thee for them from the present day . . . . . before the authorities . . . . . (and if anyone shall disturb thee in the possession of them, I will resist him; and, if I do not succeed, I will indemnify thee?) . . . . Executed and confirmed. Written by Horus, the son of Phabis, clerk to the chief priests of Amonrasonther, and of the contemplar? gods, of

the Beneficent gods, of the Father-loving gods, of the Paternal god, and of the Mother-loving gods. Amen.

'"Names of the witnesses present:—

ERIEUS, the son of Phanres Erieus.
PETEARTRES, the son of Peteutemis.
PETEARPOCRATES, the son of Horus.
SNACHOMNEUS, the son of Peteuris.
SNACHOMES, the son of Psenchonsis.
TOTOES, the son of Phibis.
PORTIS, the son of Apollonius.
ZMINIS, the son of Petemestus.
PETEUTEMIS, the son of Arsiesis.
AMONORYTIUS, the son of Pacemis.
HORUS, the son of Chimnaraus.
ARMENIS (rather Arbais), the son of Zthenaetis.
MAESIS, the son of Mirsis.
ANTIMACHUS, the son of Antigenes.
PETOPHOIS, the son of Phibis.
PANAS, the son of Petosiris."'

In this, as in many other documents, the testimony required is very remarkable, sixteen witnesses being thought necessary for the sale of a moiety of the sums collected on account of a few tombs, and for services performed to the dead, the total value of which was only 400 pieces of brass; and the name of each person is introduced, in the true Oriental style, with that of his father. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose, that the same precautions and minute formulæ were observed in similar transactions during the reigns of the Pharaonic kings; however great may have been the change introduced by the Ptolemies[1] and Romans into the laws and local government of Egypt.

Of the marriage-contracts of the Egyptians we are entirely ignorant, nor do we even find the ceremony[2] represented in the paintings of their tombs. We may, however, conclude that they were regulated by the customs usual among civilised nations;[3] and, if the authority of Diodorus can be credited, women were indulged with greater privileges in Egypt than in any other country. He even affirms that part of the agreement entered into at the time of marriage was, that the wife should have control over her husband, and that no objection should be made

[1] Diodor. i. 95.

[2] With the Jews, it was frequently very simple: Job vii. 13. The wedding feast continued seven days: Gen. xxix. 27; Judges xiv. 12; Job xi. 19;—sometimes fourteen: Job viii. 19.

[3] Although there is no representation of a marriage, two are mentioned in the inscriptions of Rameses II. with a daughter of the king of the Khita on the tablet of Aboosimbel (Rosellini, M. St. tav. lxxxii.); and that of Rameses X. on the tablet from the temple of Chons at Karnak (De Rougé, 'Stéle Égyptienne;' Paris, 1858, p. 53). The phrase for marriage is *hetp*. The recent researches of M. Revillout have discovered several marriage settlements of the Ptolemaic period in the demotic character. The conditions were that if the husband took a second wife, he should pay a fine to the first, whose eldest son was to be heir to the property.—S. B.

to her *commands* whatever they might be;[1] but though we have sufficient to convince us of the superior treatment of women among the Egyptians, as well from ancient authors as from the sculptures that remain, it may fairly be doubted if those indulgencies were carried to the extent mentioned by the historian, or that command extended beyond the management of the house and the regulation of domestic affairs.

It is, however, remarkable that the royal authority and supreme direction of affairs were entrusted without reserve to women, as in those states of modern Europe where the Salic law has not been introduced; and we not only find examples in Egyptian history of queens succeeding to the throne, but Manetho informs us that the law according this important privilege to the other sex dated as early as the reign of Binothris, the third monarch of the 2nd Dynasty.

In primitive ages, the duties of women were very different from those of a later and more civilised period, and varied of course according to the habits of each people. Among pastoral tribes they drew water,[2] kept the sheep, and superintended the herds as well as flocks.[3] As with the Arabs of the present day, they prepared both the furniture and the woollen stuffs of which the tents themselves were made; and, like the Greek women, they were generally employed in weaving, spinning, and other sedentary occupations within doors. Needlework and embroidery were a favourite amusement of the Grecian women, in which it is highly probable the Egyptian ladies also occupied much of their time;[4] and we have positive evidence, from the sculptures, of numerous females being employed in weaving and in the use of the spindle. But Egyptian women were not kept in the same secluded manner as those of ancient Greece; who, besides being confined[5] to certain parts of the house, called the *gynæconitis*, or women's apartments, most remote from the hall of entrance, and generally in the uppermost part of the building, were not even allowed to go out of doors without a veil,[6] as in many

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[1] Diodor. i. 27.

[2] Gen. xxiv. 15. Exod. ii. 16. As at the present day.

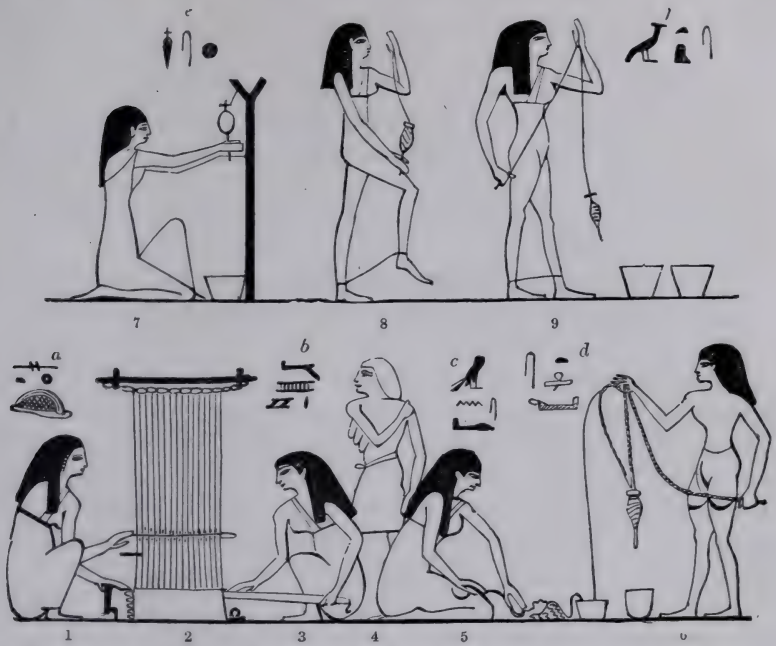
[3] Gen. xxiv. 20, and xxix. 6, 9. Rachel, and also Zipporah and her six sisters, kept their father's sheep. Andromache fed the horses of Hector: Il. Θ, 187.

[4] It appears from the 'Romance of the Two Brothers,' that they prepared the food, brought the wash bowl, gave out supplies, and got the lamps or lights ready. ('Records of the Past,' ii. p. 139.)—S. B.

[5] Euripides' Phœniss. v. 88. This could not have been the case in Egypt, as we find from Potiphar's wife so constantly meeting Joseph, and from her having 'called the men of her house.' (Gen. xxxix. 11 and 14.)

[6] Their faces were covered, but the veil

Oriental countries at the present day. Newly-married women were almost as strictly kept as virgins; and, by the law of



No. 110. Women weaving and using the spindles. *Beni-Hassan.*

Solon, no lady could go out at night without a lighted torch before her chariot. They were very carefully guarded in the house and abroad by nurses, and sometimes by old men and eunuchs; and the secluded life they led was very similar to that imposed upon females among the modern Moslems. Clemens of Alexandria[1] says that women should always be covered except at home, and speaks highly of the modesty of the wife of Æneas, who, though much alarmed at the taking of Troy, would not appear unveiled. But the Egyptians treated their women very differently, and in a manner much more worthy of a civilised people; and if the accounts of ancient authors are sometimes unsatisfactory, and even contradictory, on this head, the sculptures assist us to form our conclusions, and to decide in their

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was thin enough to be seen through. It was not, therefore, like the *boorko* of modern Egypt, which has two holes exposing the eyes, but rather like that of the Wahabees, which covers the whole head and face. The Jewish women also wore a veil; and in Solomon's Song one complains that her veil had been taken from her. (Cant. v. 7. Conf. Gen. xxiv. 65.)

[1] Pædagog. lib. iii. c. 11.

favour. At some of the public festivals women were expected to attend,—not alone, like the Moslem women at a mosque, but in company with their husbands or relations; and the wives of priests, as well as the queen, joined in performing the ceremonies of the temple: these two classes of women were eligible for the offices of serving the gods. Josephus[1] states, that on an occasion of this kind, 'when it was the custom for women to go to the public solemnity, the wife of Potiphar, having pleaded ill health, in order to be allowed to stay at home, was excused from attending,' and availed herself of the absence of her husband to talk with Joseph.

Diodorus informs us the Egyptians were not restricted to any number of wives, but that every one married as many as he chose, with the exception of the priesthood, who were by law confined to one consort.[2] It does not, however, appear that they generally took advantage of this privilege; and Herodotus[3] affirms that throughout Egypt it was customary to marry only one wife. It is easy to reconcile these statements, by supposing that Diodorus speaks of a law which permitted polygamy, and Herodotus of the usual custom of the people; and if the Egyptians were allowed to take more than one wife, we may conclude, from the numerous scenes illustrative of their domestic life, that it was an event of rare occurrence.[4]

Polygamy is permitted to the Moslem, but it is neither reputable to have more than one wife, nor to divorce her without very cogent reasons; and though no objection can be made when there is no family, it is required, even in this case, that her wishes, and those of her parents, should be consulted; and many marriage-contracts stipulate that the wife shall have no partner in the hareem. With much more reason, then, may we conclude that among the higher classes of Egyptians a similar custom prevailed, which will account for no instance of two consorts being given in the sculptures.

But a very objectionable law, which is not only noticed by Diodorus,[5] but is fully authenticated by the sculptures both of

[1] Joseph. Ant. ii. 4, 3.

[2] The Jewish chief priest was allowed but one wife, and he could only marry a virgin. (Levit. xxi. 13.) Every Copt priest, at the present day, is forbidden to marry again on the demise of his wife. (*Vide* Gibbon, ii. c. xv. p. 318, on the opinions of the early Fathers respecting second nuptials.)

[3] Herodot. ii. 92.

[4] The tablets and inscriptions rarely if ever show more than one wife at a time, except in the case of the Pharaohs, who certainly practised polygamy. Persons of position and rank, however, had hareems, and that as late as the Ptolemies.—S. B.

[5] Diodor. i. 27.

Upper and Lower Egypt, was in force among them from the earliest times, the origin and policy of which it is not easy to explain. Diodorus supposes that the custom—the marriage of brother and sister—was owing to, and sanctioned by, that of Isis and Osiris; but as this was purely an allegorical fable,[1] and these ideal personages never lived on earth, his conjecture is of little weight; nor, indeed, would such a circumstance be sufficient to account for so strange a law.[2]

In the time of the patriarchs, as in the case of Abraham and Sarah,[3] and among the Athenians, an Egyptian colony, it was lawful to marry a sister by the father's side, not, however, if born of the same mother; but that this restriction was not observed in Egypt, we have sufficient evidence from the marriages of several of the Ptolemies.

Though the Egyptians generally confined themselves to one wife,[4] they, like the Jews and other Eastern nations, both of ancient and modern times, scrupled not to admit other inmates to their *hareem*, most of whom appear to have been foreigners, either taken in war, or brought to Egypt to be sold as slaves. They became members of the family, like those in a similar situation at the present day, and not only ranked next to the wives and children of their lord, but probably enjoyed a share of the property at his demise.[5] These women were white or black slaves, according to the countries from which they were brought; but, generally speaking, the latter were employed merely as domestics, who were required to wait upon their mistress and her female friends. The former, likewise, officiated as servants, though they of course held a rank above the black slaves; and it is very probable that the women represented at Medeenet Haboo, attending upon Rameses, were of this class of persons, and, at all events, not the wives of the monarch.[6]

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[1] The same occurs in the Greek mythology. Jupiter and Juno were brother and sister. (Virg. Æn. i. 50. *Vide* Hor. Od. iii. 3. 64, and Homer Il. xvi. 432.)

[2] Amongst the Ethiopians descent and inheritance passed by the female, as the surer line than the male branch, which might be corrupted. In the case of the king, it insured the legitimate and divine descent of the royal family.—S. B.

[3] Gen. xx. 12.

[4] The Jews were generally contented with one wife, though a plurality was permitted also by their laws (1 Kings xi. 3). Like other Oriental people, the Egyptians buried their wives in the same tomb with their husbands (Job iv. 4).

[5] This Eastern custom I suppose also to have been adopted by the ancient as well as the modern Egyptians. According to Moslem law, the birth of a child gives the mother a claim, and, indeed, properly a right, to enfranchisement.

[6] Rather allegorical representations of Upper and Lower Egypt playing at draughts and in dalliance with the monarch Rameses III.—S. B.

The same custom prevailed among the Egyptians regarding children as with the Moslems and other Eastern people; no distinction being made between their offspring by a wife or any other woman, and all equally enjoying the rights of inheritance: for since they considered a child indebted to the father for its existence,[1] and the mother to be 'little more than a nurse,'[2] it seemed unjust to deny equal rights to all their progeny. And indeed, if Diodorus is correct,[3] they carried this principle so far, that, in dicœcious plants, those which bore fruit were denominated males, as being the cause of production and of the continuation of the species.

Of the laws respecting the duties of children, one only is recorded by Herodotus, which appears singular and unjust: that if a son was unwilling to maintain his parents, he was at liberty to refuse; but that a daughter, on the contrary, was compelled to assist them, and, on refusal, was amenable to law. We may, however, question the truth of this statement of the historian; and, drawing an inference from the marked severity[4] of filial duties among the Egyptians, some of which we find distinctly alluded to in the sculptures of Thebes, we may conclude that in Egypt much more was expected from a son than in any civilised nation of the present day, and that this was not confined to the lower orders, but extended to those of the highest ranks of society. And if the office of fan-bearer was an honourable post, and the sons of the monarch were preferred to fulfil it, no ordinary show of humility was required on their part; and they walked on foot behind his chariot, bearing certain insignia over their father, during the triumphal processions which took place in commemoration of his victories, and in the religious ceremonies over which he presided.

It was equally a custom in the early times of European history, that a son should pay a marked deference to his parent: and no prince was allowed to sit at table with his father, unless through his valour, having been invested with arms by a foreign

[1] Diodor. i. 80. Conf. the Latin *genitor*, a father.

[2] This does not agree with Diodorus's account of the superiority of the wife. (Diodor. i. 80 and 27.) [The ancients attribute to Egyptian women an exceeding prolificness. (Aulus Gellius, lib. x. c. 2; and Pliny.) Strabo more modestly says, on the authority of Columella, that they usually have twins.—G. W.]

[3] This may be doubted.

[4] I have already observed, that among the modern Egyptians it is considered highly indecorous for a son to sit down in the presence of his father without permission, still less would he think of smoking before him; and an Arab of the desert deems it disrespectful to sit and talk in the company even of his father-in-law.

sovereign, he had obtained that privilege, as was the case with Alboin, before he succeeded his father on the throne of the Lombards. The European nations were not long in altering their early habits, and this custom soon became disregarded; but a respect for ancient institutions, and those ideas, so prevalent in the East, which reject all love of change, prevented the Egyptians from discarding the usages of their ancestors; and we find this and many other primitive customs retained, even at the period when they were most highly civilised.

In the education of youth they were particularly strict; and 'they knew,' says Plato,[1] 'that children ought to be early accustomed to such gestures, looks, and motions as are decent and proper; and not to be suffered either to hear or learn any verses and songs than those which are calculated to inspire them with virtue; and they consequently took care that every dance and ode introduced at their feasts or sacrifices should be subject to certain regulations.' They particularly inculcated respect for old age; and the fact of this being required towards strangers, necessarily argues a great regard for the person of a parent; for we are informed[2] that, like the Lacedæmonians, they required every young man to give place to his superiors in years, and even, if seated, to rise on their approach:[3] and surely, if they were expected to reverence age alone, how much more must have been considered due to their parents, to whom they were so deeply indebted?

Nor were these honours limited to their lifetime: the memory of parents and ancestors was revered through succeeding generations: their tombs were maintained with the greatest respect, liturgies were performed by their children,[4] or by priests at their expense, and we have previously seen what advantage was taken of this feeling, in the laws concerning debt.

Guided by the same principle, the Egyptians paid the most marked respect to their monarch, as the father of his people.[5] He was obeyed with courteous submission, his will was tantamount to a law, and such implicit confidence did they place in his judgment that he was thought incapable of error.[6] He

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[1] Plato, Second Book of Laws.

[2] Herodot. ii. 80.

[3] As the Jews: 'Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man' (Levit. xix. 32).

[4] If they were priests.

[5] They were not allowed at an early period to enter the royal presence with their sandals on, except as a mark of special favour, such as was conceded at the time of the 5th Dynasty to a highly meritorious officer: even queens stood in their presence. —S. B.

[6] As in other countries where the

was the representative of the Divinity[1] on earth: the gods were supposed to communicate through him their choicest benefits to man; and they believed that the sovereign power had been delegated to him by the will of the deities themselves.[2] They entertained a strong feeling of gratitude for the services done by him to the State; and the memory of a monarch who had benefited his subjects, was celebrated after death with the most unbounded honours. 'For of all people,' says Diodorus,[3] 'the Egyptians retain the highest sense of a favour conferred upon them, and deem it the greatest charm of life to make a suitable return for benefits they have received.' Through this impulse, they were induced to solemnise the funeral obsequies of their kings[4] with unparalleled magnificence; and to this the historian also attributes the unexampled duration of the Egyptian monarchy.[5] Considering the high estimation in which the feeling of gratitude was held among them, we cannot deny that the Egyptians were fully capable of appreciating the advantages of civilised habits, and that they cherished one of the noblest ornaments of social life: 'and honour,' adds the historian,[6] 'done to one who cannot possibly know it, in return for a past benefit, carries along with it a testimony of sincerity so totally devoid of the least colour of dissimulation, that every one must admire the sentiments which dictate its performance.' Nor did it consist in mere outward show: the mourning continued for seventy-two days, during which time every one abstained from the comforts as well as the luxuries of life. Meat, wheat, bread, wine, and all delicacies were voluntarily renounced; and they neither anointed themselves, nor indulged in the bath, nor in any kind of pleasure.

Another remarkable feature in the character of the Egyptians, and one which was creditable to them as a nation, was their love for their native country. They looked upon it as the abode of their gods, and therefore as under their especial protection, and as

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ministers are responsible. But the conduct of the king was also subject to animadversion; and at the time of his death, that of the monarch, and of every Egyptian, underwent a severe scrutiny, and the usual funeral honours were sometimes denied them. (Diodor. i. 92 and 72.)

[1] Supposed to be the actual descendant of the gods, as Ra and Amen, and of the same substance with them.—S. B.

[2] Diodor. i. 90.

[3] Diodor. *loc. cit.*

[4] And priests or flamens were attached to their worship. Their titles expressed their divine origin, as having dominion like the sun over the south and north, or that he was a Haremakhu, or Harmachis, the rising sun. (Pierret, 'Dict. d'Arch. Égypt.,' p. 484.)—S. B.

[5] Diodor. i. 71.

[6] Ibid., *loc. cit.*

chosen by them in preference to all other countries; this feeling added to the sanctity with which old edicts were upheld. They were closely interwoven with the religion of the country,[1] and said to be derived from the gods themselves; whence it was considered both useless and impious to alter such sacred institutions. Few innovations were introduced by their monarchs, unless loudly called for by circumstances; and we neither read of any attempts on the part of the people to alter or resist the laws, nor on that of their rulers to introduce a more arbitrary mode of government.[2]

As society advances, it must, however, necessarily happen that some alterations are requisite, either in the reformation of an existing code, or in the introduction of additional laws; and among the different legislators of the Egyptians, are particularly noticed the names of Mnevis, Sasyches, Sesostris, Bocchoris, Asychis, Amasis, and even the Persian Darius. The great merit of the first of these seems to have consisted in inducing the people to conform to those institutions which he pretended to have received from Hermes, the Egyptian Mercury;[3] 'an idea,' says Diodorus, 'which has been adopted with success by many other ancient lawgivers, who have inculcated a respect for their institutions through the awe that is naturally felt for the majesty of the gods.' The additions made by Sasyches chiefly related to matters of religious worship; and Sesostris, in addition to numerous regulations of a military nature, is said to have introduced some changes into the agricultural system; and having divided all the land of Egypt, with the exception of that which belonged to the priests and soldiers, into squares[4] of equal area,[5] he assigned to each peasant his peculiar portion,[6] or a certain number of these *arouras*,[7] for which he annually paid a fixed rent; and having instituted a yearly survey of the lands, any deficiency, resulting from a fall of the bank during the

[1] As the Jewish and Moslem laws.

[2] Herodotus' account of the tyranny of Cheops in building the pyramid cannot be received with any degree of credit.

[3] Diodor. i. 94. The writings attributed to Thoth were supposed to have been inspired by the gods.—S. B.

[4] It appears from the geometrical papyrus in the British Museum, that fields were in the shape of rectangles, squares, and trapezoids.—S. B.

[5] Herodot. ii. 109. In this instance, Sesostris could not be Rameses II.; and, indeed, the division of land is evidently of older date than the arrival of Joseph or the reign of Usertesen I. Perhaps, as I have observed elsewhere, this refers to the crown lands.

[6] The land may still have belonged to the king.

[7] The aroura was a square of 100 cubits, containing, therefore, 10,000 cubits. The Egyptian *ar*, or *art*, 'ploughing,' or 'tillage;' the Latin *aratrum*, 'a plough,' and *arvum*, 'a field;' and the Arabic *hart*, 'ploughing,' are related to it.

inundation, or other accidental causes, was stated in the returns, and deducted for in the government demands. Of the laws of Bocchoris and Asychis respecting debt, I have already spoken; and the former is said to have introduced many others relating to the kings, as well as to civil contracts and commerce,[1] and to have established several important precedents in Egyptian jurisprudence.

Amasis was particularly eminent for his wisdom, and for the many salutary additions he made to the laws of his country. He remodelled the system of provincial government, and defined the duties of the monarchs with peculiar precision; and, though not of royal extraction,[2] his conduct in the management of affairs was so highly approved by the people, that their respect for him was scarcely inferior to that shown to his most glorious predecessors. Nor was Darius, though a Persian, and of a nation justly abhorred by the Egyptians, denied that eulogium which the mildness of his government, and the introduction of laws tending to benefit the country, claimed for him; and they even granted him the title of *Divus*, making him partaker of the same honours which were bestowed on their native princes.[3] But the Ptolemies in after-times abrogated some of the favourite laws of the country; and though much was done by them in repairing the temples and in executing very grand and useful works, and though several of these sovereigns pretended to court the good will of the Egyptians, yet their names became odious, and Macrobius has stigmatised their sway with the title of tyranny.[4]

After the king and council,[5] the judges or magistrates of the capital held the most distinguished post;[6] and next

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[1] Diodor. i. 79.

[2] Herodotus says he was of plebeian origin; but Diodorus, while he allows him not to have been of royal extraction, affirms that he was a person of rank, which is much more consonant, as I have already observed, with the fact of his being of the military caste, and with the evidence of the hieroglyphics, in which he is stated to have married the daughter of a king. (Herodot. ii. 172. Diodor. i. 68.)

[3] Diodor. i. 95. This is confirmed by the mode of writing his name in hieroglyphics, which is preceded by the title *Divus bonus*, and is enclosed in two ovals, as that of the native Egyptian kings.

[4] Macrob. Sat. i. c. 4.

[5] Isaiah xix. 11. Diod. i. 73.

[6] The principal officers of the court or administration appear to have been at the earliest period the relatives; *suten reχ*, the councillors; *sabu mer*, or *smer*, or *sakhmer ua*, 'intimate' or 'sole friend,' probably a kind of prime minister; the *her shta*, 'over the secrets,' or privy councillor; and the royal scribes, who attended to the civil government of the empire. (Brugsch, 'Histoire d'Égypte,' p. 36.) At a later period the sovereign seems to have relied for counsel on the *suten sχai* or *an*, the royal scribe, and the *reχ-χet*, or 'magi,' the learned in law, medicine, and astronomy. The *suten tai seri ter serni*, or flabellifer, at the right hand, exercised judicial function.

to them may be considered the nomarchs, or governors, of districts.[1]

The whole of Egypt was divided into nomes,[2] or districts, the total of which, in the time of Sesostris,[3] amounted to thirty-six, but which afterwards was increased to the number, according to D'Anville, of fifty-three.[4]

The limits of Egypt[5] were the Mediterranean[6] to the north, and Syene,[7] or the Cataracts, to the south; and the cultivated land east and west of the Nile, contained within this space, or between latitude 31° 37′ and 24° 3′, was all that constituted the original territory of the Pharaohs: though the Mareotis, the Oases, and Nitriotis were attached to their dominion, and were considered as part of the country.[8]

The main divisions of Egypt were, as has been already shown, 'the Upper and Lower regions;' and this distinction, which had been maintained from the earliest times, was also indicated by a difference in the dialects of the language.[9] Thebes and Memphis enjoyed equal rank as capitals of Egypt; and every monarch at his coronation assumed the title of 'lord of the two regions,'[10] or 'the two worlds.'[11] But a change afterwards took place in the division of the country, and the northern portion was subdivided into the two provinces of Heptanomis

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There was also the already-mentioned council of the thirty who attended the king.—S. B.

[1] The *ha* or nomarchs were hereditary, *erpa*, nobility, and besides them were the *mer tama* or *mer bak*, governors of cities, and the *ta* or *ten*, magistrates who administered local justice. Foreign lands were also governed by *mer*, or superintendents. —S. B.

[2] Called *Hesep*.

[3] Diodor. i. 54.

[4] The monumental lists hitherto found give only 44 nomes. Their Egyptian names were, the Southern nomes—*Ta-kens*, Nubia; *Tes hor*, Apollonipolites; *T'en*, Latopolites; *Tsam*, Phathyrites; *Horti*, Coptites; *Emsuh*, Tentyrites; *Sess*, Diospolites; *Abut*, Thinites; *Sechem*, Panopolites; *Tet*, Aphrodopolites; *Shes-hetep*, Antæopolites; *Tuf*, Hypselites; *Chesf chent*, Lycopolites anterior; *Chesf pehu*, Lycopolites posterior; *Un*, Hermopolites southern; *Sah*, Hermopolites northern; *Anup*, Cynopolites; *Sep*, Oxyrhynchites; *Tebt*, Aphroditopolites; *Neha chent*, Arsinoïtes upper; *Neha pehu*, Arsinoïtes lower; *Seft*, Heracleopolites. The Northern nomes were—*Sebt-het*, Memphis; *Aa*, Letopolis; *Ament*, Libya; *Sai res*, Saïtes southern; *Sai meh*, Saïtes north; *Ka*, Athribites; *Uasemi*, Ua west; *Ua abt*, Ua east; *Ati*, *Ament*, *Kakhem*, *Kahebs*, *Ka se*, *Haq*; *Chun Abid*, Eastern Khent; *Taaut*; *Kheb*, *Sam-hut*, *Chrut chen*, *Chrut pehu*, *Sapt Har*; *Men*. (Brugsch, 'Geographische Inschriften,' i. pp. 149, 150.)—S. B.

[5] The oracle of Ammon pronounced all those who lived to the north of Elephantine, and drank the waters of the Nile, to be Egyptians. (Herodot. ii. 18.)

[6] The Egyptian *uat ur*.—S. B.

[7] *Neshem* or *Neneb*. This only at a later period.—S. B.

[8] Libya was probably attached to Egypt at one period of its history, as Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. xxxii.) directly states, but without forming part of Egypt Proper.

[9] According to Herodotus (ii. 18), the people of Marea and Apis, on the Libyan side of the lake Mareotis, spoke a different language from the Egyptians.

[10] The similarity of this and the *rob el âlemayn*, 'lord of the two worlds,' in the Fât-ha of the Qorân, is singular.

[11] Or *suten-kheb*, king of Southern and Northern Egypt. It was a title of Ra or the sun, and the king was considered as that luminary.—S. B.

and Lower Egypt. The latter extended from the sea to the head of the Delta; and advancing to the natural boundary of the low lands, which is so strongly marked by the abrupt ridge of the modern Mokuttum, it included the city of Heliopolis within its limits.

Heptanomis, or Middle Egypt, extended thence to the Theban castle which marked the frontier a few miles above Tanis, and which appears to have occupied the site of the present town of Dahroot;[1] and its name, Heptanomis, was derived from the seven nomes, or districts, it contained, which were those of Memphis, Aphroditopolis, Crocodilopolis or Arsinoë, Heracleopolis, Oxyrhynchus, Cynopolis, and Hermopolis.

The limits of the Thebaïd remained the same, and extended to the cataracts of Syene; but it appears that the Oases were all attached to the province of Heptanomis.[2] The chief towns of the three provinces were Thebes,[3] Memphis, and Heliopolis; and from these three, as already observed, the bench of judges was elected.

According to Diodorus,[4] the celebrated Sesostris was the first who divided the country into nomes;[5] but it is more reasonable to suppose, that long before his time, or at least before that of Rameses the Great, all necessary arrangements for the organisation of the provinces had already been made, and that this was one of the first plans suggested for the government of the country.

The office of nomarch was at all times of the highest importance, and to his charge were committed the management of the lands, and all matters relating to the internal administration of the district.[6] He regulated the assessment and levying

[1] Or Dahroot e'Shereéf, which stands near the mouth of the Bahr Yoósef. (*Vide* 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 386, where is shown the probability of its being the Thebaïca Phylace.)

[2] Ptolemy (lib. iv. c. 5) says, the two Oases were attached to the Antinoïte nome, though it did not exist under this name in the time of the Pharaohs. The Oasis of Ammon was not, of course, in Egypt. By the 'two Oases' he probably means those of El Khargeh and e'Dakhleh, the great and the western Oasis, rather than the former and the little Oasis.

[3] Thebes and the land around it composed two nomes, one on the east and the other on the west bank: the former called 'Thebarum nomus,' the latter 'Pathyrites,' which probably derived its name from Athyr, who is so frequently said in the sculptures to be the president of that side of the river.

[4] This, as usual, involves the question concerning Rameses the Great; and it is difficult to decide whether we ought to attribute the actions recorded of Sesostris to this monarch of the 19th, or to another of a previous dynasty.

[5] The fact that the name *Onsaptais* of the 1st Dynasty is written in hieroglyphs by the word *Hesep*, 'nome,' points to a much earlier tradition of this fact.—S. B.

[6] The Turkish system of ruling Egypt was by twenty-four beys, 'beks,' or

of the taxes, the surveying of the lands, the opening of the canals, and all other agricultural interests of the country, which were under the immediate superintendence of certain members of the priestly order: and, as his residence was in the chief town of the nome,[1] all causes respecting landed property, and other accidental disputes, were referred to him, and adjusted before his tribunal. The division of the country into thirty-six parts, or nomes, continued to be maintained till a late period, since in Strabo's time[2] the number was still the same; ten, says the geographer, being assigned to the Thebaïd, ten to the Delta, and sixteen[3] to the intermediate province: though some changes were afterwards introduced both in the nomes and provinces of Egypt. The nomes, he adds, were subdivided into toparchiæ, or local governments, and these again into minor jurisdictions; and we may conclude that the three offices of nomarchs, toparchs, and the third or lowest grade, answered to those of bey, kashef, and qýmaqám of the present day. The distinctive appellation of each nome, in later times at least, was derived from the chief town, where the governor resided, and the rank of each nomarch depended on the extent of his jurisdiction. [Under the Ptolemies the constitution of the kingdom was military, and the local administration placed under præfects, *strategoi* and *epi-strategoi*, under whom were the *epistatai*, or prætors, who exercised judicial authority at the head of a council or committee of assessors; the royal scribe, *basilikos grammateus*, attended to the collection of the revenue, under whom were the village scribes, *komogrammateis*, and local scribes, *topogrammateis*, who acted as collectors and registrars. Under the Roman Empire the country was governed by a præfect called in the Greek inscriptions *eparchos*, *hegemon*, or *archon*, always chosen from the equestrian order, and a Roman, having under him a large army of three legions, nine cohorts, and three regiments of cavalry, commanded by a legate, *stratarchos*. This continued till the time of Diocletian.[4]—S. B.] But of the state of Egypt in the early period of its history we have little or no information; owing to the

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governors of districts, under whom were the kashefs and qýmaqáms. The number of beys is now no longer twenty-four, as in the time of the Memlooks.

[1] This agrees with the definition of a nome given by St. Cyril of Alexandria: 'A nome, according to the Egyptians, includes a city, its suburbs, and the villages within the district.' (Cellar. ii. lib. iv. 6, 7.)

[2] Strabo, lib. xvii.

[3] These were the sixteen præfectures which, according to Pliny, assembled in the Labyrinth. (Lib. xxxvi.)

[4] Böckh, 'Corpus Inscr. Græc.,' tom. iii. pp. 281 and foll.—S. B.

uncivilised condition of neighbouring states, to the indifference of those Greeks who visited it, or to the loss of their writings, and above all to the jealousy of the Egyptians towards foreigners,[1] to whom little or no information was imparted respecting the institutions and state of the country.

Like the Chinese, they prevented all strangers from penetrating into the interior; and if any Greek was desirous of becoming acquainted with the philosophy of their schools, he was tolerated, rather than welcomed, in Egypt; and those who traded with them were confined to the town of Naucratis.[2] And when, after the time of Amasis and the Persian conquest, foreigners became better acquainted with the country, its ancient institutions had begun to lose their interest, and the Egyptians mourned under a victorious and cruel despot. Herodotus, it is true, had ample opportunity of examining the state of Egypt during his visit to the country; but he has failed to give us much insight into its laws and institutions; and little can be gleaned from any author, except Diodorus, who at least deserves the credit of having collected, under far less favourable circumstances, much curious information upon this interesting subject.

Strabo mentions some of the offices which existed in Egypt in his time; but, though he asserts that many of them were the same as under the Ptolemies, we are by no means certain that they answer to those of an earlier period. 'Under the eparch,' says the geographer, 'who holds the rank of a king, is the dicæodotes, that is, the lawgiver or chancellor, and another officer, who is called the privy-purse, or private accountant, whose business it is to take charge of everything that is left without an owner,[3] and which falls of right to the Emperor. These two are also attended by freedmen and stewards of Cæsar, who are entrusted with affairs of greater or less magnitude . . . . But of the natives who are employed in the government of the different cities, the principal is the exegétes, or expounder, who is dressed in purple, and is honoured according to the usages of

[1] Strabo, lib. xvii.

[2] The Egyptians pretending to grant a *privilege* to this town, *obliged* all Greek traders to repair to it. (Herodot. ii. 179.) The Turks *confined* European ambassadors in the Seven Towers for their *protection*. The Ionian and Carian troops of Psammatichus had a place assigned to them a little below Bubastis, called 'the camp,' and were afterwards removed by Amasis to Memphis. Herodotus (ii. 154) says they were the first foreigners who were allowed to settle in the country.

[3] The Bayt el mal, or 'the property office,' of the present day.

the country, and takes care of what is necessary for the welfare of the city; the registrar, or writer of commentaries; the archidicastes, or chief judge; and, fourthly, the captain of the night.'[1]

From all that can be collected on this subject, we may conclude that in early times, after the king, the senate, and others connected with the court, the principal persons employed in the management of affairs were the judges of different grades, the rulers of provinces and districts, the government accountants, the chief of the police, and those officers immediately connected with the administration of justice, the levying of taxes, and other similar employments; and that the principal part of them were chosen either from the sacerdotal or the military class.

During the reigns of the later Ptolemies, considerable abuses crept into the administrative system: intrigues, arising out of party spirit and conflicting interests, corrupted men's minds; integrity ceased to be esteemed; every patriotic feeling became extinguished; the interests of the community were sacrificed to the ambition of a successful candidate for a disputed throne; and the hope of present advantage blinded men to future consequences. New regulations were adopted to suppress the turbulent spirit of the times: the government, no longer content with the mild office of protector, assumed the character of chastiser of the people; and Egypt was ruled by a military force, rendered doubly odious, from being in a great measure composed of foreign mercenaries. The caste of soldiers had lost its consequence, its privileges were abolished, and the harmony once existing between that order and the people was entirely destroyed. Respect for the wisdom of the sacerdotal order, and the ancient institutions of Egypt, began to decline: and the influence once possessed by the priests over the public mind could only be traced in the superstitious reverence shown by fanatics to the rites of a religion now much corrupted and degraded by fanciful doctrines; and if they retained a portion of their former privileges, by having the education of youth intrusted to them, as well as the care of the national records, the superintendence of weights and measures, the surveying of the lands, and the equal distribution of the annual payments, they lost their most important offices—the tutelage and direction of the

[1] Strabo, lib. xvii. This officer answers to the Bash-agha of modern Egypt, who goes the rounds of the town at night, and is the chief of the police.

councils of government, and the right of presiding at the courts of justice.

The provincial divisions of Egypt varied at different times, particularly after the Roman conquest. The country, as already stated, consisted originally of two parts, Upper and Lower Egypt: afterwards of three, the Thebaïd; Heptanomis, or Middle Egypt; and the Delta, or Lower Egypt: but Heptanomis, in the time of Arcadius, the son of Theodosius the Great, received the name of Arcadia; and the eastern portion of the Delta, about the end of the fourth century, was formed into a separate province called Augustamnica,[1] itself divided into two parts. The Thebaïd was also made to consist of Upper and Lower, the line of separation passing between Panopolis and Ptolemaïs Hermii.[2]

Under the Romans, Egypt was governed by a præfect, or eparch, aided by three officers, who superintended the departments of justice, revenue, and police, throughout the country, the inferior charges being chiefly filled by natives. Over each of the provinces a military governor was appointed, who was 'subordinate to the præfect in all civil affairs,[3] though frequently intruding on his jurisdiction, when it was necessary to use military coercion in the collection of the taxes. This charge, together with the superintendence of the tribunals and the duty of denouncing unjust judges (but more particularly the collection, and transmission to Constantinople, of that part of the taxes which was paid in grain), were still vested in the præfect.[4]

'Thus far it does not appear that there were any very serious defects in the organisation of the government of Egypt: but the same authority whence these facts are chiefly drawn (the Theodosian code) furnishes us with still more ample details on the nature of the subordinate institutions, both at Alexandria and in the rest of the country. And here the whole system seems to have been founded in error, and persevered in with a blind obstinacy, which preferred the accumulation of many bad and unjust laws to the repeal of a few which were imperfect.

'The decurions of Alexandria soon found that the honour

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[1] It seems also to have encroached upon Heptanomis.

[2] *Vide* D'Anville's 'Mémoires sur l'Égypte,' p. 32.

[3] For the following observations I am indebted to Mr. Hamilton's valuable work, 'Ægyptiaca,' p. 231, to which I refer the reader.

[4] Böckh, 'Corpus Inscr. Græc.,' tom. iii. p. 324.

bestowed upon them was to be paid for at the highest rate. In return for their nominal and titular privileges, and in addition to the charge of supplying the inhabitants with provisions, of keeping the records, and preserving the police of the city, they were subjected to continual expenses for the public games and shows; presents for honorary seats were arbitrarily demanded of them, and the office was converted from a benefit to a burden. Some were reduced to poverty by these means; the expenses they were no longer able to bear were attached to the succeeding proprietor of their estates: others assumed dishonourable employments, or became the slaves of persons in power; and laws were no sooner enacted to obviate these elusive steps, than all contrivances were invented on the part of the sufferers to facilitate them.

'In the public distress, private gifts and loans had been solicited by government; these were soon converted into forced contributions; and the charge of levying them added to the burdens of the decurions. Immunities against such contributions were purchased at one time, and repealed by public orders when the money had been paid.

'That the municipal administrations of the different towns were not better protected against the abuses of a corrupt government, is evident from two laws preserved in the same code, one of which was enacted to recall the decurions who had quitted the duties of their office, and, among these, all who had taken refuge amongst the anchorites of the desert. By the other law, the right of reclaiming their property was denied to all who had abandoned it for the purpose of avoiding the duties to which it was liable.

'Throughout the villages, and the farms surrounding them, the triple division of the produce among the priests, the military, and the cultivators had ceased with the Greek conquest. To this had succeeded a regular establishment of officers, who had severally the charge of collecting the tribute due from each proprietor, that of preserving the peace of the village, and that of superintending the maintenance of the dykes and canals, so important a part of the rural economy of Egypt. A fixed sum of money had been, from the first, set apart for this object; and a regular system had been long established, and strictly adhered to, for the mode in which repairs were to be made, the time or state of the inundation at which the principal embankments were to be opened, and for carrying into execution

other precautionary measures of irrigating and of draining, which the physical organisation of the country had rendered necessary.

'In the edicts of Justinian are to be traced some important alterations, introduced by that emperor into the civil government of the country. The province of Augustamnica appears to have been united to that of Egypt and Alexandria; and from this last, the two districts of Mareotis and Menelas were detached and added to Libya, for the avowed and singular reason, that, without them, this latter province would be unable to defray the expenses of its government.

'The civil and military powers were again united in the same person, both in Egypt and the Thebaïd, as they had been before the reign of Constantine; and the magistrates of the provinces or nomes, now called patrarchs, and those of the villages, or the pagarchs, were placed under their authority. The functions of these magistrates, when they were once named to the office, might be suspended by the præfects, but they could not be definitively removed without orders from Constantinople.

'The main, and almost the sole, object that appears to have dictated these edicts of Justinian, was the more punctual transmission of grain to the capital of the empire. Whether it was owing to the increasing poverty of the country, the connivance of the different agents employed in the service, or the corruptions of those in the higher offices of State, perpetual difficulties seem to have occurred. But what argues on the part of the Roman government a conviction of the necessity of conciliating, by a mild treatment, the native Egyptians, all the menaces held out against the disobedience of the imperial orders are directed against the præfects, who alone are held responsible, in their persons and their effects, for the strict execution of them. In some instances a denunciation is published against the higher orders of the clergy, who, by unauthorised acts of protection, shall have pretended to release any individuals from the payments to which they were subject.

'The state of property in Egypt continued, under the Romans, very similar to what it had been in the earliest times. The proprietor of a district, or of a certain part of it, had a kind of feudal claim over his vassals, from whose gratuitous labour he exacted all that was not absolutely necessary for their existence. While Egypt retained its independence it was fully sufficient to supply its own wants; but, as a province, it suffered all the evils of a

corrupt and vicious administration; and it never received any returns, in money or kind, for its annual supply of grain to the capital. As this supply did not diminish, but rather increased in an inverse proportion to the means which were to furnish it, the proprietors, when obliged to add to their demands upon the peasants, found them in a situation to afford less. Industry was at a stand; and the distressed serfs had no other method of evading such claims, than either by abandoning their farms for others more favourably situated, or by seeking the protection of some powerful individual, whose patronage they purchased. This abuse had been the natural consequence of the system of honours established by Constantine; and in Egypt it was productive of the most prejudicial effects. The evil grew rapidly: what was first dictated by necessity was soon resorted to by choice; and, when necessity could not be pleaded in excuse, temptations were not wanting on the part of the protectors, who soon found the means of converting their powers of granting privileges into a pecuniary speculation; and the next step was that the proprietors, being abandoned by their vassals, and consequently reduced to poverty, were obliged to yield up their estates to those who had succeeded in seducing them. This iniquitous traffic particularly prevailed among the military; and for some years the new possessors were able to disguise from the government the truth of their situation, by paying no taxes from the estates they had thus procured, and by returning as defaulters the names of those whom they had ejected.

'Various laws, from the time of Constantine to Theodosius the Second and Justinian, were enacted against these grievances; they successively increased in severity; and nothing but the extremest rigour, and the attachment of responsibility on the person of the præfects themselves, could succeed in putting an end to them. At first, the peasants who remained behind were to make up for what the fugitives ought to have paid. Afterwards, an ignominious punishment was denounced against such fugitives, and the protectors sentenced to a fine:—this fine was gradually augmented to a sum equal to the whole fortune of the delinquent. Theodosius the Second finally established all such usurpations of property as had taken place in this manner, prior to the consulate of Cæsarius and Atticus, and ordered the immediate restitution of all that had taken place since that period, subjecting, at the same time, the new proprietors to all the ancient charges and contributions attached to their estates,

including those that would have fallen on the fugitive as well as the other vassals.

'The peculiar nature of the soil and locality of Egypt had fixed, at a very early period, the system of agriculture the most congenial to them. No innovations appear to have been introduced on this head; and, as laws have only been made where changes were thought necessary, we are left without any other materials, whence we might form our judgment relative to the employment of the soil in ancient times, beyond those customs which have been handed down to the present age.

'Agriculture was always the principal object to which the government of Egypt was directed; and when the king, the priests, and the military, had each an equal share in the produce of the soil, the common interest would effectually prevent any abuses in the management of it. But, under a foreign yoke, these interests were too divided; and the defects of administration were to be supplied by the rigour of the laws. The destroyer of a dyke was, at one time, to be condemned to the public works and to the mines; at another, to be branded, and transported to the Oasis,—punishments more severe than are ever thought of even under the present Mahometan government.

'Some laws were made for the encouragement of the growth of timber trees in Egypt, but the same misguided policy, which had failed in so many other laws, preferred the menaces of a punishment for the sale or the use of the sycamore and napka,[1] rather than the offer of a reward for extending plantations of them. Here may be traced the same hand which, instead of ameliorating the situation of the oppressed peasantry, was contented with accumulating upon the fugitives useless punishments, or bringing them to their homes by an armed force.

'With respect to the amount of the public revenues of Egypt, Diodorus Siculus states them to have been, in his time, equal to six thousand talents, or about one million two hundred thousand pounds: and, notwithstanding the much higher amount stated by Strabo, we may conclude that in no future period they exceeded this sum. The disorders to which the people were subjected under its last kings would have tended rather to diminish its means of contribution; and, under the Roman government, its wealth and resources must have proceeded in an inverse ratio to the demands from the capital. Augustus, indeed, relieved Egypt

[1] *Rhamnus Nabeca*: in Arabic, *nebq* or *sidr*. (*Vide* 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 211.)

from one cause of oppression, whereby Sicily and Sardinia had successively been ruined,—the presence and controlling authority of powerful Romans.

'The levying of the taxes, both in money and in kind, appears to have been left to the immediate care of the natives, whereof one or more presided over each district and village; these, however, were successively placed under the superintendence of the præfects of Egypt, the governors of the Thebaïd, and the military force; and the responsibility, which at first rested with the superior officers, was afterwards extended to the soldiers themselves.

'The tributes, in whatever form they were paid, were received at Alexandria by Roman agents commissioned for the purpose. After the time of Constantine, it appears that the transport of the grain was at the expense of a collective body of the principal inhabitants of that city. This burden was, at a later period, commuted for an annual payment; but the object was still subject to many delays, till the edict of Justinian directed the charge to be borne by the chief custom-house officer at Alexandria.

'Other expenses were also payable by individuals, in addition to the regular taxes of the country. The freight of the corn vessels down the Nile, the baking of the bread for the military where they happened to be quartered, and the clothing of the troops, became so many occasions of extortion.

'It is difficult to fix the precise portion of the entire taxes of Egypt which was paid, whether in grain or in money, anterior to the reign of Justinian. When this emperor framed an edict expressly for the purpose of regulating the transmission of the grain to the capital, and of facilitating the levying of the rest of the taxes, the quantity of corn then furnished by Egypt to Constantinople was eight hundred thousand *artabæ*, which, if calculated as equal to the *ardeb* of the present day,[1] amount to four hundred and fifty thousand quarters; and as, by the same law, a fine of three *solidi* for every three *artabæ* was to attach to all who, by neglect of their duty, should occasion any delay in the collection, the value of each *artaba* may be taken at one-third of this sum, or about seven shillings; consequently, that of the corn annually sent to Constantinople would have been nearly three thousand pounds sterling; and, perhaps, a quantity not much inferior to this was detained in the country for the supply of the

[1] In the year 1800.

præfect's palace, the maintenance of the troops, and the gratuitous distributions of corn granted to Alexandria by Diocletian, and confirmed and augmented by other emperors.

'There would still, however, remain a large portion of the public revenues to be paid in money.

'One chief source of misunderstanding among the governors and the governed throughout Egypt, and of the occasional oppression of the latter, was, that the system of regulating the taxes of each province of the empire, once for each successive term of fifteen years, was unwisely extended to Egypt. This indiction, which was introduced by Constantine in lieu of the lustrum, or term of five years, however convenient it might be for other countries, was ill adapted to one wherein the produce of each year must so essentially depend on the extent of the inundation. One consequence of this was, that frequently the præfects were obliged to return different estates as totally deficient, which opened a door to endless acts of corruption and connivance.

'The obligations imposed on the præfect for the punctual supply of grain, were much more rigorous than those which related to the payments to be made in specie to the imperial treasury; so that he was enabled, from time to time, to desist from his pecuniary demands upon the people, the better to enable them to bring in the stated quantity of corn; but this pretext likewise led the way to infinite abuses. Although the payments in money ought to have equalled two-thirds of that in kind, Justinian complains, in his edict, that they were frequently reduced to nothing, wholly absorbed in pretended expenses, and pillaged by the secret understanding of the Egyptian tax-gatherers and the public agents. It is scarcely possible to conceive the moral weakness of a government which knew not how to put a stop to evils of this nature, with all the military means of the empire at their disposal, and no ostensible resistance to their operations but the bare principle of corruption. These deductions from the tax demanded by the government, which nearly equalled their amount, appear the more extraordinary, as we find in the same edict of Justinian, that, throughout every village and district, the inhabitants were liable to other calls for the maintenance of the canals and dykes, public buildings, and the salaries of subaltern agents.

'The author[1] of the essay from which the greater part of

[1] Regnier, 'L'Égypte sous les Romains,' 1807.

these observations are taken, is induced to suggest, whether the public accountants of those times may not have acted on the system now pursued under the Turkish establishment; who make an annual charge of near thirty thousand livres for the transport of the dirt and rubbish of Cairo to the sea-coast, while it is notorious that not a single boat is employed upon this service.[1]

'The duties of export and import in Egypt, which must have formed a considerable part of the revenue, particularly as long as it continued the emporium of goods between Europe and India, appear to have been farmed to Greeks and Romans, contrary to the system adopted with regard to the tax on land. These duties were payable on the coast of the Red Sea, at Canopus, and at Alexandria. At this latter place, the persons by whom they were farmed had so many opportunities of granting a temporary relief to the necessitous, in advancing money for them, that the vexations they could afterwards practise upon their debtors form the subject of one of the heads of Justinian's edict; and it was in consideration of the profits enjoyed by the same persons, that they were liable to the expenses of the transport of grain from their port to the capital.

'The corporation of Alexandria were released by the same emperor from the repairs of the canal which brought them water from the Nile; and they were allowed four hundred solidi out of a fund called *Dinummium Vectigal*, which, by the explanation which follows, appears to refer to the duties levied upon the ships frequenting the harbour; and it was natural that those should pay a full portion of the expenses which procured them this necessary supply. Besides taxes upon the industry, the trades, and houses of its inhabitants, Alexandria was, from time to time, subjected to a contribution under the name of coronation money. This abuse had arisen out of the custom, once so laudable and useful, of presenting, in the name of the provinces, crowns of gold to proconsuls, or other commanders, who had acted honourably and liberally during their governments. This gradually became

[1] The direct taxes raised in Egypt under the Ptolemies and Romans were the land tax, amounting to one-fifth of the produce, *prosodos sitikè* or *argyrikè;* the poll-tax, *laographia;* the tax on workmen, *cheironaxion;* the conservancy of the river, *potamophylakia.* These later taxes are mentioned by Josephus, and acquittances for them are found written in cursive Greek characters on potsherds found at Elephantine, beginning in the reign of Caligula, A.D. 38–39. The indirect taxes, the *encyclia telē* of the Greeks, were a kind of stamp, $\frac{1}{20}$ or $\frac{1}{10}$ of the value of all articles sold, whether of home or foreign manufacture, especially natron, *nitrikè*, duties levied on goods passing up or down the Nile, legacy duty, *uparchè*, and fines. (Böckh, 'Corp. Inscr.' *loc. cit.*)—S. B.

so general, that those who were not thus honoured considered themselves as insulted; and, under the emperors, it was soon converted from an honour into a means of raising money. And in addition to the amount demanded from each, grievous in itself to a suffering people, it became much more so by the irregularity and sudden manner in which it was imposed.'[1]

[1] For many other interesting remarks on the state of Egypt about this period, *vide* 'Ægyptiaca,' p. 243.

No. 111. Captives secured by handcuffs *Thebes.*

VIGNETTE E.—Part of Cairo, showing the *Mulquf's* on the houses of modern Egypt.

CHAPTER V.

Houses—Brickmakers—Villas—Granaries—Gardens—Vineyards—Wine-presses—Wines—Beer.

THOUGH the Egyptians are said [1] to have paid less attention to the splendour of their houses than to the decoration of their tombs, the plans of many that remain, and the extent of their villas represented in the sculptures, plainly show that no precepts of philosophy can oblige man to renounce the luxuries of life. The priests may have taught them that their stay in this world was of short duration; that their present abodes were only inns at which they reposed during their earthly pilgrimage;[2] and that their tombs alone could be considered as everlasting habitations,[3] which it was a religious duty to adorn. It was their interest to inculcate similar notions: the persons employed in making and decorating the tombs were of the sacerdotal order; and the splendour of funeral obsequies tended to their emolument. They induced them to expend considerable sums on the celebration of those rites; and many, who had barely sufficient to obtain the necessaries of life, were anxious to save something for the expenses of their death. For besides the embalming process, which sometimes cost a talent of silver,[4] or about two hundred and fifty

[1] Diodor. i. 51.
[2] Gen. xlvii. 9.
[3] Diodor. *loc. cit.*
[4] Ibid., i. 91. This was the most costly; the poor classes paid very little; and every one in proportion to his means or inclination.

pounds English money, the tomb itself was purchased at an immense sum; and numerous demands were afterwards made upon the estate of the deceased, for the celebration of prayers, and other services for the soul. We cannot, however, suppose that temporary gratification was denied to the rich of any class, or was deemed unworthy the wisdom of the priesthood; for they evidently enjoyed all the comforts and luxuries which their means could so well provide. Though the priests may have kept up an external appearance of self-denial, and avoided all unnecessary display of wealth, it is natural that they should welcome the blessings of this life, provided they did not interfere with the practice of virtue. And if they taught others to avoid ostentation, if they themselves submitted, on some occasions, to severe abstinence, and encouraged morality by their own example, we must allow that they were deserving of esteem; and little cause for censure can be found, except in that exclusiveness which degraded the lower classes of their countrymen, and in the disproportionate extent of their possessions compared with those of the other Egyptians.

The houses in the towns varied of course in size as well as plan; but, judging from the ruins that remain, the streets were laid out very regularly; nor does there appear to have been the constant mixture of large houses and low hovels, so frequently met with in Eastern towns. As is usually the case in hot climates, many of the streets were narrow, and few, except the principal ones, were large enough to allow the passage of a chariot. In Thebes, however, it is probable they were on a somewhat larger scale, and proportionate with the increased size of the houses, some of which, even in the early age of its founder, are said to have been four or five stories in height.[1]

In towns built at the mouths of mountain ravines, the main street was, at the same time, the bed of the torrent: several instances of which may be seen in Spain and Italy: and, as storms of rain seldom last long in the arid climate of Egypt, the communication by it was rarely impeded, or its surface materially impaired. Indeed, if much rain had fallen in that country, it would have been necessary to have constructed houses of materials more capable of resisting its effects than mere crude brick; and, from the narrowness of some of the ravines, their foundations would

[1] Diodor. i. 45. The greater number I believe to have been confined to one or two stories. At Rome they had three. Augustus confined the height of houses to 70 feet.

Fig.1.

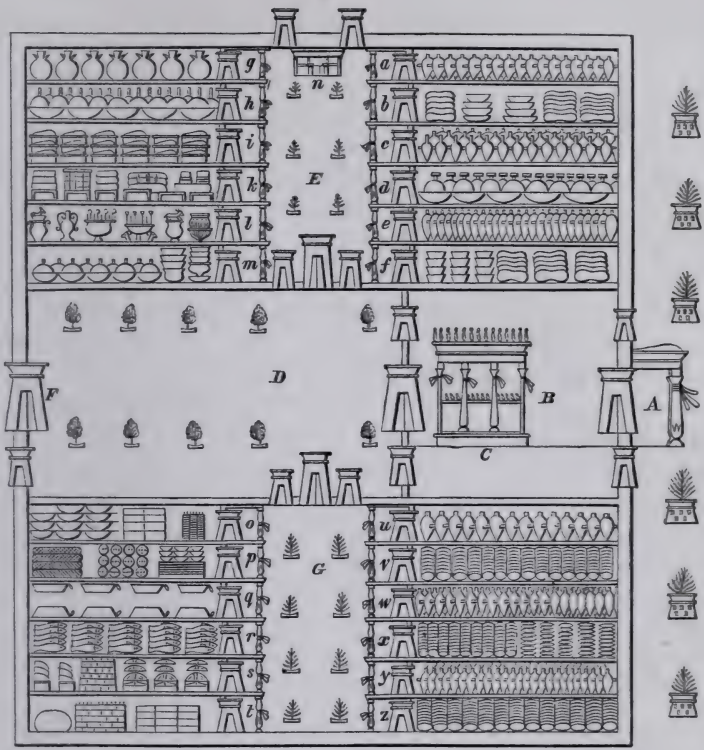

Fig.2.

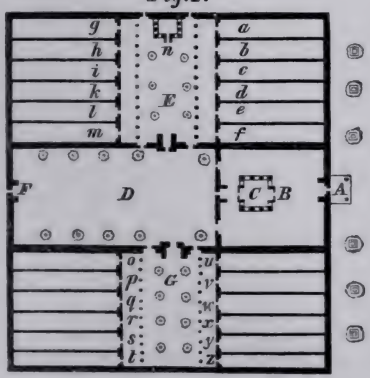

Fig. 1. Elevation of an Egyptian house. From the sculptures.
2. The supposed ground-plan of the same.

have been in danger, as well as the lives of the inhabitants. But heavy rain was a rare phenomenon in Upper Egypt; and though much fell about the sea-coast of the Delta, and during winter in the interior of the eastern desert, a violent storm at Thebes was looked upon to presage an approaching calamity.[1]

The use of crude brick, baked in the sun, was universal in Upper and Lower Egypt, both for public and private buildings; and the brick-field gave abundant occupation to numerous labourers throughout the country. These simple materials were found to be peculiarly suited to the climate; and the ease, rapidity, and cheapness with which they were made, offered additional recommendations. Inclosures of gardens or granaries, sacred circuits encompassing the courts of temples, walls of fortifications and towns, dwelling-houses and tombs, in short, all but the temples[2] themselves, were of crude brick, either with or without straw; and so great was the demand, that the Egyptian government, observing the profit which would accrue to the revenue from a monopoly of them, undertook to supply the public at a moderate price, thus preventing all unauthorised persons from engaging in their manufacture; and, in order more effectually to obtain their end, the seal of the king, or of some privileged person, was stamped upon the bricks at the time they were made. This fact, though not positively mentioned by any ancient author, is inferred from finding bricks so marked, both in public and private buildings; some having the ovals of a king, and some the name and titles of a priest, or other influential person; and it is probable that those which bear no characters belonged to individuals who had obtained a permission or licence from government to fabricate them for their own consumption.

The employment of numerous captives, who worked as slaves, enabled the government to sell the bricks at a lower price than those who had recourse solely to free labour; so that, without the necessity of a prohibition, they speedily became an exclusive manufacture; and we find that, independent of native labourers, a great many foreigners were constantly engaged in the brick-

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[1] Herodotus says, 'Rain *never* falls at Thebes; but before the Persian invasion it rained violently' (lib. iii. 10). The historian is not, however, borne out by fact, as we see from the appearance of the water-courses there, which were formed long before his time, and from the pains taken by the ancient Egyptians to protect their tombs and other monuments from rain. A continued storm of heavy rain during a whole day and night would be a rare occurrence; but showers fall about five or six times in the course of a year at Thebes.

[2] Some small temples in the villages were of crude brick.

fields at Thebes, and other parts of Egypt. The Jews, of course, were not excluded from this drudgery; and, like the captives detained in the Thebaïd, they were condemned to the same labour in Lower Egypt. They erected granaries, treasure cities, and other public buildings for the Egyptian monarch: the materials used in their construction were the work of their hands; and the constant employment of brick-makers may be accounted for by the extensive supply required, and kept by the government for public sale.[1]

To meet with Hebrews in the sculptures cannot reasonably be expected, since the remains in that part of Egypt where they lived have not been preserved; but it is curious to discover other foreign captives occupied in the same manner, overlooked by similar 'taskmasters,'[2] and performing the very same labours as the Israelites described in the Bible; and no one can look at the paintings of Thebes, representing brick-makers, without a feeling of the highest interest. That the scene in the accompanying woodcut[3] is at the capital of Upper Egypt is shown by the hieroglyphics,[4] which expressly state that the 'bricks,' *tôbi*, are made for a 'building at Thebes;' and this occurrence of the word implying bricks, similar both in modern Arabic[5] and ancient Coptic, gives an additional value to the picture.

It is scarcely fair to argue, in defiance of logic, that because the Jews made bricks, and the persons here introduced are so engaged, these must necessarily be Jews, since the Egyptians and their captives were constantly required to perform the same task; and the great quantity made at all times may be inferred from the number of buildings which still remain, constructed of those materials. But it is worthy of remark, that more bricks bearing the name of Thothmes III., whom I suppose to have been king of Egypt at the time of the Exodus,[6] have been discovered than of any other period, owing to the many prisoners of Asiatic nations employed by him independent of his Hebrew captives.

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[1] An endorsement of Papyrus Anastasi No. 3 mentions for a building, twelve of these men moulding bricks in their places of clay, and brought for the work of the house: 'Let there be no relaxation that they should make their number of bricks daily in the new house in the same manner, to obey the messages sent by my lord.' This is about the period of the Exodus. (Chabas, 'Mélanges,' série 1, 1864, pp. 121 and foll.) —S. B.

[2] *Figs.* 3 and 6 in the woodcut No. 112.

[3] Woodcut No. 112.

[4] At *e* in the woodcut No. 112, over *fig.* 9.

[5] *Tob* or *toob*, in Arabic, 'a brick:' in Coptic, *tôbi*.

[6] The Exodus is generally considered to have taken place in the reign of Meneptah, as more consonant to the political condition of this later monarch, Thothmes III. being master of Palestine during his long reign. —S. B.

With regard to the features of foreigners frequently resembling the Jews, it is only necessary to observe that the Egyptians adopted the same character for all the inhabitants of Syria,[1] as

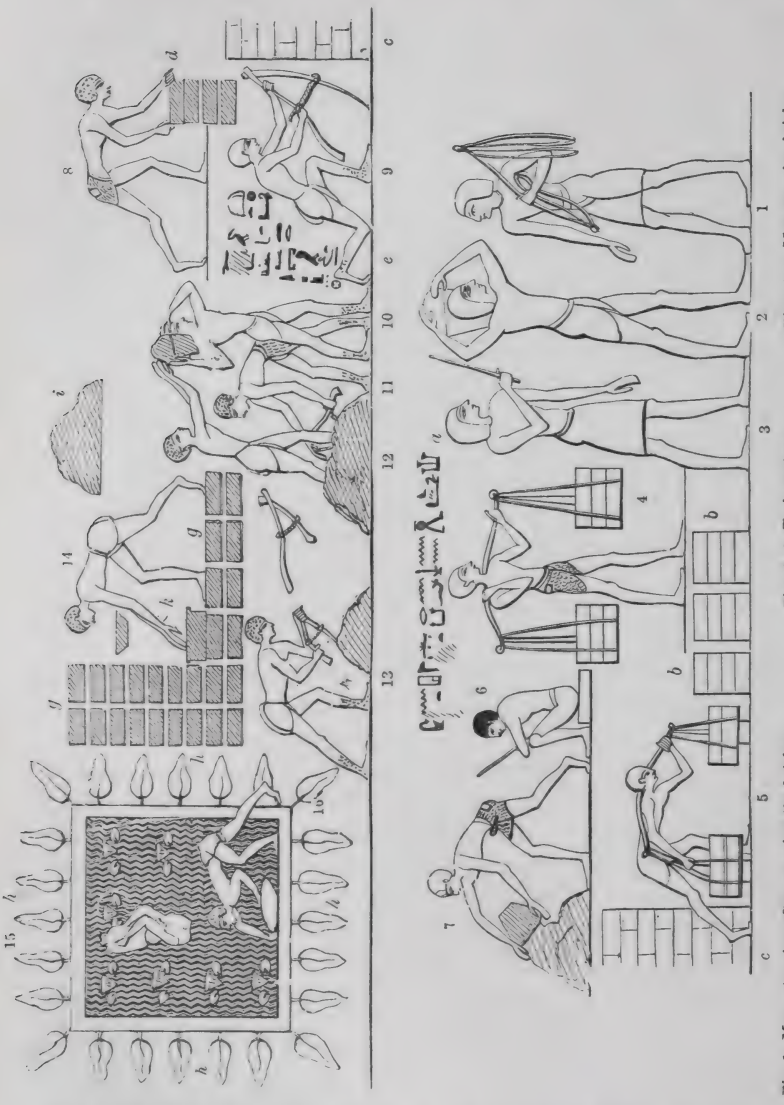


Fig. 1. Man returning after carrying the bricks.
Figs. 2, 3, 6. Taskmasters.
Figs. 4, 5. Men carrying bricks.
Figs. 7, 9, 11, 13. Digging and mixing the clay or mud.
8, 14. Making bricks with a wooden mould, *d*, *k*.
15, 16. Fetching water from the tank, *h*.
At *e* the bricks (*ööi*) are said to be made at Thebes.

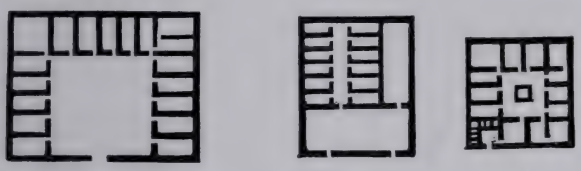
No. 112. Foreign captives employed in making bricks at Thebes. *Thebes.*

may be seen in the sculptures of Karnak and other places where those people occur, or in one of the sets of figures in Belzoni's

[1] Herodotus (ii. 159) also calls the Jews Syrians.

tomb; and the brick-makers, far from having the very Jewish expression found in many of those figures, have not even the beard, so marked in the people of Syria and the prisoners of Sheshonk; and from the names of the captives throughout the tomb where they are found, it is evident they belong to a nation living far to the north of Judæa.

Houses of a small size were usually connected together, and formed the continuous sides of streets; they rarely exceeded two stories, and many of them consisted only of a ground-floor and an upper set of rooms. Nor, indeed, judging from the sculptures, do the Egyptians appear to have preferred lofty houses; and, as in modern Egyptian towns, the largest seldom had more than three stories. Those of the rich citizens frequently covered a considerable space,[1] and presented to the street either the sides of the house itself, or the walls of the court attached to it. Their plans were regular, the rooms being usually arranged



No. 113. Plans of houses. *Alabastron.*

round an open area,[2] or on either side of a long passage to which an entrance court led from the street.[3] The court was an empty space, considerably larger than the Roman *impluvium*, probably paved with stone, or containing a few trees, a small tank,[4] or a fountain in its centre;[5] and sometimes, though rarely, a flight of steps led to the main entrance from without.[6] A court was frequently common to several houses; and again, some of the large mansions stood detached, and had the advantage of several doors of entrance, on two or three different sides. They had a portico, or porch, before the front door, *janua*, supported on two

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[1] At Thebes, the largest houses seem to have been on the Libyan side and in that part of Diospolis between Karnak and Luqsor; but those in the immediate vicinity of the great temple stood in a more dense mass. Houses built in this manner present, of course, greater mounds of ruins than the larger ones which had open courts, and which covered a greater space.

[2] Woodcut No. 113, *figs.* 1 and 3.

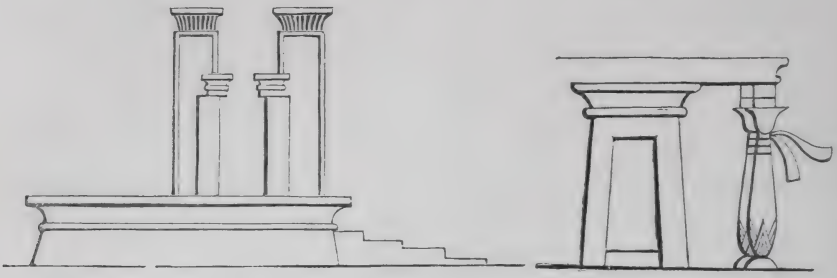
[3] Woodcut No. 113, *fig.* 2.

[4] Perhaps sometimes a well, as in modern Egyptian houses, and in the houses mentioned in 2 Sam. xvii. 18.

[5] Woodcut No. 113, *fig.* 1.

[6] Woodcut No. 114, *fig.* 1.

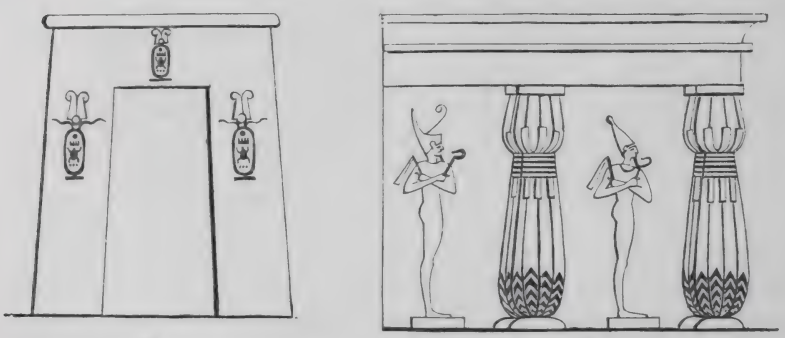
columns, below whose capitals were attached ribands or banners:[1] the name of the person who lived there being occasionally



1 2

No. 114. Entrances to houses. *Alabastron.*

painted within, on the lintel or imposts of the door;[2] and sometimes the portico consisted of a double row of columns, between which stood colossal statues of the king.[3]



1 2

No. 115. *Fig.* 1. Doorway, with name upon it. *Fig.* 2. Porch. *Thebes and Alabastron.*

A line of trees ran parallel with the front of the house; and to prevent injuries from cattle or from any accident, the stems were surrounded by a low wall,[4] pierced with square holes to admit the air. Nor were the Egyptians singular in the custom of planting trees about their town houses, as we find the same mentioned by Latin authors at Rome itself.[5]

The height of the portico was about twelve or fifteen feet, just exceeding that of the cornice of the door, which was only

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[1] Probably, as at Rome, only on certain occasions. Woodcut No. 114, *fig.* 2.

[2] Woodcut No. 115, *fig.* 1.

[3] Woodcut No. 115, *fig.* 2.

[4] Woodcut No. 116, *fig.* 2, at *c c*, between *a* and *b*.

[5] Hor. Epod. i. 10, 22. Tibull. iii. 3, 15.

raised by its threshold above the level of the ground.[1] On either side of the main entrance was a smaller door, which stood at an equal distance between it and the side wall, and was probably intended for the servants, and those who came on business. On entering[2] by the porch, you passed into an open court, *aula*, or hall of the Romans, containing a *mandara*,[3] or receiving room for visitors. This building, supported by columns, decorated with banners, was closed only at the lower part by intercolumnar panels, over which a stream of cool air was admitted, and protection from the rays of the sun was secured by an awning that covered it.[4] On the opposite side of the court was another door, the approach to the *mandara* from the interior; and the master of the house, on the announcement of a stranger, came in that way, to receive him.[5] Three doors led from this court to another of larger dimensions,[6] which was ornamented with avenues of trees, and communicated on the right and left with the interior of the house; and this, like most of the large courts, had a back entrance, the Roman *posticum*, through a central[7] and lateral gateway. The arrangement of the interior was much the same on either side of the court: six or more chambers,[8] whose doors faced those of the opposite set, opening on a corridor supported by columns on the right and left of an area, which was shaded by a double row of trees.

At the upper end of one of these areas was a sitting-room, which faced the door leading to the great court; and over this and the other chambers were the apartments of the upper story.[9] Here were also two small gateways looking upon the street.

Another plan consisted of a court, with the usual avenue of trees,[10] on one side of which were several sets of chambers opening on corridors or passages, but without any colonnade before the doors.[11] The receiving-room (A)[12] looked upon the court, and

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[1] *Vide* woodcut No. 114, *fig.* 2; and Plate VI. *fig.* 2, A.

[2] *Vide* the plan in Plate VI. *fig.* 2, B.

[3] I use the Arabic name for the same sort of room used for the same purpose. With the Romans, it seems to have been the place of the nuptial couch. (Hor. Ep. i. 1, 87.) Plate VI. *fig.* 2, C.

[4] In the plans, we cannot, of course, see the awning, but we must give them credit for so simple an invention.

[5] This is the opinion I have formed from the different plans of their houses, the custom of the modern Egyptians, and the habits of the East in general.

[6] Plate VI.

[7] Plate VI. *fig.* 2, F.

[8] Plate VI. *fig.* 2, *a* to *z*.

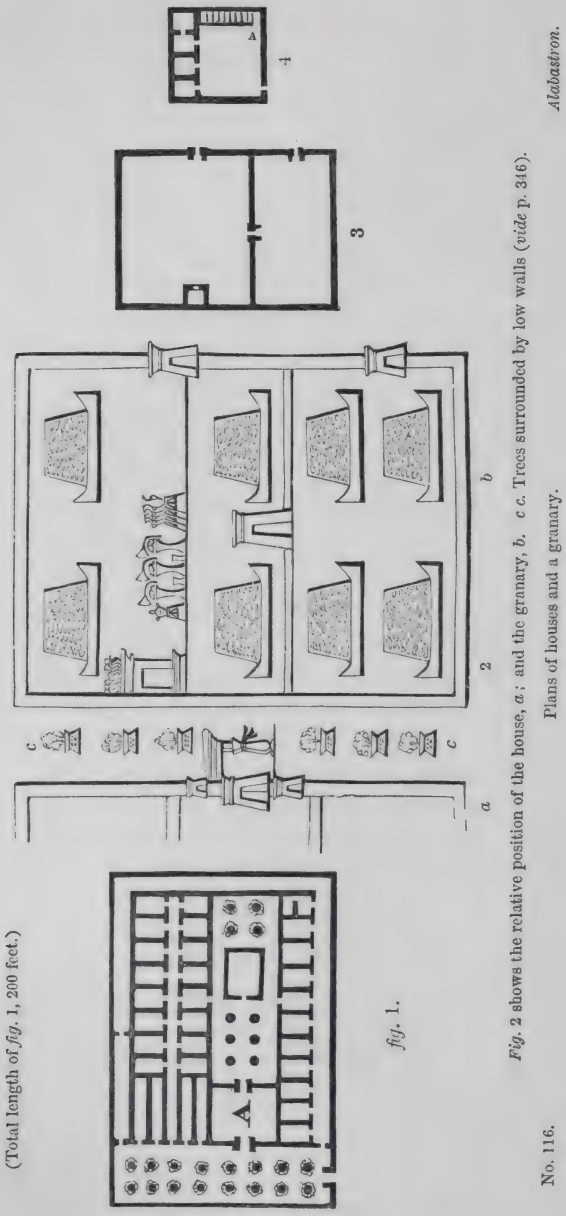
[9] They could not be represented in the elevation plan, which is only intended to refer to the ground-floors.

[10] This is called *amma* or *amm.* (Maspero, 'Genre épistolaire,' pp. 60, 61.) Translated sometimes 'orchard,' but rather the avenue in front of the house.—S. B.

[11] Woodcut No. 116, *fig.* 1.

[12] Ibid.

from it a row of columns led to the private sitting apartment, which stood isolated in one of the passages, near to a door com-



(Total length of *fig.* 1, 200 feet.)

fig. 1.

Fig. 2 shows the relative position of the house, *a.*; and the granary, *b.* *c c.* Trees surrounded by low walls (*vide* p. 316).

Plans of houses and a granary.

No. 116. *Alabastron.*

municating with the side chambers; and in its position, with a

corridor or porch in front, it bears a striking resemblance to the 'summer parlour' of Eglon, king of Moab,[1] 'which he had for himself alone,' and where he received Ehud, the Israelite stranger. And the flight of Ehud 'through the porch,' after he had shut and locked the door of the parlour, shows its situation to have been very similar to some of these isolated apartments, in the houses and villas of the ancient Egyptians. The side chambers were frequently arranged on either side of a corridor, others faced towards the court, and others were only separated from the outer wall by a long passage.

In the distribution of the apartments, numerous and different modes were adopted, according to circumstances; in general, however, the large mansions seem to have consisted of a court and corridors, with a set of rooms on either side, not unlike many of those now built in Oriental and tropical countries: but, in order to give a better notion of the general arrangement of the houses and streets in an Egyptian town, I shall introduce the plan of an ancient city near Tel-el-Amarna, which I believed to have been Alabastron;[2] a place erroneously transferred by geographers from the valley of the Nile to the eastern desert. The houses are in many places quite destroyed, leaving few traces of their plans, or even of their sites; and the position of the town itself differs much from that of most Egyptian cities, being of very inconsiderable breadth, and of disproportionate length, extending upwards of two miles and a quarter, though less than two-thirds of a mile broad.

Their granaries were also laid out in a very regular manner, and varied of course in plan as much as the houses, to which there is reason to believe they were frequently attached, even in the towns; and, judging from one represented in the sculptures of Psinaula, they were sometimes only separated from the house by an avenue of trees.[3] In this instance, the building opposite the upper doorway is a sitting-room for the master or the inspector of the granary, who superintended the arrangement of whatever was deposited there, and the whole is divided into two parts.[4]

Some small houses consisted merely of a court, and three or four store rooms on the ground-floor, with a single chamber above, to which a flight of steps led from the court; but they

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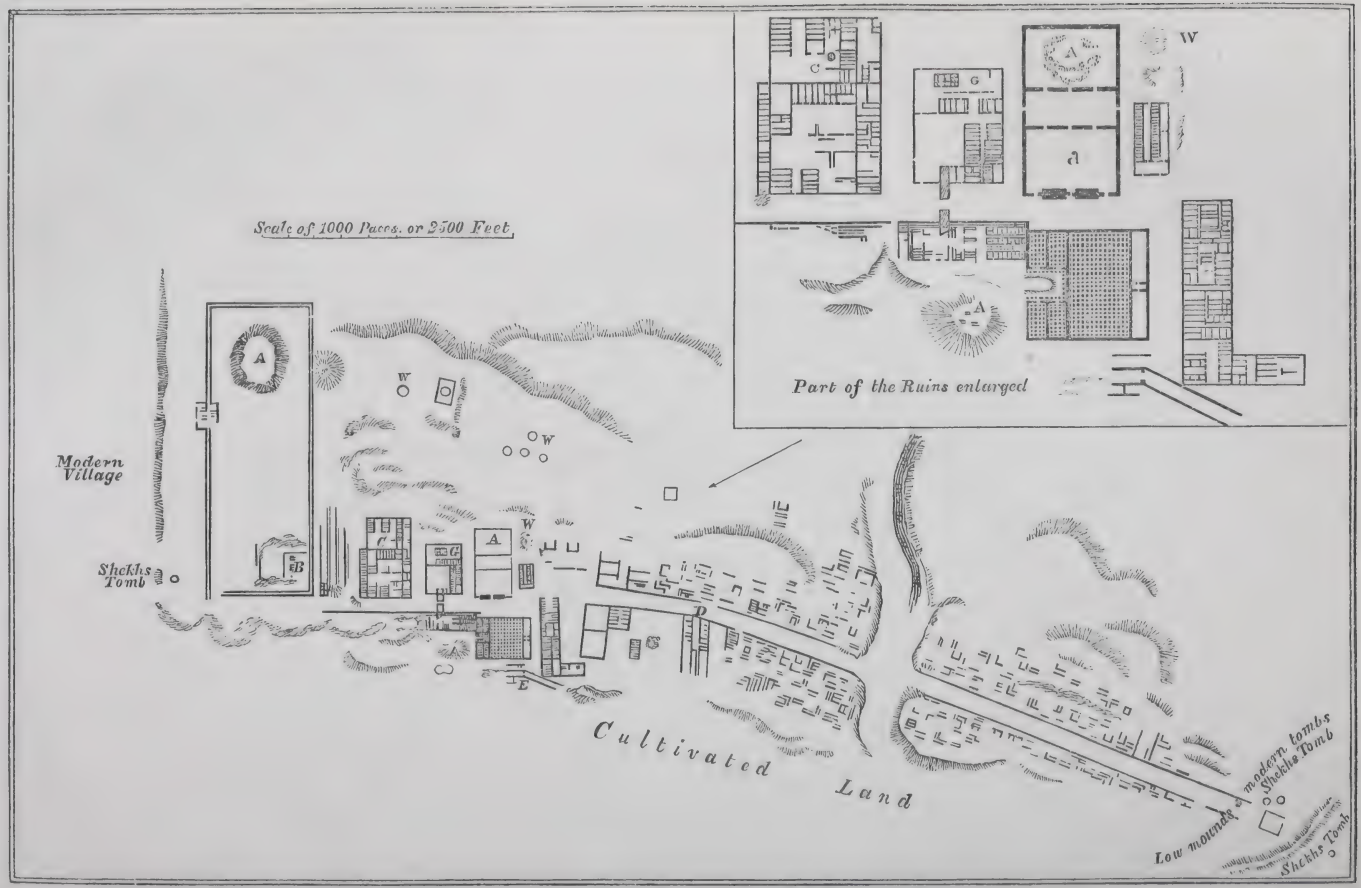
[1] Judges iii. 20.

[2] *Vide* Plate VII. p. 350. [But which is now considered to be Psinaula.—G. W.]

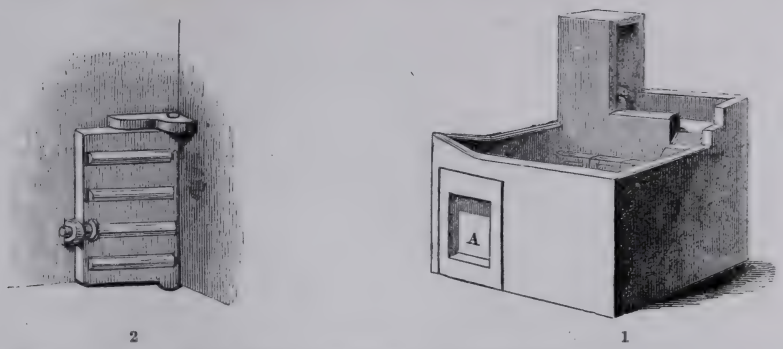
[3] Woodcut No. 116, *fig.* 2.

[4] *Vide* ground-plan of the same, *fig.* 3.



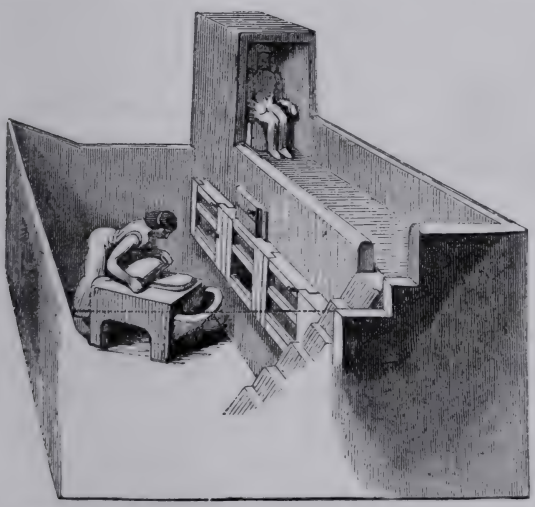
Plan of the ruins of the city of Alabastron, or Psinaula, near Tel-el-Amarna.

were probably only met with in the country, and resembled some still found in the *felláh* villages of modern Egypt.[1] Very similar to these was the model of a house now in the British Museum,[2]



No. 117. *Fig.* 1. Model of a small house in the British Museum.
2. Shows how the door opened and was secured.

which consisted solely of a courtyard and three small store-rooms on the ground-floor, with a staircase leading to a room belonging to the store-keeper, which was furnished with a narrow window



No. 118. Showing the interior of the court, and upper chamber, in the same.

or aperture opposite the door, rather intended for the purposes of ventilation than to admit the light. In the court a woman was represented, making bread, as is sometimes done at the present

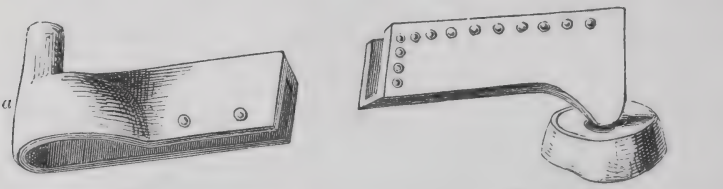
[1] *Vide* woodcut No. 116, *fig.* 4.

[2] *Vide* woodcut No. 117.

day in Egypt, in the open air; and the store-rooms were not only full of grain[1] when the model was found, but would still have preserved their contents uninjured, had they escaped the notice of a rat in the lazaretto of Leghorn, which in one night destroyed what ages had respected. How readily would an Arab exclaim, on learning the fate which awaited them, 'Everything is written!'

The chamber at the top of the house appears, from its dimensions, to be little calculated for comfort either in the heat of summer, or the cold of winter; but it may only have been intended as a shelter from the sun during the day, while the inmate attended to the business of the servants, or the peasants. It cannot, however, fail to call to mind the memorable proverb, 'It is better to dwell in the corner of the house-top, than with a brawling woman in a wide house;'[2] though that character does not apply to the quiet and industrious female in the court below.

The chambers on the ground-floor of an Egyptian house were chiefly used for stores, furniture, and goods of different kinds; and amphoræ of wine and oil[3] were arranged as in the *apothecæ*[4] of a Roman mansion. The rooms, and indeed all parts of



No. 119. *Fig.* 1. The upper pin, on which the door turned. 2. Lower pin. *British Museum.*

the house, were stuccoed within and without, and ornamented with various devices painted on the walls; and the doors were frequently stained to imitate foreign and rare woods.[5] They were either of one or two valves,[6] turning on pins of metal, and

[1] A few grains and husks of the barley remain.—S. B.

[2] Prov. xxi. 9.

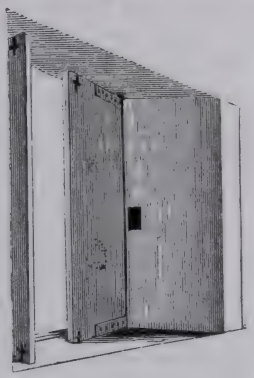
[3] The same custom of putting oil and honey and different comestibles into earthenware jars was common to the Romans as well as to the ancient and modern Egyptians. Some of these vases were not, properly speaking, amphoræ, having but one or no handle; but I use the name generally for *testæ*, or earthen casks, *cadi*.

[4] Vitruv. vi. c. 1. [These contained oil, wine, honey, and other liquids, and they were placed in rows, the innermost resting against the wall. Some of these chambers were without any window, receiving light and air only from the door. Some had a small aperture in the wall, on the side of the court, on which they opened.—G. W.]

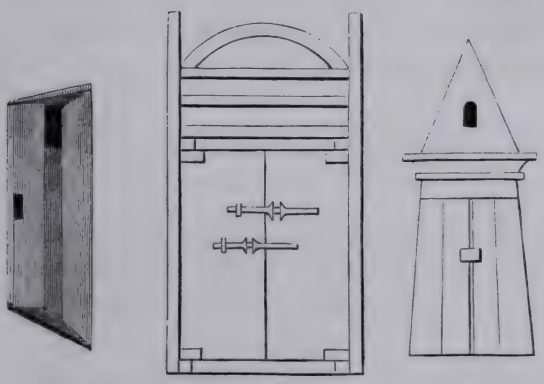
[5] This was even the case with their coffins.

[6] Woodcuts Nos. 120 and 121, *fig.* 1.

were secured within by a bar or bolts. Some of these bronze pins have been discovered in the tombs of Thebes. They were fastened to the wood with nails of the same metal, whose round head served also as an ornament, and the upper one had a projection at the back, in order to prevent the door striking against the wall.[1] We also find in the stone lintels and floor, behind the thresholds of the tombs and temples, the holes in which they turned, as well as those of the bolts and bars, and the recess for receiving the opened valves. The folding doors had bolts in the centre, sometimes above as well as below. A bar was placed across from one wall to the other; and in many instances wooden locks[2] secured them by passing over the centre, at the junction of the two folds. It is difficult to say if these last were opened by a key, or merely slided backwards and forwards like a bolt; but if they were really locks, it is probable they were upon the principle of those now used in Egypt, which are of wood, and are opened by a key furnished with several fixed pins,



No. 120. A folding door.



1 2 3

No. 121. Showing how the doors were fastened. *Tombs at Thebes.*

answering to a similar number that fall down into the hollow movable tongue, into which the key is introduced, when they fasten or open the lock. For greater security, they are occasionally

[1] Woodcut No. 119, *fig.* 1, at *a*.
[2] Woodcut No. 121, *fig.* 2. I suppose wooden from their colour.

sealed with a mass of clay;[1] and that this was also customary among the ancient Egyptians, we have satisfactory evidence from some tombs found closed at Thebes, as well as from the sculptures,[2] and the account given by Herodotus of Rhampsinitus's treasury.[3] According to the scholiast of Aratus, 'the keys of Egyptian temples bore the figure of a lion, from which chains were suspended having a heart attached to them;' alluding, as he supposes, to the beneficial effects of the inundation, and the period of its commencement, when the sun was in the sign Leo: not only were keys so ornamented, but the extremity of the stone spouts which conveyed the water from the roofs of the temples, projecting bosses upon the sides or handles of vases,[4] the prows of boats, funeral stands or biers, chairs, and numerous other objects of furniture were decorated with the same favourite emblem. Every deity, figure, and symbol were formerly pronounced by the speculations of antiquaries to be connected with the sun; and all capricorns, bulls, and scorpions were, with innocent simplicity, referred to their first parents in the zodiac: but we may venture to believe the choice of the Egyptians was directed to an ornament common and popular in every country and at all ages, without being under any obligation to the accidental form of a constellation.

At a later period, when iron came into general use, keys were made of that metal, and consisted of a long straight shank, about

No. 122. Iron key.[5] *Museum of Harrow School.*

five inches in length, and a bar at right angles with it, on which were three or more projecting teeth; and the ring at the upper extremity was intended for the same purpose as that of our

[1] No keys have been found in Egypt older than the time of the Romans, nor any representation of keyholes or other contrivances of fastening doors except bolts. When extra security was required, the doors were sealed. Thus the Ethiopian conqueror Pianchi sealed the doors of the Temple of Ra at Heliopolis, after he had drawn the bolts; and there is no mention of locks: 'Records of the Past,' ii. p. 98. A word supposed to be 'key' appears to mean 'boat.' (Zeitschrift f. ägypt. Spr., 1867.)—S. B.

[2] Woodcut No. 121, *fig.* 3, where the door of the tomb is so closed.

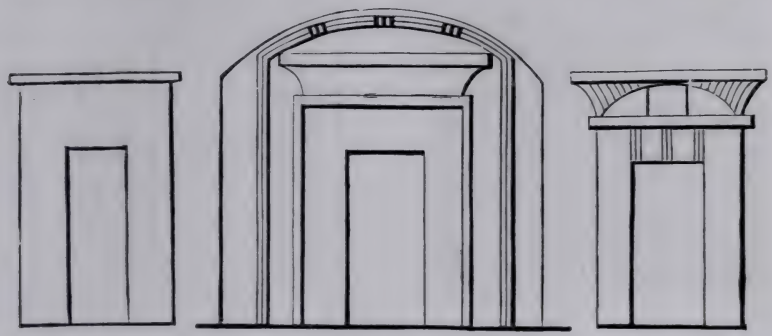
[3] Herodot. ii. 121.

[4] I have a very elegant glass head of a lion in relief, probably from a vase (now in the Museum at Harrow School).

[5] Formerly in possession of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and presented by him to the Museum of Harrow School, which he founded.—S. B.

modern keys: but we are ignorant of the exact time when they were brought into use,[1] and the first invention of locks, distinct from bolts, is equally uncertain; nor do I know of any positive mention of a key which, like our own, could be taken out of the lock, previous to the year 1336 before our era: and this is stated to have been used to fasten the door of the summer parlour of Eglon, the King of Moab.[2]

Egyptian doorways were generally surmounted by the usual cornice,[3] but many were decorated according to the taste of the person of the house. In some the cornice was divided by a



3 1 2

No. 123. Different doorways. *Thebes and Alabastron.*

curved line,[4] others were simple,[5] and many of those in the tombs were charged with a profusion of ornament, and richly painted.[6] The doors opened inwards, as well those of the rooms as the *janua* or street-door, contrary to the custom of the Greeks, who were consequently obliged to strike on the inside before they opened it, in order to warn persons passing by to keep at a distance. The Romans resembled the Egyptians in this respect, and they were forbidden to open a street-door outwards without a special permission.[7]

Sometimes the door of an Egyptian house was in the centre, at others on the side of the court or of the house itself; but I have found few instances of a flight of steps before the entrance, nor,

[1] Their earliest appearance is attached to a strap round the necks of jackals on coffins of Soter, Archon of Thebes, of the Roman period, in the reign of Trajan, A.D. 90. British Museum, No. 6705. One is engraved: Caillaud, 'Voyage à Meroe;' pl. lxvi.—S. B.

[2] Judges iii. 23, 25.

[3] The niche at Persepolis, given in Sir R. Ker Porter's work, pl. li., calls to mind the Egyptian door. *Vide* woodcut No. 123, *fig.* 1.

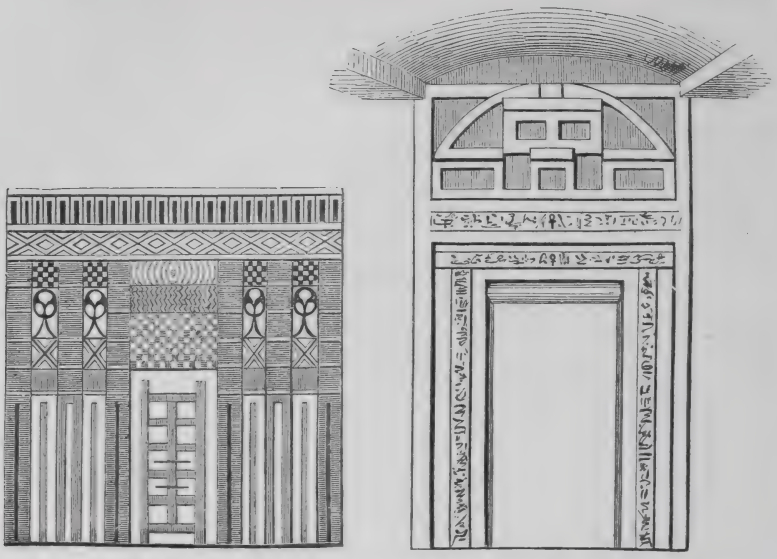
[4] Woodcut No. 123, *fig.* 2.

[5] Woodcut No. 123, *fig.* 3.

[6] Woodcut No. 124, *figs.* 1, 2.

[7] As in the case of P. Valerius Poplicola and his brother. (Plin. xxxvi. 15.)

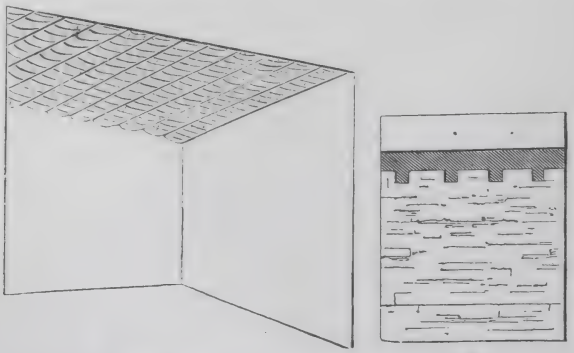
indeed, is it usual in the towns of modern Egypt. The columns of the porch and corridors were coloured, and, when of wood, they



1 2

No. 124. Ornamented doorways in the interior of tombs. *Thebes.*

were stained to represent stone; and this fondness for imitating more costly materials, as hard stone and rare woods, proves their love of show, and argues a great advancement in the arts of civilised life.

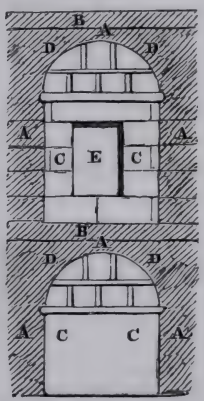


1 2

No. 125. Different modes of roofing chambers.
Tombs near the Pyramids, and at Thebes.

The floors were sometimes of stone, or a composition made of lime and other materials, and the roofs of the rooms were sup-

ported by rafters of the date-tree, arranged close together,[1] or, more generally, at intervals,[2] with transverse layers of palm branches, or planks. Many roofs were vaulted, and built, like the rest of the house, of crude brick; and there is reason to believe that some of the chambers in the pavilion of Rameses III. at Medeenet Haboo were arched with stone, since the devices on the upper part of their walls show that the fallen roofs had this form.[3] At Saqqára, a stone arch still exists of the time of the second Psammatichus, and consequently erected 600 years before our era; nor can anyone who sees the style of its construction for one moment doubt that the Egyptians had been long accustomed to the erection of stone vaults.[4]



A. The part against which the other walls stood.
B. The level of the flooring of the rooms.
C. Inside walls of the rooms.
D. Indications of the rooms having been vaulted.
E. Window.

No. 126. Traces of arched rooms. *Thebes.*

It is highly probable that the small quantity of wood in Egypt, and the consequent expense of this kind of roofing, led to the invention of the arch; it was evidently used in their tombs as early as the commencement of the 18th Dynasty,[5] or about the year 1540 B.C.; and, judging from some of the drawings at Beni-Hassan, it seems to have been known in the time of the first Usertesen, whom I suppose to have been contemporary with Joseph. So little timber, indeed, was there in the valley of the Nile, that they were obliged to import cedar and deal from Syria; and we therefore find those woods, as well as sycamore, mimosa, and others of native growth, in the tombs of Thebes. Rare woods were also part of the tribute imposed on foreign nations conquered by the Egyptians; and the sculptures inform us that they supplied them with ebony, and various other kinds which were required for useful or ornamental purposes.

On the ground-floor of some houses, besides the store-rooms,

[1] I have only met with one representation of it in a tomb behind the Great Pyramid. *Vide* woodcut No. 125, *fig.* 1.

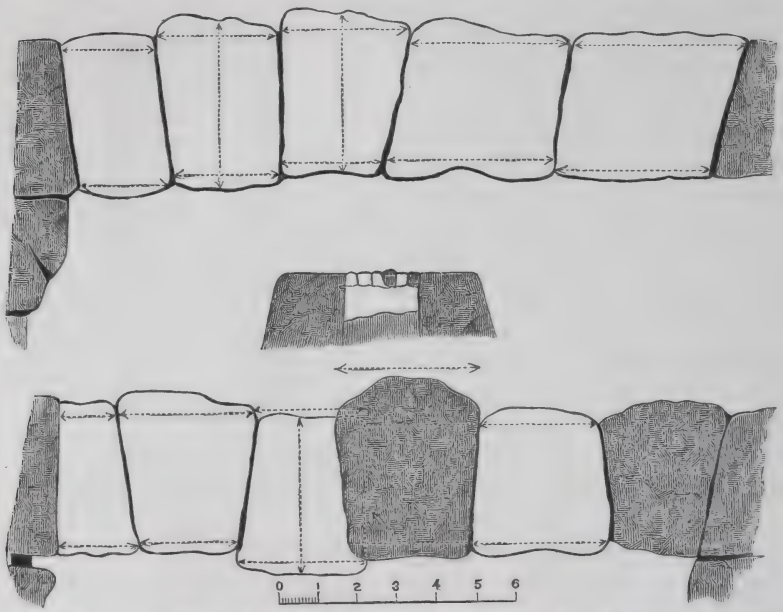
[2] In the walls that remain, we sometimes find the places of the beams, at others the signs of vaulted roofs. Woodcut No. 125, *fig.* 2.

[3] Woodcut No. 126, at D D.

[4] The stone vault has been found as early as the 6th Dynasty.—S. B.

[5] In a tomb I found at Thebes, bearing the name of Amenophis I. Another has been discovered there of the time of Thothmes III. [*Vide* Hoskins' 'Ethiopia,' pl. v. p. 2.—G. W.]

were receiving and sitting apartments; and the upper part of the building contained those for entertaining guests,[1] for sleeping, and, generally speaking, the family chambers. Though in the plans of their houses there is no indication of the mill, it is



No. 127. Primitive arched roof of the time of the 5th Dynasty.[2] *Tomb near Pyramids.*

reasonable to conclude it was either in one of the rooms on the ground-floor, or in a court connected with the house, as is usual at the present day in Cairo and other towns of Egypt; and we have authority for believing that, like the early Romans,[3] their bread was made at home; the wealthy having a baker[4] in the house, and women performing that office in establishments of a smaller scale and among the poorer classes. It was not in Egypt alone that women were so employed: the custom was prevalent also in Greece, in the days of Homer,[5] and even among the Romans, as it still is in the valley of the Nile and in other Eastern countries; and the Bible history distinctly states it to have been the duty of a maid-servant to grind corn in the houses of the Egyptians.[6]

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[1] Conf. Mark xiv. 15.

[2] Discovered and published by Prof. T. H. Lewis: Papers of the Roy. Inst. Brit. Archit. 1875–6, pp. 33, 34.

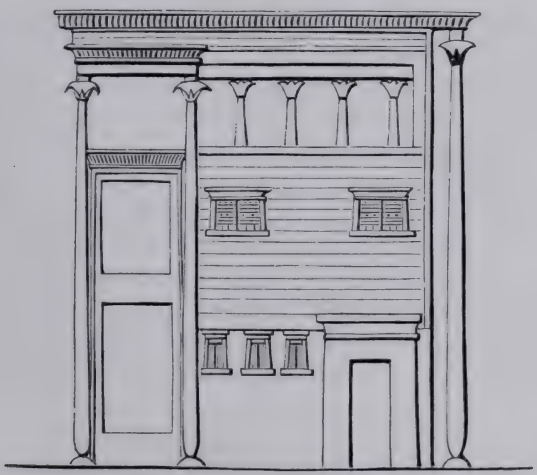
[3] Pliny says, 'The Romans made their bread at home; and this was among the occupations of women, as it still is in many countries' (xviii. 11).

[4] Gen. xl. 2, 5.

[5] Hom. Od. vii. 104.

[6] Exod. xi. 5.

Their mills were of simple and rude construction. They consisted of two circular stones, nearly flat, the lower one fixed, while the other turned on a pivot, or shaft, rising from the centre of that beneath it; and the grain, descending through an aperture in the upper stone, immediately above the pivot, gradually underwent the process of grinding as it passed. It was turned by a woman, seated, and holding a handle, fixed perpendicularly near the edge; and the hand-mill adopted by the modern Egyptian peasants is probably borrowed from, and similar to,[1] that of their predecessors.[2] They had also a large mill on a very similar principle; but the stones were of far greater power and dimensions; and this could only have been turned by cattle or asses, like those of the ancient Romans and of the modern Cairenes. The stone of which the hand-mills were made was usually a hard grit; and there is evidence, from an inspection of the site of Heliopolis, that the beds from which it is still taken, lying behind the mountains of the Mokattum, near Cairo, were quarried by the inhabitants of that city for the same purpose; and many of the larger mill-stones, which were usually of granite, have been found amidst the crumbled ruins of ancient towns.



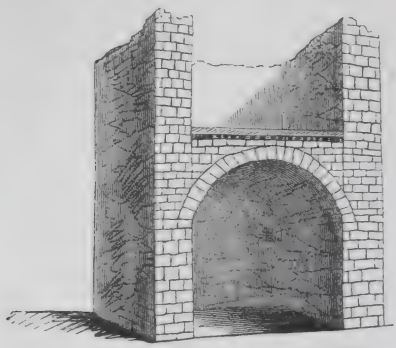
No. 128. Terrace of a house. *Thebes.*

On the top of the house was a terrace, which served as well for

[1] I judge from fragments of the old stones which have been found.

[2] There is no representation of grinding corn, or any kind of quern, in the sculptures; it was probably pounded by a pestle and mortar, and so bruised or reduced to a coarse flour.—S. B.

a place of repose as for exercise during the heat; since, being covered with a roof supported by columns, the sun was excluded and a refreshing stream of air passed through it. It was here, too, that they slept at night in the summer season, like the modern inhabitants of the country; and, according to Herodotus, they protected themselves from the gnats by a mosquito net, or trusted to the current of wind passing over this elevated space, to prevent the visits of those troublesome insects.[1] The floors of the rooms were flat on the upper side, whether the roofs beneath were vaulted or supported on rafters; and instead of the covered terrace above mentioned, the upper chambers and passages were frequently surmounted by the wooden *mulquf*,[2] or wind conductor, still so common in Eastern towns. It was open to the wind, and a constant stream passed down its slope; nor does there appear to have been any other difference in its form from those of the present day than that it was double and faced in two opposite directions, the mulqufs of modern Egypt being directed only towards the prevailing north-west wind.[3] These last consist of strong framework, to which several planks of wood are nailed, according to the breadth and length proposed; and if required of cheaper materials, the place of planks is supplied by reeds or mats, covered with stucco, protected and supported by wooden rafters; and it is probable that those of former times were of a similar construction.



No. 129. Flooring over an arched room. *Thebes.*

Sometimes a part of the house exceeded the rest in height and stood above the terrace like a tower;[4] and this was ornamented

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[1] Herodotus says, that those who live in the low lands use the *same* net with which they fish in the day; and the people of the upper part of the country sleep on a lofty tower, which the gnats are prevented by the wind from reaching. I have taken the liberty of suggesting a mosquito net instead of the one he mentions, which would have been a poor protection from insects so cruelly resolute as to bite through the sleeper's clothes, as the historian affirms (ii. 95).

[2] I use the Arabic name. *Vide* vignette E at the head of this chapter, which shows them on the houses of Cairo.

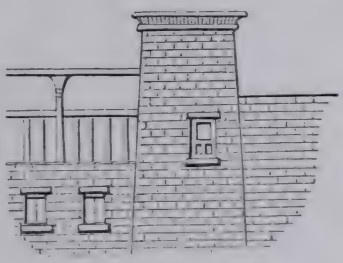
[3] In the sepulchral inscription one of the blessings recorded is to breathe the air of the north wind, the cooling and refreshing draughts of which were considered delicious or sweet.—S. B.

[4] Woodcut No. 131.

with columns, or with square panels, in the manner of false windows.

No. 130. The mulquf for catching the wind. *Thebes.*

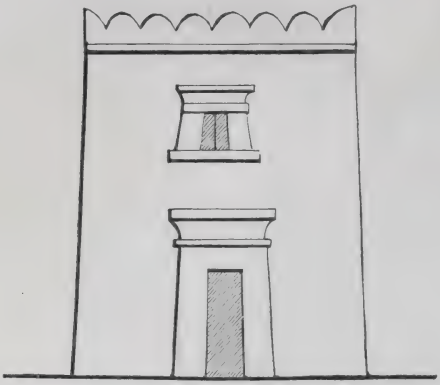
Other houses had merely a parapet wall, which surrounded the terrace, and was surmounted, in some instances, with a row of battlements; and though a similar style of building belonged more particularly to fortified castles, or to the palace of the king, they adopted it, like many Europeans of the present day, as an ornamental finish to a more peaceful habitation. The Egyptian battlements were an imitation of shields, which, doubtless, suggested the first idea of this mode of protecting the besieged, while they annoyed the assailants with missiles from the parapet; and the corners of the building always presenting a half shield, probably gave rise to that ornament so commonly used on Greek and Roman tombs; unless it was borrowed from a rude imitation of the body itself, like the lid of an Egyptian mummy-case, which was a representation of the person it contained.



Tower rising above the terrace.
No. 131. *Thebes.*

Besides the owner's name, they sometimes wrote a lucky sentence over the entrance of the house, for a favourable omen,

as 'the good abode,' the *múnzel mobárak* of the modern Arabs, or something similar; and the lintels and imposts of the



No. 132. House with battlements. *Thebes.*

No. 133.

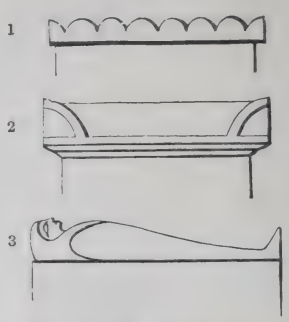
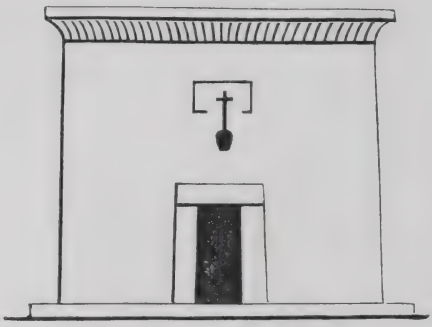


Fig. 1. Egyptian battlements.
2. Top of a Greek or Roman sarcophagus.
3. Top of a mummy-case.

doors, in the royal mansions,[1] were frequently covered with hieroglyphics, containing the ovals and titles of the monarch.

It was, perhaps, at the dedication of the house that these



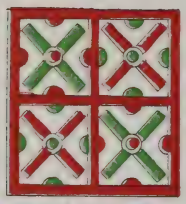
No. 134. Sentence affixed to the house. *Thebes.*

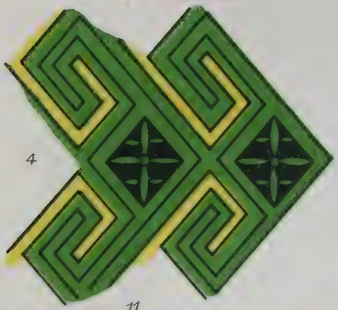
sentences were affixed;[2] and we may infer, from the early mention of this custom among the Jews,[3] that it was derived from Egypt,—a conjecture greatly strengthened by the circumstance of our finding even the store-rooms, vineyards, and gardens

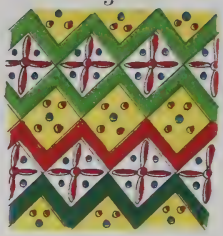
[1] Besides their apartments in the temples, the kings, as well as the priests, had houses and villas.

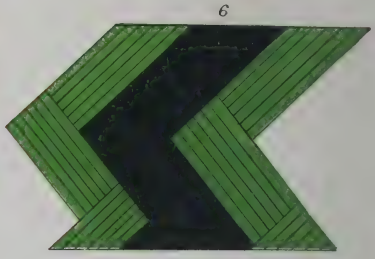
[2] The modern Moslems write sentences from the Korán, or commemorate the performance of the pilgrimage to Mekkeh by the owner of the house.

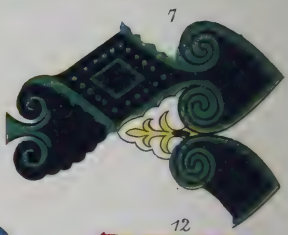
[3] Deut. xx. 5.

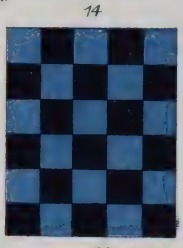


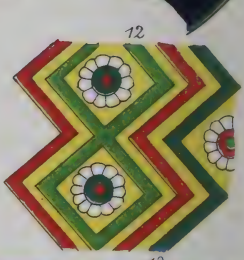


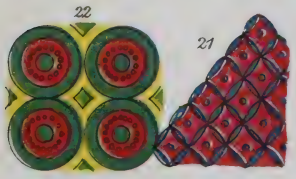


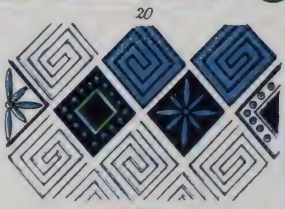


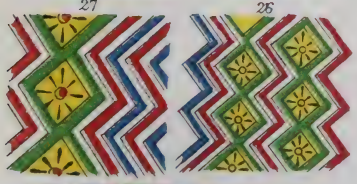


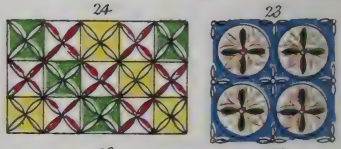


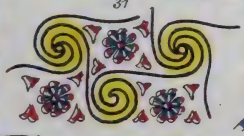


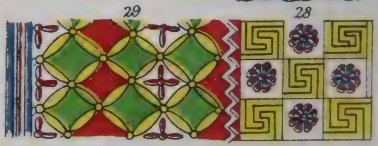












PATTERNS FROM EGYPTIAN CEILINGS.

of the Egyptians placed under the protection of a tutelary deity.[1]

Like the doors, the windows or (properly speaking) the shutters were closed with folding valves, secured in a similar manner with a bolt or bar, and ornamented with carved panels or coloured devices. The openings of the windows were small, upon the principle that where little light is admitted little heat penetrates; and this custom has always been prevalent in the East, and even in the more temperate latitude of Italy. They were surmounted by cornices, resembling those of the doorways; and when on the passage or landing-place, over the street door, they had occasionally a sort of balcony, or at least a row of bars,[2] with a column in the centre.

The walls and ceilings were richly painted,[3] and frequently with admirable taste; but of their effect we can only judge from those of the tombs, where they are preserved far more perfectly than in the houses, few of which retain any vestiges of the stucco or of the coloured devices that once adorned them. The ceilings were laid out in compartments, each having a pattern with an appropriate border; in many instances reminding us so strongly of Greek taste, that we should feel surprised to find them on monuments of the early periods of the 18th and preceding dynasties, if there was not authority for believing that the Greeks borrowed numerous devices from Egypt; and we may ascribe to the same origin the scarab, the harpy, and several of the ornamental emblems on Greek and Etruscan vases. The favourite forms were the lotus, the square, the diamond, the circle, and, above all, the succession of scrolls and square within square, usually called the Tuscan border, both of which are of ordinary occurrence on Greek and Etruscan as well as Egyptian vases; and those given in the accompanying plate,[4] from a tomb at E'Sioot, painted upon a black or dark bronze ground, though of an age prior to the year 1600 before our era, are perhaps the most elegant, and, which is very remarkable, bear the nearest resemblance to a Greek style. Similar designs were adopted by the Romans, some of which, having been found in the baths of Titus, gave Raphael the idea of his celebrated and *novel*

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[1] It is worthy of remark, that this is retained by the modern Egyptians in the protecting genius supposed to preside over the different quarters of Cairo. Woodcut No. 162.

[2] As in woodcut No. 130.

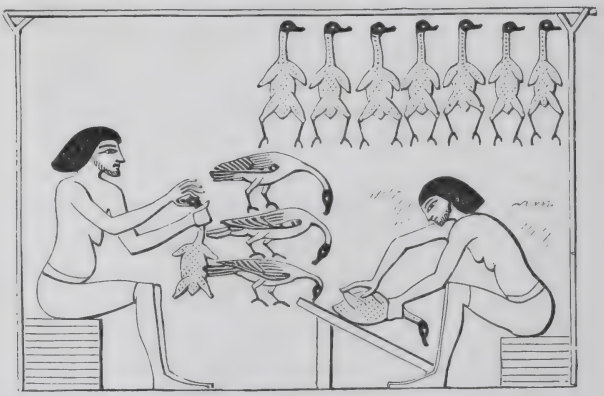
[3] Conf. Jer. xxii. 14.

[4] Pl. VIII. *figs.* 4, 7, and 20.

arabesques; and the paintings of Pompeii make us acquainted with a still greater variety.

That the Greeks and Romans far surpassed the Egyptians in taste, and in the numerous combinations they used to adorn their rooms, is evident; a natural result of the encouragement given to invention, which Egypt, fettered by regulations and prejudices, preventing the development of taste and cramping the genius of her artists, never enjoyed: but however the *laqueata tecta* of the Romans surpassed in richness and beauty of effect the ceilings of an Egyptian house, divided as they were into numerous compartments, presenting cornices, mouldings, and embossed fretwork, painted, gilt, and even inlaid with ivory,[1] still in the general mode of decoration, they, like the stuccoed walls, bore a striking analogy to those in the mansions of Thebes and other cities on the Nile.

The form and character of the shops depended on the will, or peculiar trade, of the person to whom they belonged; and many, no doubt, sat and sold in the streets, as at the present day. Poulterers suspended geese and other birds from a pole in front



No. 135. A poulterer's shop. *Thebes.*

of the shop, which at the same time supported an awning to shade them from the sun; and many of the shops rather resembled our stalls, being open in front, with the goods exposed on shelves, or hanging from the inner wall, as is still the custom

[1] Plin. xxxiii. 3, and xxxv. 40. Virg. Æn. i. 726. The ceilings of Turkish palaces, executed by Greek artists, are frequently very handsome, and display great elegance and taste. Their painted walls, adorned with columns and various designs, are an imitation of the ancient style, but very inferior.

in the bazaars of Eastern towns. But these belong more properly to a description of the trades.

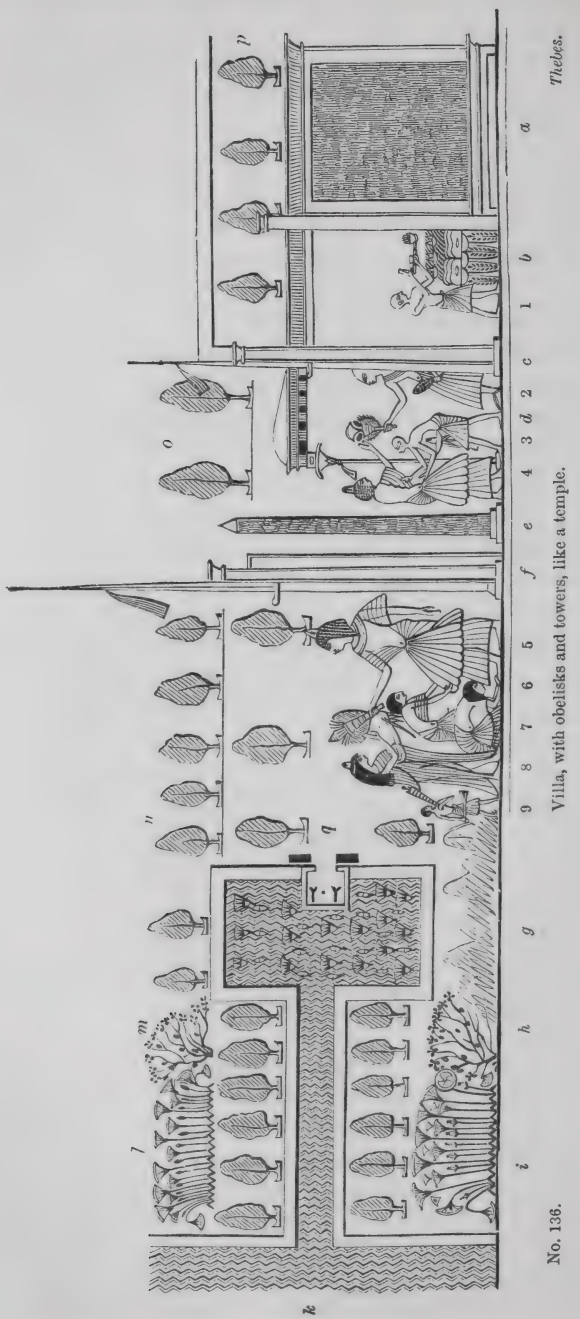
Besides the town houses, the Egyptians had extensive villas, which, with a very commodious mansion, contained spacious gardens, watered by canals communicating with the Nile. They had also tanks of water in different parts of the garden, which served for ornament as well as for irrigation, when the Nile was low; and on these the master of the house occasionally amused himself and friends, by an excursion in a pleasure-boat kept for the purpose. But, like the Orientals of the present day, or like people of the continent of Europe who are incapable of understanding how the English can row for their amusement, the Egyptians were contented to sit or stand in the boat, while their servants towed it round the lake; and, protected from the sun by a canopy, they felt additional pleasure in the contrast of their own ease with the labour of their menials. They also amused themselves by angling, and spearing fish in the ponds within their grounds; and on these occasions they were generally accompanied by a friend, or one or more members of their family. The mode of laying out the house and grounds varied according to circumstances. Some villas were of considerable extent, and, besides the arable land belonging to them, the gardens occupied a very large space, as did the offices and other buildings attached to the house.

Some large mansions appear to have been ornamented with propylæa and obelisks, like the temples themselves; it is even possible that part of the building may have been consecrated to religious purposes, as the chapels of other countries, since we find a priest engaged in presenting offerings at the door of the inner chambers; and, indeed, but from the presence of women, the form of the garden, and the style of the porch, we should feel disposed to consider it a temple rather than a place of abode.[1]

The entrances of large villas were generally through folding gates, standing between lofty towers, as in the propylæa of temples,[2] with a small door at each side; and others had merely folding gates with imposts surmounted by a cornice. A wall of circuit extended round the premises; but the courts of the house, the garden, the offices, and all the other parts of the villa, had

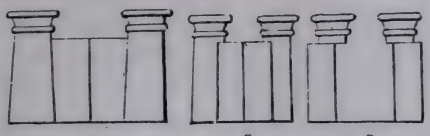
[1] Woodcut No. 136.

[2] For the elevation and plan of villas, see Plate IX.



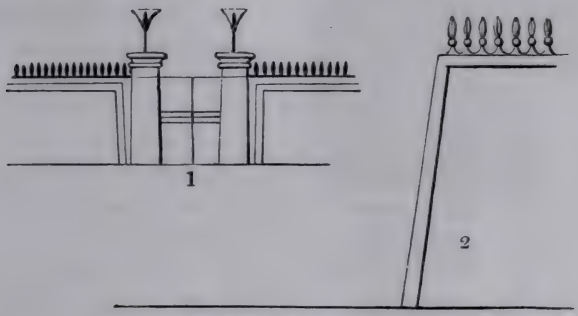
No. 136. Villa, with obelisks and towers, like a temple.

each their separate enclosure. The walls were usually built of crude brick; and in damp places, or when within reach of the inundations, the lower part was strengthened by a basement of stone. They were sometimes ornamented with panels and grooved



No. 137. Small entrances to villas. *Alabastron.*

lines,[1] generally stuccoed; and the summit was crowned either with Egyptian battlements, the usual cornice, a row of spikes in imitation of spear-heads, or with some fancy ornament.



No. 138. Walls crowned with spikes. *Alabastron and Thebes.*

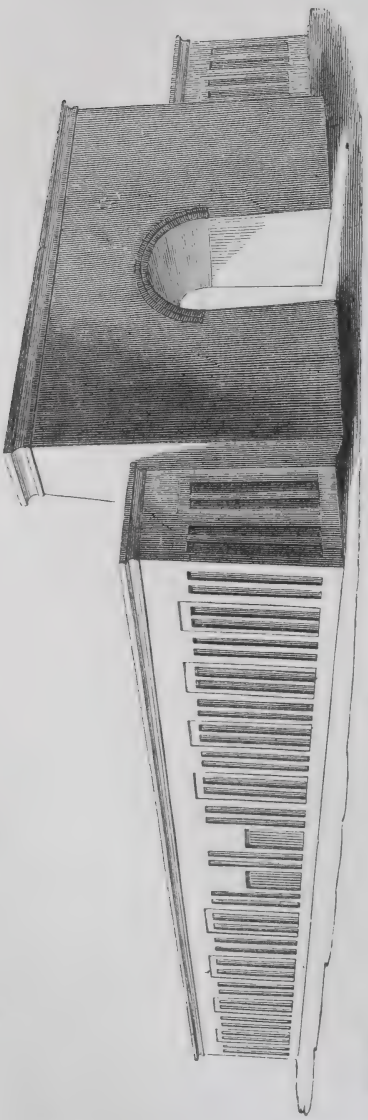
Those villas or castles belonging to the kings which stood on the high road, where they were accustomed to pass either in their hunting or military expeditions, were small and simple, being only intended for their reception during the short stay of a few days; but those erected in an enemy's country may rather be looked upon as forts than as simple mansions. Many, however, in provinces at a distance from Egypt, were of very large dimensions, and had probably all the conveniences of spacious villas; like those erected in later times by the Ptolemies on the confines of Abyssinia.

In order to give an idea of the extent of some of their villas, it will be necessary to describe the plan and arrangement of the different parts.[2] About the centre of the wall of circuit was the

[1] Woodcut No. 139.

[2] Plate IX.

main entrance, and two side gates, leading to an open walk shaded by rows of trees. Here were spacious tanks of water, which faced the door of the right and left wing of the house, and between them an avenue led from the main entrance to the stables, and to what may be called the centre of the mansion. After passing the outer door of the right wing, you entered an open court with trees, extending quite round a nucleus of inner apartments, and having a back entrance communicating with the garden. On the right and left of this court were six or more store-rooms, a small receiving or waiting room at two of the corners, and at the other end the staircases which led to the upper story. Both of the inner façades were furnished with a corridor, supported on columns, with similar towers and gateways. The interior of this wing consisted of twelve rooms, two outer and one centre court, communicating by folding gates; and on either side of this last was the main entrance to the rooms on the ground-floor, and to the staircases leading to the upper story. At the back were three long rooms, and a gateway opening to the garden, which contained a variety of fruit trees, a small summer-house, and a tank of water.

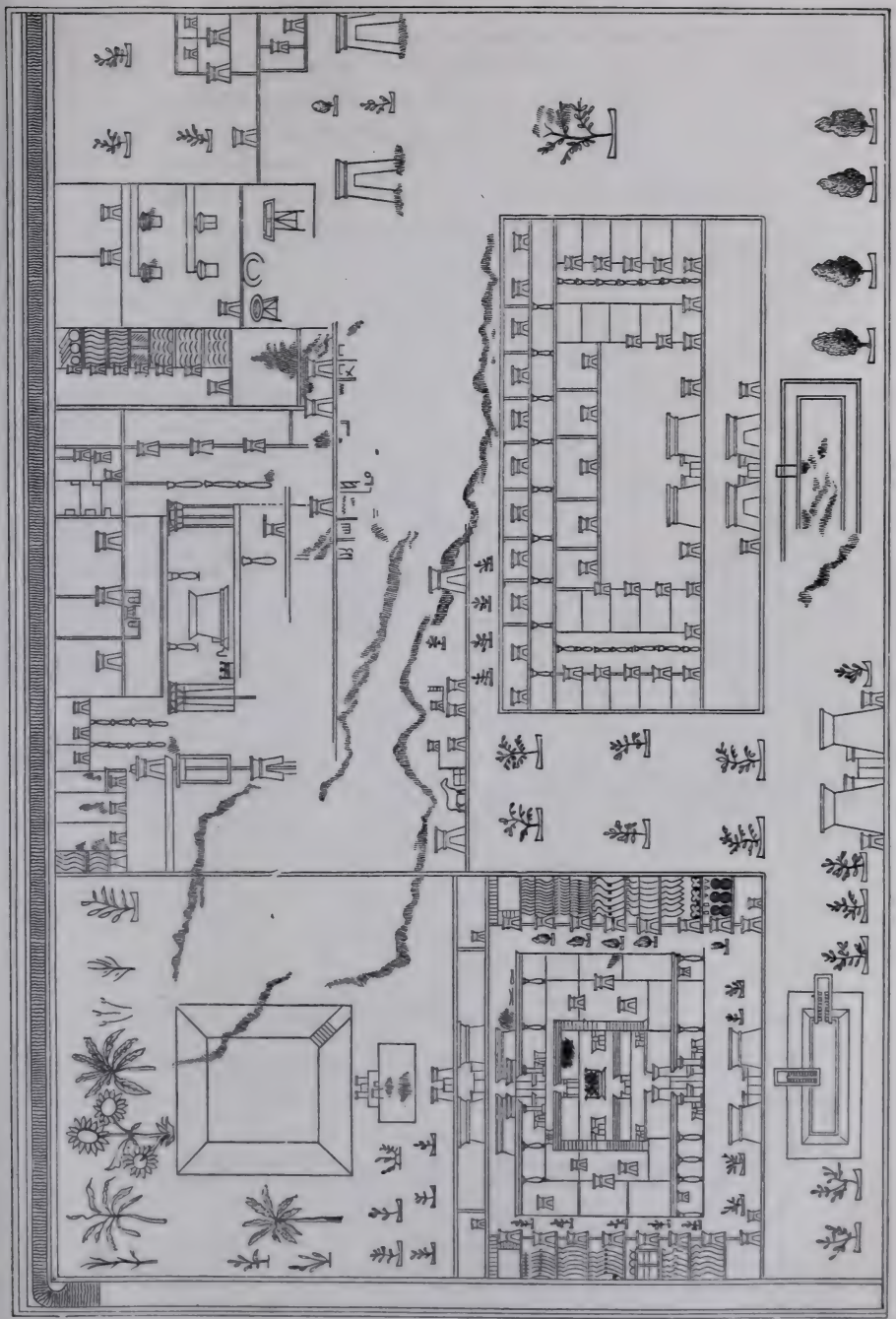


Thebes.

Panelled walls of an Egyptian building.

No. 139.

The arrangement of the left wing was different. The front gate led to an open court, extending the whole breadth of the façade of the building, and backed by the wall of the inner part.



Egyptian villa, from the sculptures at Alabastron.

Central and lateral doors thence communicated with another court, surrounded on three sides by a set of rooms, and behind it was a corridor, upon which several other chambers opened.

This wing had no back entrance, and, standing isolated, the outer court extended entirely round it; and a succession of doorways communicated from the court with different sections of the centre of the house, where the rooms, disposed, like those already described, around passages and corridors, served partly as sitting apartments and partly as store-rooms.

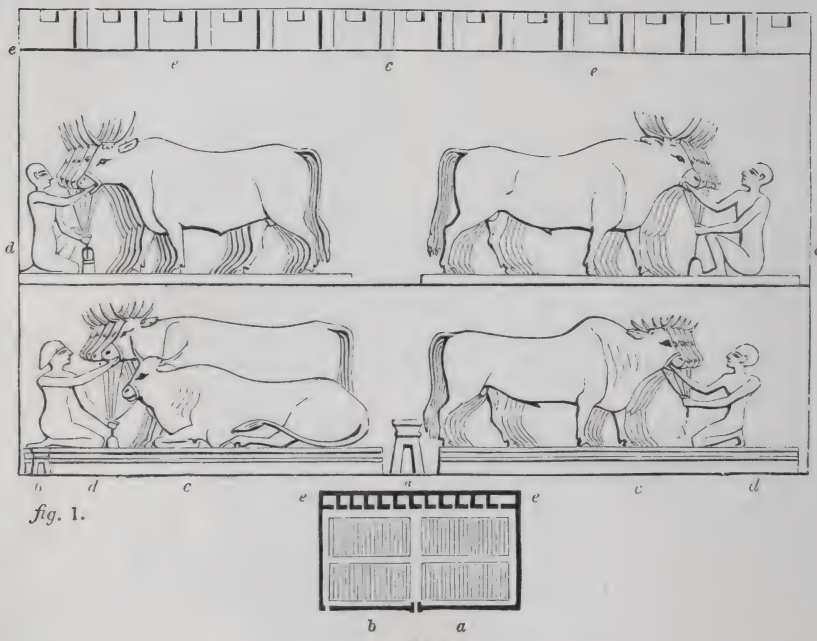


fig. 1.

fig. 2.

Fig. 1. Egyptian mode of representing a farm-yard.
2. The supposed ground-plan of the same.

No. 140. *Alabastron.*

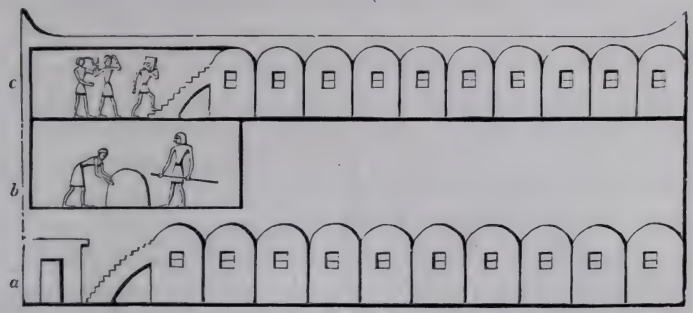
The stables for the horses, and the coach-houses for the travelling[1] chariots[2] and *plaustra*,[3] were in the centre or inner part

[1] The chariot called *urri* had only two horses till the Ptolemies, when four were introduced. The pair of horses were called *htar*. Chariots are not represented till the time of Amenophis I. On the side of a tomb in the British Museum, No. 769, a chariot is drawn by a pair of white mules. —S. B.

[2] Gen. xlvi. 29. The difference between the plaustra and these chariots, or curricles, was that the latter were drawn by horses, the former by oxen.

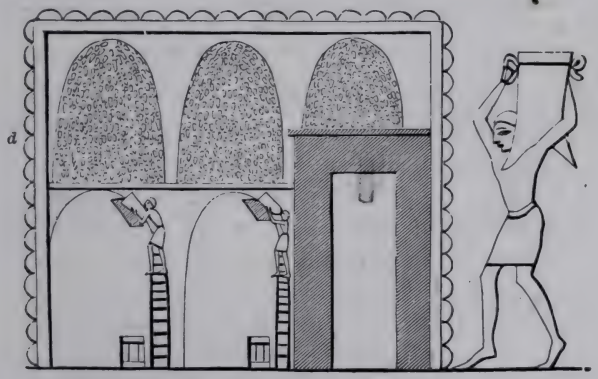
[3] The waggons were called in Egyptian *ākaruta*, the Coptic *asjolti*; none are represented in the sculptures, although mentioned. As a rule, men, boats, and asses were employed for the purpose of carrying goods.—S. B.

of the building;[1] but the farm-yard, where the cattle were kept, stood at some distance from the house, and corresponded to the department known by the Romans under the name of *rustica*. Though enclosed separately, it was within the general wall of circuit, which surrounded the land attached to the villa; and a



No. 141. Rooms for housing the grain, apparently vaulted. *Beni-Hassan.*

canal, bringing water from the river, skirted it, and extended along the back of the grounds. It consisted of two parts; the sheds for housing the cattle, which stood at the upper end, and



No. 142. Granary, showing how the grain was put in, and that the doors *a b* were intended for taking it out. *Thebes.*

the yard, where rows of rings were fixed, in order to tie them while feeding in the day-time; and men always attended, and frequently fed them with the hand.

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[1] Vitruvius says (lib. vi. c. 9): 'The stable, especially in the villa, should be in the warmest place, and not with an aspect towards the fire, for if horses are stalled near a fire their coats soon become rough; hence those stalls are excellent which are away from the kitchen, in the open space towards the east.'

The granaries[1] were also apart from the house,[2] and were enclosed within a separate wall, like the *fructuaria* of the Romans; and some of the rooms in which they housed the grain appear, as I have already observed, to have had vaulted roofs. These were filled through an aperture near the top, to which the men ascended by steps, and the grain, when wanted, was taken out from a door at the base.[3]

The superintendence of the houses and grounds was entrusted to stewards,[4] who regulated the tillage of the land, received whatever was derived from the sale of the produce, overlooked the returns of the quantity of cattle and stock upon the estate, settled all the accounts, and condemned the delinquent peasants to the bastinado, or any punishment they might deserve.[5] To one were entrusted the affairs of the house,[6] another overlooked the culture of the fields; and the extent of their duties, or the number of those employed, depended on the quantity of land or the will of its owner.

2 3 4 *fig.* 1 5 6

No. 143. Steward (*fig.* 1) overlooking the tillage of the lands. *Thebes.*

The mode of laying out their gardens was as varied as that of the houses; but in all cases they appear to have taken particular care to command a plentiful supply of water[7] by means of reservoirs and canals. Indeed, in no country is artificial irrigation more required than in the valley of the Nile; and, from the circumstance of the water of the inundation not being admitted into the gardens, they depend throughout the year on the supply obtained from wells and tanks, or the vicinity of a canal.

The mode of irrigation adopted by the ancient Egyptians was exceedingly simple, being merely the *shadoof*, or pole and bucket of the present day;[8] and, in many instances, men were employed

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[1] Called *sni*. Sometimes inscribed with the quantity of their contents.—S. B.

[2] Vitruvius, in like manner, recommends 'the barn, hay room, meal room, and mill to be without the boundaries of the villa, being thereby rendered more secure from fire' (lib. vi. 9).

[3] Woodcut No. 142.

[4] The *villicus* of the Romans.

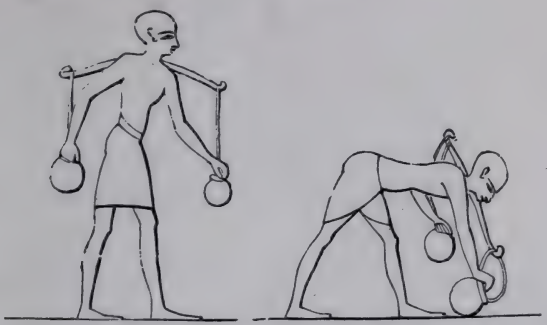
[5] These officers were called or which was equivalent in general to the word 'superintendent.'—S. B.

[6] Gen. xxxix. 5; xliii. 16, 19; and xliv. 1.

[7] Conf. Isaiah's comparison of 'a garden that hath no water.'

[8] See Vignette D.

to water the beds[1] with pails, suspended by a wooden yoke they bore upon their shoulders. The same yoke was employed for carrying other things, as boxes, baskets containing game and poultry, or whatever was taken to market; and every trade seems to have used it for this purpose, from the potter and the brick-maker,[2] to the carpenter and the shipwright.



No. 144. Men watering the ground with pots of water. *Beni-Hassan.*

One of them, which was found at Thebes, has been brought to England by Mr. Burton. The wooden bar or yoke is about three feet seven inches in length; and the straps, which are double, and fastened together at the lower as well as at the upper extremity, are of leather, and between fifteen and sixteen inches long. The small thong at the bottom not only served to connect

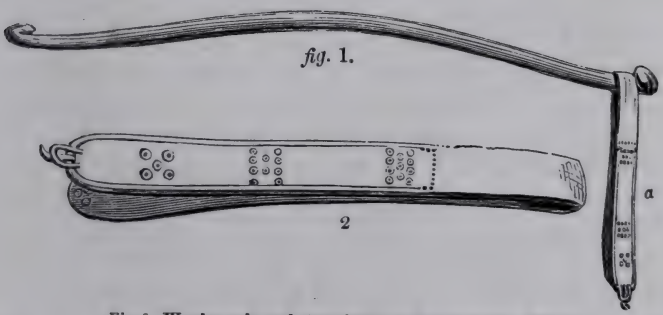


Fig. 1. Wooden yoke and strap found at Thebes by Mr. Burton.
No. 145. 2 is the strap *a*, on a larger scale. *In the British Museum.*

the ends, but was probably intended to fasten a hook, or an additional strap, if required, to attach the burden; and though most of these yokes had two, some were furnished with four or eight

[1] Deut. xi. 10.

[2] Woodcut No. 112.

straps; and the form, number, or arrangement of them varied according to the purposes for which they were intended.

They do not appear to have used the water-wheel, so universally employed in Egypt at the present day; and it is singular that they had devised no substitute for mere manual labour, if we except the hydraulic screw, which is said to have been a late introduction, and, according to Diodorus,[1] invented and first employed in Egypt by Archimedes. Indeed, if the foot machine mentioned by Philo was really a wheel turned by the foot, it cannot have been a very great relief to the labourer, and we must attach considerable blame to the priests for their indifference to the comforts of the people, when we contemplate the grandeur of their public buildings, and consider the great mechanical skill necessary for their erection.

The Egyptians were not singular in this neglect of useful improvements, or in their disregard for the waste of time and labour resulting from the use of such imperfect means: the same may be observed among the Greeks and Romans; and those enlightened people, who bestowed the greatest attention upon ornamental objects, and who had arrived at a high degree of excellence in the manufacture of jewellery and several articles of household furniture, were contented to remain on the level of barbarous communities in the imperfect style of many ordinary implements. To workmen who devised some novelty for adding to the splendour of a house, or the decoration of the person, great inducements were held out, by the certainty of immediate patronage; and their ingenuity, confident of reward, was naturally directed to such inventions. These suited the caprices of a luxurious and wealthy people, but they felt no disposition to repay the laudable endeavours of an artist who suggested a method for diminishing the toil of the lower classes; and time and labour were deemed of far less value than in modern days. All that was intended for external show, or was exposed to view,[2] was exquisitely finished; but the keys and locks of that door, whose panels, handles, and other external parts evinced no ordinary skill, were rude and imperfect: the latter, if they simply answered the purpose, satisfied; the former failed to please unless they promised to flatter the pride of their possessor,

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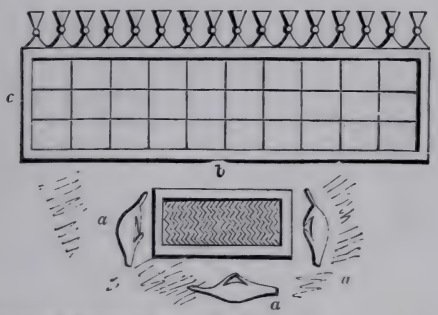
[1] Diod. i. 34, and lib. v., in treating of Spain. Strabo, xvii.

[2] This does not apply to Greek temples, where the parts concealed from the spectator were wrought with the same care as the most exposed features.

by commanding admiration. The same remark applies to the coarse and primitive construction of the Roman mills; and these may justly be compared to the rude hydraulic mechanism of the ancient Egyptians. Nor are these cases without a parallel at the present day; and every one who visits the continent of Europe must be struck with a similar disregard for many improvements which, though long since known and evidently tending to comfort and a decrease of labour, still continue to be looked upon with indifference, while inventions contributing to display and luxury are adopted on their first appearance.



a a a. Water-skins suspended close to the tank, *b*.
c. Beds of a garden, laid out as at the present day in Egypt, very like our salt pans.
No. 146. *Thebes.*

Water-skins[1] were also used for irrigation by the Egyptians, as well as for sprinkling the ground before the rooms or seats of the grandees,[2] and they were frequently kept ready filled at the tank for that purpose.

1. Tree with earth raised round the roots.
2. The same according to our mode of representing it.
No. 147.

Part of the garden[3] was laid out in walks shaded with trees, usually planted in rows, and surrounded, at the base of the stem, with a circular ridge of earth, which, being lower at the centre than at the circumference, retained the water, and directed it more immediately towards the roots. It is difficult to say if they were trimmed into any particular shape, or if their

[1] They were called *s'et*, and used for the same purpose as the Greek *askos* and Latin *uter*, or the modern skin for holding water, wine, and other liquids.—S. B.

[2] A common custom in the East.

[3] The garden was called *qami*, and is often mentioned. The gardener was also called *qami;* one of his offices was to supply crowns of flowers, *meh*, for his master. In the papyrus translated by M. Maspero ('Genre épistolaire,' p. 56), he is described as employed during the morning on vegetables, and in the evening on the vines.—S. B.

formal appearance in the sculpture is merely owing to a conventional mode of representing them; but since the pomegranate, and some other fruit trees, are drawn with spreading and irregular branches, we might suppose that sycamores and others, which presented large masses of foliage, were really trained in that formal manner: though from the hieroglyphic signifying 'tree' having the same shape, it may only be a general character for all trees.

No. 148. Pomegranate. *Thebes.*

No. 149. Figurative hieroglyphic signifying 'tree.'

Among the Romans, this mode of cutting trees was confined to certain kinds, as the myrtle, laurel, box, and others; and the office of trimming them into different shapes was delegated to slaves, instructed in the art, or *opus topiarium*,[1] from which they received the name of *topiarii*.

The palms in the Egyptian sculptures are well designed, and the *dôms*[2] may be easily recognised; but most of the other trees and plants would perplex the most expert botanist, and few, except the lotus, can be determined with certainty.

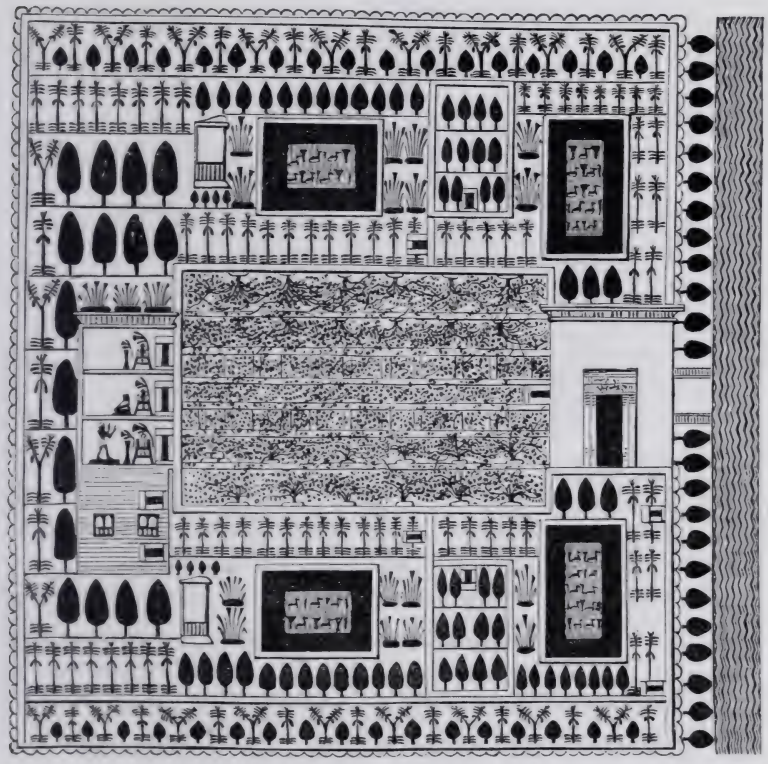
The large gardens were usually divided into different parts; the principal sections being appropriated to the date and sycamore trees, and to the vineyard. The former might be looked upon as the orchard, but similar enclosures being also allotted to other trees, they equally lay claim to this name; we cannot therefore apply a fixed appellation to any part but the vineyard itself.

Gardens are frequently represented in the tombs of Thebes and other parts of Egypt, many of which are remarkable for their extent. The one here introduced is shown to have been

[1] Plin. ('Nat. Hist.' xv. 30) on the laurel.

[2] The *Cucifera thebaica*, or Theban palm.

surrounded by an embattled wall, with a canal of water passing in front of it, connected with the river. Between the canal and the wall, and parallel to them both, was a shady avenue of various trees; and about the centre was the entrance, through a lofty door, whose lintel and imposts were decorated with hieroglyphic inscriptions, containing the name of the owner of the grounds, who in this instance was the king himself. In the



A large garden, with the vineyard and other separate enclosures, tanks of water, and a small house. No. 150. *From the Work of Prof. Rosellini.*

gateway were rooms for the porter and other persons employed about the garden, and probably the receiving-room for visitors, whose abrupt admission might be unwelcome; and at the back, a gate opened into the vineyard. The vines were trained on a trellis-work, supported by transverse rafters resting on pillars; and a wall, extending round it, separated this part from the rest of the garden. At the upper end were suites of rooms, on three different stories; and the windows looking upon green trees, and

inviting a draught of air, made it a pleasant retirement in the heat of summer. On the outside of the vineyard wall were planted rows of palm-trees, which occurred again with the *dôms* along the whole length of the exterior wall; four tanks of water, bordered by a grassplot, where geese were kept and the delicate flower of the lotus was encouraged to grow, served for the irrigation of the grounds; and small *kiosks*, or summer-houses, shaded with trees, stood near the water, and overlooked beds of flowers. The spaces containing the tanks, and the adjoining portions of the garden, were each enclosed by their respective

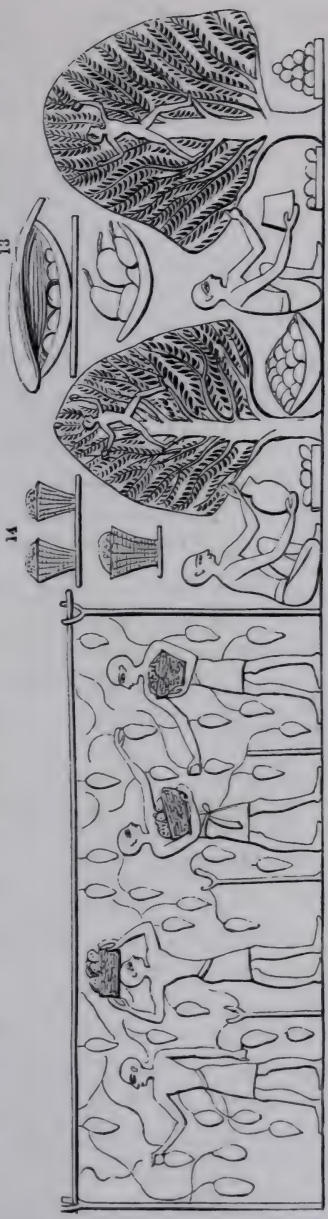
No. 151. Egyptian mode of representing a tank of water with a row of palms on either side. *Thebes.*

separate walls; and a small subdivision on either side, between the large and small tanks, seems to have been reserved for the growth of particular trees, which either required peculiar care, or bore a fruit of superior quality.[1]

[1] An officer named Anna, of the reign of Thothmes I., has left behind in his tomb a list of his trees. They were as follows: sycamores, *neha* (*Ficus sycomorus*), 90; persea trees, *súabu* (*Balanites ægyptiaca*), 31; date palms, *bener* (*Phœnix dactylifera*), 170; dôm palms, *mama* (*Hyphæne cucifera*), 120; fig sycamore trees, *neha en teb* (*Ficus carica*), 5; acacia, or *sont*, *χet en sén* (*Mimosa nilotica*), 3; quinces, *baq* (*Malum cydonium*); vines, *areru*, 12; *anhamen* trees, 5; *keseb* trees, 8; *netem* or *sas* trees, 16; fig trees, *nebs* (*Sycaminus*), 5; thorns, *θun*, 5; another kind of dôm, *mama en χanent* (*Hyphæne argun*), 1; *χat sef* trees, 2; *asht* trees (wanting); *ah* trees, *amam* (poplars), 3; willows, *tert*, 8; tamarisks, *aser* (*Tamariscus africana*), 10. Total, 493 + x trees. (Brugsch, 'Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens,' ptie i., 4to; Leipzig, 1862; pl. xxxvi. p. 49.) In the letter of Amenenan, that writer mentions 'the great dôm palm, *mama*, of 60 cubits high, with its fruit, *qaqau*, and the stones, *χanana*, within the fruit, and the water in the stones.' (Select Papyri, pl. viii. l. 4.) The young fruit of the dôm has water in the stones; some have supposed the cocoa-nut is here intended, but there is no trace of that tree or fruit on the monuments of Egypt.—S. B.

In all cases, whether the orchard stood apart from or was united with the rest of the garden, it was supplied, like the other portions of it, with abundance of water, preserved in spacious reservoirs, on either side of which stood a row of palms, or an avenue of shady sycamores. Sometimes the orchard and vineyard were not separated by any wall, and figs[1] and other trees were planted within the same limits as the vines. But if not connected with it, the vineyard was close to the orchard,[2] and they displayed much taste in the mode of training the vines.[3] Rows of columns, supporting wooden rafters, divided the vineyard into numerous avenues, which afforded great facility for communication from one end to the other, and retained a certain degree of moisture at the roots by intercepting the rays of the sun.

The columns were frequently coloured, and were ornamental as well as useful; but many were simple wooden pillars, supporting, with their forked summits, the poles that lay over them. Some vines were allowed to grow as standing bushes,[4] and, being kept low, did not require any support;



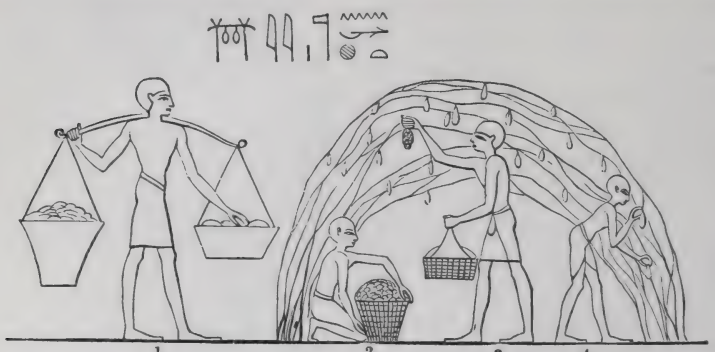
[1] Luke xiii. 6. 1 Kings iv. 25.

[2] Woodcut No. 152.

[3] An inscription of the time of the 4th Dynasty, probably of the age of Cheops, mentions a vineyard granted by the monarch, containing two *sta* or arouras. (Lepsius, Denkm. ii. taf. vii. 6. Bunsen, 'Egypt's Place,' v. p. 723.)

[4] Woodcut No. 159, and Pl. VI. *fig.* 1.

others were formed into a series of bowers; and from the form of the hieroglyphic signifying 'vineyard,'[1] we may conclude that the most usual method of training them was in bowers, or in avenues formed by rafters and columns. But they do not appear to have



No. 153. Plucking grapes in a vineyard: the vines trained in bowers. *Thebes.*
The inscription above is, 'The gardener Neternekht.'

attached them to other trees, like the Romans[2] and the modern Italians;[3] nor have the Egyptians of the present day adopted this European custom.

When the vineyard was enclosed within its own wall of circuit, it frequently had a reservoir of water attached to it, as well as the building which contained the winepress;[4] but the various modes of arranging the vineyard, as well as the other parts of the garden, depended, of course, on the taste of each individual, or the nature of the ground. Great care was taken to preserve the clusters from the intrusion of birds; and boys were constantly employed, about the season of the vintage, to frighten them with a sling and the sound of the voice.[5]

Figurative hieroglyphic signifying 'vineyard.'
No. 154.

When the grapes were gathered, the bunches were carefully put into deep wicker baskets,[6] which men carried, either on their head or shoulders, or slung upon a yoke, to the winepress; but when intended for eating, they were put, like other fruits, into

[1] Woodcut No. 154.

[2] Hor. Epod. ii. 10. Elms and poplars were generally used by the Romans. (Georg. ii. 22.) The Romans also supported vines on reeds and poles. (Plin. xvii. 22.)

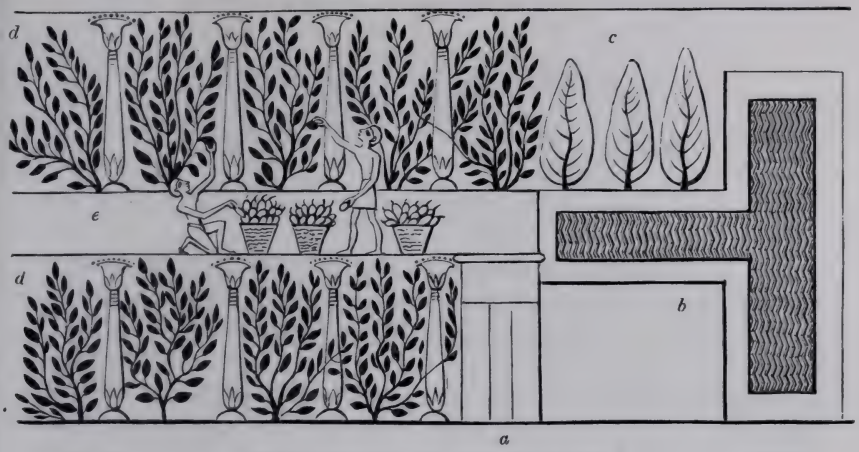
[3] They generally prefer the white mulberry-tree.

[4] Isaiah v. 1, 2, and Matt. xxi. 33; Pl. IX.

[5] Like the modern Egyptians, who strike large earthenware pots instead of bells for the same purpose. They also use the sling.

[6] Virg. Georg. ii. 241.

flat open baskets, and generally covered with leaves of the palm, vine, or other trees.[1] These flat baskets were of wicker-work, and similar, no doubt, to those of the present day, used at Cairo for the same purpose, which are made of osiers or common twigs.



No. 155. Orchard or vineyard, with a large tank of water, *b*. *Thebes.*

Monkeys appear to have been trained to assist in gathering the fruit, and the Egyptians represent them in the sculptures handing down figs from the sycamore-trees to the gardeners below: but, as might be expected, these animals amply repaid themselves

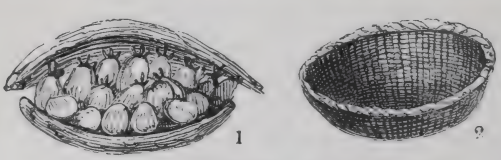
No. 156. Frightening away the birds with a sling. *Thebes.*
The inscriptions read: *a*, 'the auditor priest of Mut Men;' *b*, 'the auditor Shesnefer.'

for the trouble imposed upon them, and the artist has not failed to show how much more they consulted their own wishes than those of their employers.

Many animals were tamed in Egypt for various purposes, as the lion, leopard, gazelle, baboon, crocodile, and others; and in

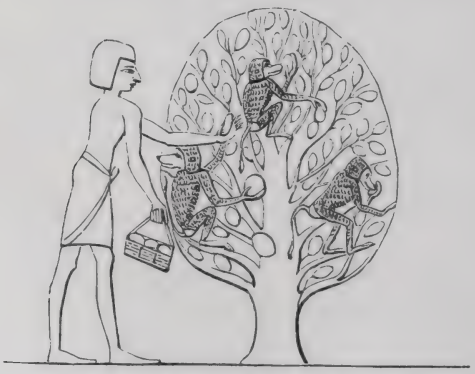
[1] *Vide* woodcut Nos. 157, and 152, *figs.* 8 and 13.

the Jimma country, which lies to the south of Abyssinia, monkeys are still taught several useful accomplishments. Among them is that of officiating as torch-bearers at a supper-party; and seated in a row, on a raised bench, they hold the lights until the departure of the guests, and patiently await their own



No. 157. *Fig.* 1. Basket containing grapes covered with leaves. 2. Modern basket used for the same purpose. *From the sculptures.*

repast as a reward for their services. Sometimes a refractory subject fails in his accustomed duty, and the harmony of the party is for a moment disturbed, particularly if an unruly monkey throws his lighted torch into the midst of the unsuspecting guests; but the stick and privation of food is the punishment of the offender; and it is by these persuasive arguments



No. 158. Monkeys assisting in gathering fruit. *Beni-Hassan.*

alone that they are prevailed upon to perform their duty in so delicate an office.

After the vintage was over, they allowed the kids[1] to browse upon the vines which grew as standing bushes; and the season of the year when the grapes ripened in Egypt was the month Epiphi,[2] towards the end of June or the commencement of July.

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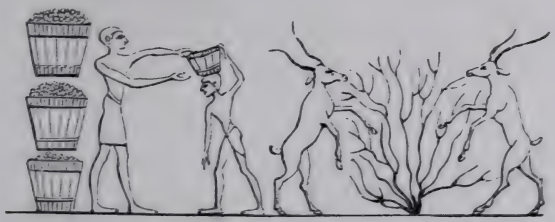
[1] The kids so fed were considered more delicate for the table; though Horace did not esteem them as always so (Sat. ii. 4. 43):—

'Vinea summittit capreas non semper edules.'

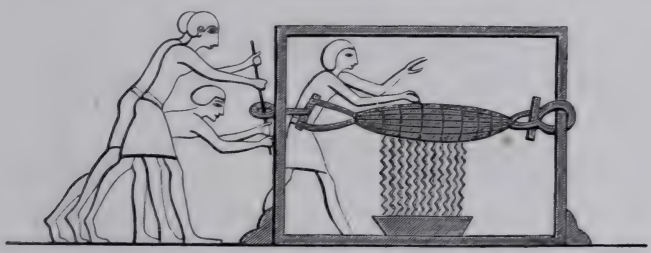
[2] Epiphi, or Epep, pronounced Ebib by the Copts. It began on the 25th of June.

Some have pretended to doubt that the vine was commonly cultivated, or even grown, in Egypt; but the frequent notice of it, and of Egyptian wine, in the sculptures, and the authority of ancient writers,[1] sufficiently answer those objections; and the regrets of the Israelites on leaving the vines of Egypt prove them to have been very abundant, since even people in the condition of slaves could procure the fruit.[2]



No. 159. Kids allowed to browse upon the vines. *Beni-Hassan.*

The winepress was of different kinds. The most simple consisted merely of a bag, in which the grapes were put, and squeezed by means of two poles turning in contrary directions; a vase being placed below to receive the falling juice. The mode of



No. 160. Winepress. *Beni-Hassan.*

representing it in Egyptian sculpture is not very intelligible, or in accordance with our notions of perspective; though we may easily understand that the man at the top of the picture is in the act of pushing the poles apart, in order to stretch the bag,[3] as a *finale* to the process, the poles being at that time in a

[1] Athenæus, on the authority of Hellanicus, says that the vine was first cultivated about Plinthine, a town of Egypt; to which circumstance Dion attributes the love of wine among the Egyptians (lib. i. 25). According to Strabo, it was grown in great abundance in the Mareotis and the Arsinoïte nome (lib. xvii.).

[2] Numb. xx. 5. Conf. also the butler of Pharaoh pressing the grapes into the king's cup. (Gen. xl. 11.)

[3] It would be more reasonable to suppose that he pushed with his hands and one leg, while the other rested on the ground to support him.

horizontal position, and opposite to each other. Another press, nearly on the same principle, consisted of a bag supported in a frame, having two upright sides, connected by beams at their summit. In this the bag was retained in a horizontal position, one end fixed, the other passing through a hole in the opposite side, and was twisted by means of a rod turned with the hand; the juice, as in the former, being received into a vase beneath; and within the frame stood the superintendent, who regulated the quantity of pressure, and gave the signal to stop.

Sometimes a liquid was heated on the fire, and, having been well stirred, was poured into the sack containing the grapes, during the process of pressure; but whether this was solely with a view of obtaining a greater quantity of juice by moistening the husks, or was applied for any other purpose, it is difficult to determine: the fact, however, of its being stirred while on the fire suffices to show it was not simple water; and the trituration of the fruit, while it was poured upon it, may suggest its use in extracting the colouring matter for red wine.

The name *torcular*, by which the Romans designated their press, would not be inapplicable to such a mode of twisting or squeezing out the juice; but it appears that in this machine the grapes were crushed beneath a wooden beam, *prelum*,[1] so that the process and principle were somewhat different; and we learn from Vitruvius that the Roman torcular was of two kinds, one turned by a screw, and the other by levers.

The two Egyptian handpresses were used in all parts of the country, but principally in Lower Egypt, the grapes in the Thebaïd being generally pressed by the feet. The footpress was also used in the lower country; and we even find the two methods of pressing the grapes represented in the same sculptures:[2] it is not therefore impossible that, after having been subjected to the foot, they may have undergone a second pressure in the twisted bag. This does not appear to have been the case in the Thebaïd, where the footpress[3] is always represented alone; and the juice was allowed to run off by a pipe directly to an open tank.

Some of the large presses were highly ornamented,[4] and

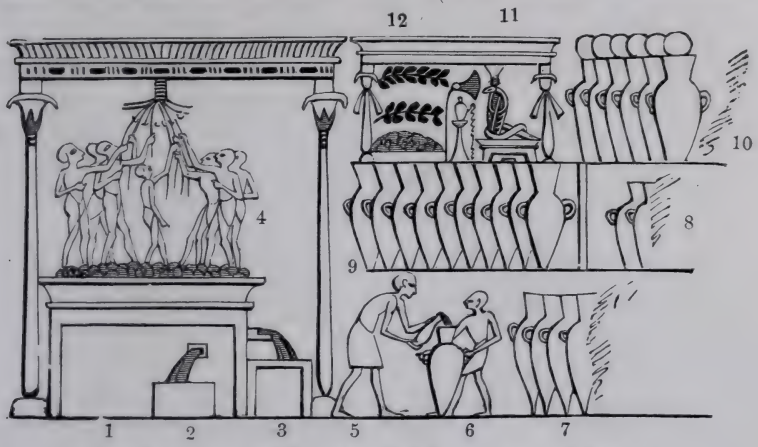
[1] Virg. Georg. ii. 242. Hor. Od. i. 9.

[2] Or one of these may represent the pressing of grapes, the other of some other fruits.

[3] This sort of press was also used by the Jews. (Judges ix. 27; Isaiah lxiii. 3; Nehem. xiii. 15.) Virgil also notices the same custom. (Georg. ii. 7.)

[4] Woodcut No. 161.

consisted of at least two distinct parts, the lower portion of vat, *lacus*, and the trough, where the men, with naked feet, trod the fruit, supporting themselves by ropes suspended from the roof, though, from their great height, some might be supposed to have an intermediate reservoir, which received the juice in its passage to the pipe, answering to the strainer, or *colum*, of the Romans.



Large footpress; the amphoræ; and the protecting deity of the store-room, *fig.* 11.
No. 161. *Thebes.*

A comparison of ancient customs is always a subject of great interest, particularly when the same scenes are treated in the paintings of an early age; I shall therefore introduce the representation of a Roman winepress, from the mosaics of a supposed Temple of Bacchus[1] at Rome, which not only serves to illustrate the description of Latin authors, but to show its resemblance to the footpress of the ancient Egyptians.[2]

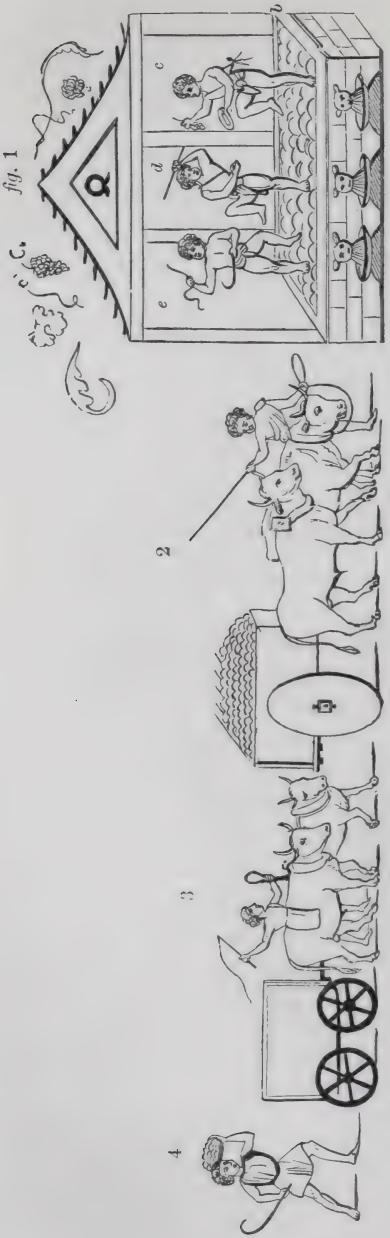
After the fermentation was over, the juice was taken out in small vases, with a long spout, and poured into earthenware jars, which corresponded to the cadi, or amphoræ, of the Romans:[3] but whether anything was added to it after or previous to the fermentation, it is difficult to determine; though, from our finding men represented in the sculptures pouring some liquid from a small cup into the lower reservoir, we may conclude that this was

[1] By some supposed to be of the time of Constantia. *Vide* a remark on the adoption of the vine by the early Christians, in Hope's Architecture, p. 180.

[2] Woodcut No. 162.

[3] Amphoræ had properly two handles: they were very common in Egypt with and without them. Being of earthenware, the Romans also called them *testæ*. (Conf. Hor. Od. i. 17, 2.) The name amphora was likewise, and very properly, applied to a two-handled vase in which the wine was brought to table. (Petron. Satyric. c. xxxiv.)

sometimes the case.[1] When the *must* was considered in a proper state, the amphoræ were closed with a lid, resembling an inverted saucer, covered with liquid clay, pitch, gypsum, mortar, or some composition, which was stamped with a seal: they were then removed from the wine-house, and placed upright in the cellar.



The press, *b*, is very similar to that of woodcut No. 161. In the original, *figs.* 3 and 4 are detached from this part of the picture.

Mosaics on the ceiling of a supposed Temple of Bacchus at Rome.

No. 162.

They generally put a certain quantity of resin or of bitumen at the bottom of the amphora, previous to pouring in the wine, which was intended to preserve it, and was even supposed to improve its flavour; a notion, or rather an acquired taste, owing probably to their having at first used skins[2] instead of jars; and the flavour imparted by the resin, which was necessary to preserve the skins, having become, from long habit, a favourite peculiarity of the wine, it was afterwards added from choice, after they had adopted the use of earthenware. And this custom, formerly so general in Egypt Italy, and Greece, is still

[1] The Greeks put water into their wines (Plin. xiv. 19), and even sea-water (Plin. xiv. 20).

[2] According to Herodotus, wine was also carried in skins in the time of Rhampsinitus (lib. ii. 121)

preserved throughout the islands of the Archipelago. In Egypt, a resinous or a bituminous substance is always found at the bottom of amphoræ which have served for holding wine; the Romans, according to Pliny,[1] employed the Bruttian pitch, or resin of the

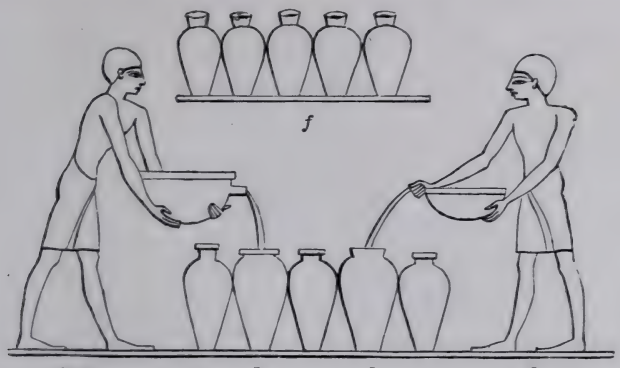
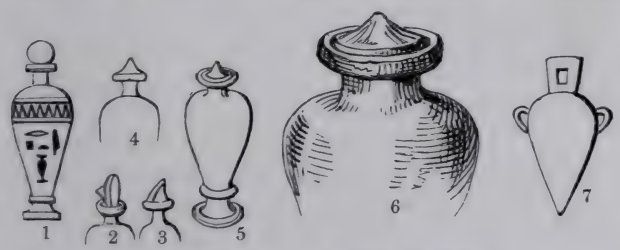


fig. 1. *fig.* 2.

No. 163. Pouring wine into jars. *Tombs at the Pyramids.*

picea pine, in preference to all others, for this purpose: and if, 'in Spain, they used that of the pinaster, it was little esteemed, on account of its bitterness and oppressive smell.' In the East, the terebinthus was considered to afford the best resin, superior even to the mastic of the lentiscus; and the resins of Judæa and Syria only yielded in quality to that of Cyprus. This



No. 164. Vases closed with a lid or stopper, and sealed. *Thebes.*

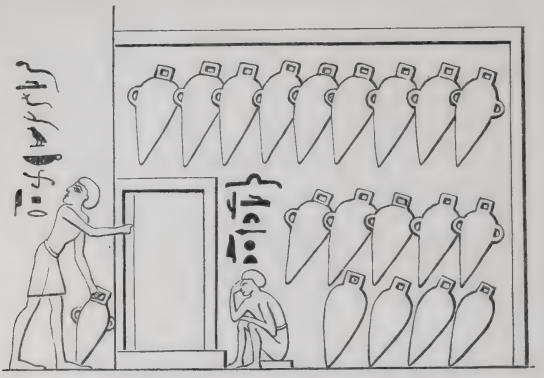
resinous coating for the interior of amphoræ was very generally used by the Romans, and was one of the numerous means[2] they had for preserving and improving the flavour[3] of wine: and, besides smoking it, they sometimes boiled down a certain portion, which gave it a greater body, and insured its keeping.

[1] Plin. xiv. 20.

[2] Honey was also used. Pliny (xiv. 4) mentions some wine nearly 200 years old.

[3] Plin. *loc. cit.*: 'Ut odor vino contingat, et saporis quædam acumina.'

The mode of arranging amphoræ[1] in an Egyptian cellar was similar to that adopted by the Greeks and Romans. They stood upright in successive rows, the innermost set resting against the



No. 165. Servants employed in storing new wine; one is overcome by its fumes. The inscription outside is, 'He says I take care of the wine;' that inside, 'Incomparable stuff.'

wall;[2] sometimes when a jar was removed to another place, it was secured by means of a stone ring, fitting round its pointed base, or was raised on a wooden stand; and, from the position they are occasionally shown to have occupied,[3] we may conclude that many were replaced in upper rooms, as the amphoræ in a Roman *apotheca*.[4]

Vase supported by a stone ring. No. 166.

The Egyptians had several different kinds of wine,[5] some of which have been commended by ancient authors for their excellent qualities. That of Mareotis was the most esteemed,[6] and in the greatest quantity.[7] Its superiority over other Egyptian wines may readily be accounted for, when we consider the nature of the soil in that district; being principally composed of

[1] In the tributes the wine was reckoned by amphoræ, *mena*, and many such amphoræ or two-handled vases, used instead of casks, have come down since from the palace of Seti I. (British Museum, No. 4946.) They held less than the Roman amphora.—S. B.

[2] Homer, Od. ii. 340. The innermost row, being the last used, was the oldest wine; and this accounts for the expression of Horace (Od. ii. 3, 8), 'interiore notâ Falerni,' each amphora being marked with the date of its wine. (Hor. *passim*.)

[3] Woodcut No. 161.

[4] It was thought to ripen the wine; and hence Horace tells his amphora to come down (Od. iii. 15, 7).

[5] The name of the wine was *arp* or *arep*, and the word appears in use as early as the 4th Dynasty, when four kinds of wine at least were known. (Lepsius, Abth. ii., Bl. 19, 25, 38.)—S. B.

[6] Pliny, xiv. 3. Horace, Od. i. 31, 14. Athenæus says that of Anthylla.

[7] Strabo, lib. xvii. Athen. 'Deipnos.' i. 25. The wine of the Mareotis, a site called in the Egyptian inscriptions *Ut*, is well known, and often mentioned.—S. B.

gravel, which, lying beyond the reach of the alluvial deposit, was free from the rich and tenacious mud usually met with in the valley of the Nile, so little suited for the culture of delicate vines; and from the extensive remains of vineyards still found on the western borders of the Arsinoïte nome,[1] or Fyoóm, we may conclude that the ancient Egyptians were fully aware of the advantages of land situated beyond the limits of the inundation, and that they generally preferred similar localities for planting the vine. According to Athenæus, 'the Mareotic grape was remarkable for its sweetness,' and the wine is thus described by him: 'Its colour is white, its quality excellent, and it is sweet and light, with a fragrant *bouquet;* it is by no means astringent, nor does it affect the head.'[2] But it was not for its flavour alone that this wine was esteemed, and Strabo ascribes to it the additional merit of keeping to a great age.[3] 'Still, however,' says Athenæus, 'it is inferior to the Teniotic, a wine which receives its name from a place called Tenia, where it is produced. Its colour is pale and white, and there is such a degree of richness in it, that when mixed with water it seems gradually to be diluted, much in the same way as Attic honey when a liquid is poured into it: and besides the agreeable flavour of the wine, its fragrance is so delightful as to render it perfectly aromatic, and it has the property of being slightly astringent. There are many other vineyards in the valley of the Nile, whose wines are in great repute, and these differ both in colour and taste; but that which is produced about Anthylla is preferred to all the rest.' Anthylla was situated in a stony tract.[4] Some of the wine made in the Thebaïd was particularly light, especially about Coptos, and 'so wholesome,' says the same author, 'that invalids might take it without inconvenience, even during a fever.' The Sebennytic[5] was likewise one of the choice Egyptian wines; but, from the position of that town and nome, we may infer that it differed greatly in quality from those just mentioned, and that it was inferior in body as well as flavour. Pliny, however, cites it among the best of foreign wines, and says it was

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[1] Near the Qasr Kharóon. Strabo mentions the abundance of vines in this province (lib. xvii.).

[2] Virg. Georg. ii. 91.

[3] Strabo, xvii.

[4] Herodotus says, that on going to Naucratis by the plain, during the inundation, you pass by Anthylla (ii. 97). According to Athenæus, the revenues derived from that city were bestowed on the queens of Egypt, both under the Persians and the native princes (lib. i. 25).

[5] Plin. xiv. 7.

made of three different grapes—a sort of Thasian, the *æthalos*, and *peuce*. The Thasian grape he afterwards describes[1] as excelling all others in Egypt in sweetness, and as being remarkable for its medicinal effects. [Another wine of Lower Egypt was the Mendesian, called from the nome of that name, where it was produced, which seems, from the words of Clemens[2] of Alexandria, to have had a sweet flavour.—G. W.]

Another singular wine, called by Pliny *ecbolada*,[3] was also the produce of Egypt; but, from its peculiar powers, we may suppose that men alone drank it, or at least that it was forbidden to newly-married brides. And, considering how prevalent the custom was amongst the ancients of altering the qualities of wines by drugs and divers processes,[4] we may readily conceive the possibility of the effects ascribed to them; and thus it happened that opposite properties were frequently attributed to the same kind.

Wines were much used by them for medicinal purposes, and many were held in such repute as to be considered specifics in certain complaints. But the medical men of the day were prudent in their mode of prescribing them; and as imagination has on many occasions effected the cure, and given celebrity to a medicine, those least known were wisely preferred, and each extolled the virtues of some foreign wine. In the earliest times, Egypt was renowned for drugs,[5] and foreigners had recourse to that country for wines as well as herbs; yet Apollodorus, the physician, in a treatise on wines, addressed to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, recommended those of Pontus as more beneficial than any of his own country, and particularly praised the Peparethian,[6] produced in an island of the Ægean Sea; but he was disposed to consider it less valuable as a medicine, when its good qualities could not be discovered in six years.[7]

In offerings to the Egyptian deities, wine frequently occurs, and several different kinds are noticed in the sacred sculptures;

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[1] Plin. xiv. 18.

[2] [Pædagog. ii. c. 2.—G. W.]

[3] Plin. xiv. 18.

[4] Ibid. xiv. 20. It was also mixed or perfumed with myrrh and other ingredients. (Plin. xiv. 13. Mark xv. 23. Diodor. iii. 61. Hor. Sat. i. 4, 24. J. Poll. Onom. vi. 2; and Martial, Epig. xiv. 113.)

[5] Hom. Od. Δ, 229. Jer. xlvi. 11.

[6] Plin. xiv. 7. Some read Præparentium. Peparethos was one of the Cyclades, famous for its vines and olives. (Ovid, Met. vii. 470.) Athenæus, 'Deipnos.' i. 52, quotes it from Aristophanes. Jul. Poll. Onom. vi. 2.

[7] The different kinds of wine mentioned in the tables of food of the 4th and subsequent Dynasties are: white wine, *arp hut;* wine of Northern or Lower Egypt, *arp meh* or *χeb;* Southern wine, *arp ras;* fishing or fisherman's wine, *arp hem.* (Lepsius, Abth.

but it is probable that many of the Egyptian wines are not introduced in those subjects, and that, as with the Romans [1] and other people, all were not admitted at their sacrifices. It was in the temple of Heliopolis [2] alone that wine was totally forbidden in libations;[3] and when used by the priests in other places for this purpose, says Plutarch, 'they poured it on the altars of the gods, as the blood of those enemies who had formerly fought against them.' According to Herodotus,[4] their sacrifices commenced with this ceremony,[5] and some was also sprinkled on the ground where the victim lay: yet at Heliopolis, if Plutarch may be credited, it was forbidden to take it into the temple,[6] and the priests of the god worshipped in that city were required to abstain from its use. 'Those of other deities,' adds the same author, 'were less scrupulous in these matters,' but still they used wine very sparingly, and the quantity allowed them for their daily consumption was regulated by law; nor could they indulge in it at all times, and the use of it was strictly prohibited during their more solemn purifications, and in times of abstinence. The same writer also affirms, on the authority of Eudoxus, that it was wholly forbidden to the kings of Egypt, previous to the reign of Psammatichus; and, though we may feel disposed to question the truth of this assertion,[7] there is every probability that they were on the same footing in this respect as the priests, and that a certain quantity was allowed them, in accordance,[8] as Hecatæus states, with the regulations of the sacred books.[9] The number of wines mentioned in the lists of offerings presented to the deities in the tombs or temples, varies in different places.

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ii., Bl. 47, 58–67. Rosellini, Mon. civ. t. i. pp. 377–380.) One cellar of Seti II. had 1600 amphoræ. (Select Papyri, lxxxviii.) Of foreign growth are the Syrian wines. The Rut-en-nu in the tomb of Rekhmara are represented giving wine as tribute; and the wine of Kharu or Northern Palestine is also mentioned. (Select Papyri, xcvii. l. i.) At the time of the 12th Dynasty, a region called Aaa in Tennu is stated to have had more wine than water. (Chabas, 'Études,' p. 107.) Thothmes III. in the Statistical Tablet describes the wine in the presses of Tsaha or Northern Phœnicia to have been like waves. (De Rougé, 'Rev. Arch.' 1860, p. 297.)—S. B.

[1] Plin. xiv. 12, 19.

[2] Herodot. ii. 63.

[3] Plut. de Isid. s. 6. Romulus performed libations with milk. Plin. xiv. 12.

[4] Herodot. ii. 39.

[5] Conf. the Jewish custom, wine for a drink offering. (Exod. xxix. 40.)

[6] I am inclined to believe that they did perform libations in the temple of Heliopolis as in other parts of Egypt; and Herodotus (ii. 39) says the custom was common *throughout* the country. It may be supposed that Plutarch intends to say the priests of Heliopolis were forbidden to drink it *in the temple*.

[7] Herodot. ii. 133; the last six years of king Mycerinus's life.

[8] See the above note of the 1600 amphoræ in the cellar of Seti II., and the vases of the same shape which belonged to the cellar of Seti I.—S. B.

[9] In spite of these regulations, the kings probably committed excesses on some occasions, like Mycerinus and Amasis. (Herodot. ii. 133, 173.)

Each appears with its peculiar name attached to it; but they seldom exceed three or four kinds, and among them I have observed, at Thebes, that of the 'northern country,'[1] which was, perhaps, from Mareotis, Anthylla, or the nome of Sebennytus.

Private individuals were under no particular restrictions with regard to its use, and women were not forbidden it, whether married or single. In this they differed widely from the Romans: for in early times no female at Rome enjoyed the privilege, and it was unlawful for women, or indeed for young men below the age of thirty, to drink wine, except at sacrifices.[2] And so scrupulous were they on this point, in the time of Romulus,[3] that Egnatius Mecennius caused his wife to be put to death for infringing this law, as if guilty of a crime. Such was the custom at the earliest periods of Roman history; and even at a later time prejudice pronounced it disgraceful for a woman to drink wine; and they sometimes saluted a female relation[4] whom they suspected, in order to discover if she had secretly indulged in its use. It was afterwards allowed them on the plea of health, and no better method could have been devised for removing the restriction.

No. 167. A servant called to support her mistress. *Thebes.*

The Egyptian women, as I have already observed, appear to have enjoyed greater privileges, and to have been treated with more courtesy on all occasions, than in other ancient communities: and if they sometimes sat apart from the men, on another side of the same room, equal attentions were shown to

[1] Not a foreign production. [2] Plin. xiv. 13. [3] Ibid. *loc. cit.* [4] Ibid.

them as to the other guests. That they were not restricted in the use of wine,[1] and in the enjoyment of other luxuries, is evident from the frescoes which represent their feasts; and the painters, in illustrating this fact, have sometimes sacrificed their gallantry to a love of caricature. Some call the servants to support them as they sit, others with difficulty prevent themselves from falling on those behind them: a basin is brought too late by a reluctant servant, and the faded flower, which is ready to drop from their heated hands, is intended to be characteristic of their own sensations.

No. 168. A party of Egyptian ladies. *Thebes.*

In Greece, women enjoyed the same privileges regarding wine, as in Egypt; and thus we find[2] Nausicaë and her companions scrupled not to indulge in it; but the Greek custom of allowing virgins, as well as matrons, so much freedom in its use was looked upon by many as highly indecorous.[3]

That the consumption of wine in Egypt was very great is evident from the sculptures, and from the accounts of ancient authors, some of whom have censured the Egyptians for an immoderate love of excess; and so much did the quantity used exceed that made in the country, that, in the time of Herodotus, twice every year a large importation was received from Phœnicia[4] and Greece. It was brought in earthen jars, and these, when emptied, were applied to another and very different purpose, being collected and sent to Memphis from every part of Egypt, and forwarded, full of water, to the confines of Syria.[5]

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[1] The Moslems include all wine under the same name, *khumr*, fermented drink, and thereby forbid whatever has undergone the process of fermentation. It is prohibited to both sexes in the Korán.

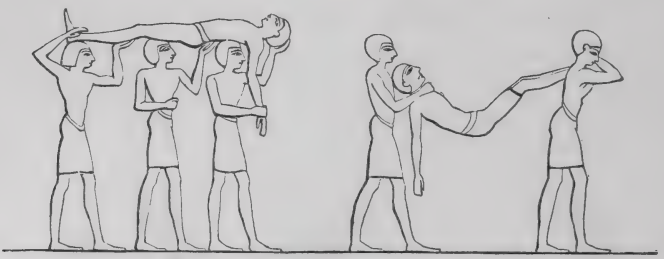
[2] Homer, Od. Z, vv. 77 and 99.

[3] Athenæus, 'Deipnos.' lib. x.

[4] From the ancient Kharu and Tsaha.

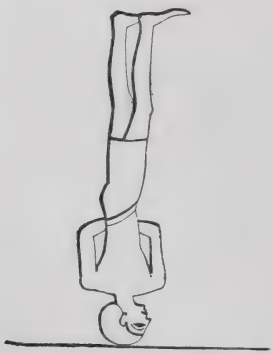
[5] Herodot. iii. 6.

Notwithstanding all the injunctions or exhortations of the priests in favour of temperance, the Egyptians of both sexes appear from the sculptures to have committed occasional excesses, and men were sometimes unable to walk from a feast, and were carried home by servants.[1] These scenes, however, do not appear



No. 169. Men carried home from a drinking party. *Beni-Hassan.*

to refer to members of the higher, but of the lower classes, some of whom indulged in extravagant buffoonery, dancing in a ludicrous manner, standing on their heads, and frequently in amusements which terminated in serious disputes.



Man standing on his head.
No. 170. *Beni-Hassan.*

At the tables of the rich, stimulants[2] were sometimes introduced, to excite the palate before drinking, and Athenæus mentions cabbages as one of the vegetables used by the Egyptians for this purpose; from which, and from the authority of Dion, he concludes they were a people systematically addicted to intemperance.[3]

The Romans frequently mulled their wines,[4] and some were mixed with spice and various aromatics: but it is difficult to say if these compounds were in use among the Egyptians,[5] though highly probable, from being so much esteemed by the Jews,[6] who adopted numerous customs from that people.

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[1] Juvenal, Sat. xv. 45.

[2] The Romans, like the modern Italians, used stimulants to excite the appetite before dinner (Hor. Sat. ii. 2, 44), as well as before wine.

[3] Athenæus, i. c. 25. Josephus says they were a people addicted to pleasures. (Antiq. ii. 9.)

[4] The Greeks and Romans mixed water with their wine. (Hom. Od. A, cx. 209. Athen. ii. 2. Jul. Poll. vi. 2.)

[5] It appears to have been so. A spiced wine is mentioned in the tale of the 'Garden of Flowers' (Chabas, 'Records of the Past,' vi. p. 156) as 'the perfumed drink of Egypt.' Another preparation of wine was the *s'et*, supposed to be spirits of wine or must. (Chabas, 'Mélanges,' iii. 2.)—S. B.

[6] Solomon's Song, viii. 2. 'Mixed wine' is frequently mentioned.

Throughout the upper and lower country, wine was the favourite beverage of the wealthy: they had also very excellent beer, called *zythus*, which Diodorus,[1] though wholly unaccustomed to it, and a native of a wine country, affirms was scarcely inferior to the juice of the grape. And that it was superior to the beer made in other countries may be readily inferred, from the eulogiums passed upon it by the historian, contrasted with the contempt in which this beverage was held by the Greeks.[2] Strabo and other ancient authors have likewise mentioned it under the name of *zythus;* and though Herodotus pretends that it was merely used as a substitute for wine in the lowlands, where corn was principally cultivated,[3] it is more reasonable to conclude it was drunk by the peasants[4] in all parts of Egypt, though less in those districts where vines were abundant. Indeed, he would lead us to suppose that in the corn country, as he terms it,[5] the use of wine was totally unknown, because the vine was not grown there; but, as wealth can always procure a luxury of this kind, we may be allowed to confine his remark to the poorer classes, and to conclude that the rich throughout Egypt supplied themselves with it, whether the growth of their own neighbourhood, or brought from another part of the country. The historian would probably have made a similar observation, if he had travelled in these days in England; but it is generally allowed that, though the English excel in the quality of their beer, the annual consumption of wine is not inconsiderable, and that there is no difficulty in procuring it from a far greater distance. In Egypt, native wines of a choice kind, whether made in the vicinity or brought from another province, were confined to the rich; and we learn from Strabo[6] that this was the case even at Alexandria, where wine could be obtained in greater quantity than in any other part of Egypt, owing to the proximity of the Mareotic district,[7] and the common people were there content with beer and the poor wine of the coast of Libya.

The Egyptian beer was made from barley;[8] but, as hops were unknown, they were obliged to have recourse to other plants, in order to give it a grateful flavour; and the lupin, the skirret,[9]

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[1] Diodor. i. 34.

[2] Conf. Æschyl. in the 'Suppliants,' v. 960.

[3] He means in the extensive level tract of the Delta. Corn was cultivated throughout Upper and Lower Egypt.

[4] As in some parts of France.

[5] Herodot. ii. 77.

[6] Strabo, lib. xvii.

[7] From the lake. Athenæus, 'Deipnos.' i. c. 25.

[8] Herod. ii. 77. Diod. i. 34. Strabo, xvii. Plin. xxii. 25. Athen. 10.

[9] Siser; the *Sium sisarum* of Linn. Theoph. de Caus. Plant. vi. 10.

and the root of an Assyrian plant, were used by them for that purpose.[1]

The vicinity of Pelusium appears to have been the most noted for its beer, and the Pelusiac zythus is mentioned by more than one author. The account given by Athenæus of Egyptian beer is that it was very strong, and had so exhilarating an effect that they danced, and sang, and committed the same excesses as those who were intoxicated with the strongest wines: an observation confirmed by the authority of Aristotle, whose opinion on the subject has at least the merit of being amusing. For we must smile at the philosopher's method of distinguishing persons suffering under the influence of wine and beer, however disposed he would have been to accuse us of ignorance, in not having yet discovered how invariably the former in that state 'lie upon their face, and the latter on their backs.'[2]

Though beer was common to many countries, that of Egypt was of a peculiar kind, and, as Strabo[3] observes, different methods of preparing it were adopted by different people. Nor can we doubt that it varied as much in quality as at the present day; in the same manner that English and Dutch beer is a very different beverage from that of France, or from the *booza* of modern Egypt. In this last, indeed, it is possible to recognise any resemblance, and no attempt is made to give it the flavour common to beer, or to obtain for it any other recommendation than its intoxicating properties. The secret of preparing it from barley has remained from old times, but indolence having banished the trouble of adding other ingredients, they are contented with the results of simple fermentation: and bread, and all similar substances which are found to undergo that process, are now employed by the Egyptians, almost indifferently, for making *booza*.[4]

Besides beer, the Egyptians had what Pliny calls factitious, or artificial, wine,[5] extracted from various fruits, each sort, no doubt, known by some peculiar name, which pointed out its nature and

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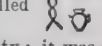
[1] Columella, x. 114.

[2] Athen. *loc. cit.*, quoting Aristotle.

[3] Strabo, xvii.

[4] The ancient beer called  *heqa* is as old as the 4th Dynasty; it was made of red barley or malt, *bet tes'er*. The foreign beer came from Kati, a country to the east of Egypt, celebrated for its production, and there were two kinds, alcoholic and mild, employed in medicine. (Chabas, 'Mélanges,' i. p. 15.) The Egyptians indulged in beer, and the description of a person overcome by intoxication is given in the papyri of the time of Seti I. (Goodwin's 'Cambridge Essays,' 1868, p. 253.) —S. B.

[5] Plin. xiv. 16.

quality.[1] The Greeks and Latins comprehended every kind of beverage made by the process of fermentation under the same general name, and beer was designated as barley-*wine;* but, by the use of the name *zythos*, they show that the Egyptians distinguished it by a totally different appellation. It is equally probable that those made from other fruits were, in like manner, known by their respective denominations, as distinctly specified as the perry and cider of the present day; and, indeed, we may expect to find them mentioned in the hieroglyphic legends accompanying the offerings in the tombs and temples of Egypt, where the contents of each vase are evidently indicated, and where, as I have already observed, several wines of the country are distinctly pointed out. Palm wine, says Pliny, was common throughout the East, and one sort is noticed by Herodotus as having been used by the Egyptians in the process of embalming;[2] but it is uncertain whether this last was made in the manner described by Pliny,[3] which required a *modius*, or peck and a half, of the ripe fruit to be macerated and squeezed into three *congii*, or about twenty-two pints, of water.

The palm wine made at the present day is simply from an incision in the heart of the tree,[4] immediately below the base of the upper branches, and a jar is attached to the part to catch the juice which exudes from it. But a palm thus tapped is rendered perfectly useless as a fruit-bearing tree, and generally dies in consequence;[5] and it is reasonable to suppose that so great a sacrifice is seldom made except when date-trees are to be felled, or when they grow in great abundance, as in the Oases and some other districts. The modern name of this beverage in Egypt is *lowbgeh:* in flavour it resembles a very new light wine, and may be drunk in great quantity when taken from the tree; but as soon as the fermentation has commenced, its intoxicating qualities have a powerful and speedy effect. It is not confined to Egypt and the Oases: the inhabitants of other parts of Africa[6] and

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[1] The principal other wine was the *baqa* supposed to be made from dates or figs; it was also divided into two kinds, and came from Palestine.—S. B.

[2] Herodot. ii. 86.

[3] Plin. xiv. 16.

[4] Called by Pliny the 'medulla,' or 'cerebrum,' and in Arabic *qulb*, the heart, or *jummár*. It is sold at Cairo, and considered as a delicacy; in taste, it resembles a sweet turnip.

[5] Conf. Athen. 'Deipnos.' lib. ii. *ad fin.*, and Xenoph. 'Exped. Cyr.' ii.

[6] The blacks are particularly fond of intoxicating drinks. In the valley of the Nile the propensity may be said to augment in proportion to the intensity of colour, and the Nubians surpass the Egyptians in their love of *booza* and other fermented liquors in about the same ratio as the increased darkness of their hue.

many palm-bearing countries are in the habit of making it in the same manner; nor do scruples of religion prevent the Moslems from indulging in its use. In Nubia a wine is extracted from the dates themselves; but this is now less common than the more potent brandy, which they distil from the same fruit, and which is a great favourite in the valley of the Nile.

In former times, figs, pomegranates, *myxas*,[1] and other fruits, were also used in Egypt for making artificial wines, and herbs of different kinds were applied to the same purpose; many of which, it may be presumed, were selected for their medicinal properties.[2]

Among the various fruit-trees cultivated by the ancient Egyptians, palms, of course, held the first rank, as well from their abundance as from their great utility. The fruit constituted a principal part of their food, both in the month of August, when it was gathered fresh from the trees, and at other seasons of the year, when it was used in a preserved state. They had two different modes of keeping the dates; one was by the simple process of drying them, the other was by making them into a conserve, like the *agweh* [3] of the present day: and of this, which was eaten either cooked or as a simple sweetmeat, I have found some cakes,[4] as well as the dried dates, in the sepulchres of Thebes.[5] For though Pliny affirms that the dates of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Arabia were, from the heat and dryness of the soil,[6] incapable of being preserved, modern experience, and the knowledge we have of the ancient customs of Egypt, prove the reverse of what is stated by that author. Yet he [7] speaks of dates of the Thebaïd kept in vases, which he supposes to be necessary for their preservation; and it would appear that he alluded to the *agweh*, did he not also suggest the necessity of drying them in an oven.

The same author makes a just remark respecting the localities where the palm prospers, and the constant irrigation it requires; and though everyone in the East acknowledges this fact, and knows that the tree will not grow except where water is abun-

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[1] Plin. xiii. 5. The *Cordia myxa* of Linnæus; Arabice, *Mokhayt*.

[2] Rue, hellebore, absinthium, and numerous others. Wines were also imbued or flavoured with the juice of those herbs. (Plin. xiv. 16.)

[3] *Agweh*, or *adjweh*, is a mass of dates pressed and preserved in baskets, which are commonly sold in all the markets of modern Egypt.

[4] One of these is in the British Museum.

[5] The palm is supposed to be the *bener*. (Brugsch, 'Recueil,' pl. xxxvi. p. 49.)

[6] Plin. xiii. 4.

[7] Ibid.

dant, we still read of 'palm-trees of the desert,' as though it delighted in or was peculiar to an arid district. Wherever it is found, it is a sure indication of water: there are therefore no palms in the desert, except at the Oases, and those spots where springs lie near the surface; and if it may be said to flourish in a sandy soil, this is only in situations where its roots can obtain a certain quantity of moisture. The cultivated tree is reared from offsets, those grown from the stone producing an inferior fruit; and the offsets, which are taken at about seven years' growth, bear dates in other five or six years, the tree living sixty or seventy, and even upwards,[1] according to circumstances connected with the soil or the mode of its culture.

Dates were also given to camels and other animals,[2] as is still the custom in the East; and this alone would suffice to prove their great abundance,[3] and the utility of the palm as a valuable and productive fruit-tree.[4] But the numerous purposes to which its branches and other parts might be applied, tended still more to render its cultivation a matter of primary importance: for no portion of this tree is without its peculiar use. The trunk serves for beams, either entire or split in half; of the *geréet*, or branches, are made wicker baskets, bedsteads, coops, and ceilings of rooms, answering every purpose for which laths or any thin wood-work are required; the leaves are converted into mats, brooms, and baskets;[5] of the fibrous tegument, at the base of the branches, strong ropes are made; and even the bases of the *geréet* are beaten flat and formed into brooms. Nor are the stalks of the bunches without their use; and their fibres, separated by the mallet, serve for making ropes, and for the *leef* which is so serviceable in the bath. Besides the brandy, the *lowbgeh*, and the date wine, a vinegar is also extracted from the fruit: and the large proportion

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[1] Conf. Plin. xiii. 4. Strabo (lib. xvii. p. 563) says, the palm either bore no fruit, or a bad kind, in Lower Egypt, but the dates of the Thebaïd were excellent.

[2] Plin. xiii. 4. In going to the Oasis, my camels were always fed with them when beans failed.

[3] For the different kinds of dates now known in Egypt, *vide* 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 266.

[4] A tree can produce as much as four qantars of dates, or 440 lbs. troy, on about eight bunches, but generally it bears much less. I found the bunch of a wild tree at the water of Wadee el Enned, in the eastern desert, which was composed of 125 fruit-stalks, each containing from 30 to 60 dates, so that, on an average of 45, the bunch bore 6625 dates; and every tree had from 5 to 15 bunches, and one of them as many as 22. The above-mentioned bunch was of unusual size, which made me count the dates, but the fruit was small and bad, as of all the wild trees, and probably some of the dates did not come to maturity. In the valley of the Nile, a feddan ($1\frac{3}{4}$ acre) is sometimes planted with 400 trees.

[5] [These were also made of rushes, *scálfeh*, grass, papyrus, dôm leaves, osiers, &c.—G. W.]

of saccharine matter contained in dates might, if required, be applied to useful purposes.

In Upper Egypt, another tree, which has been called the Theban palm,[1] was also much cultivated; and its wood, more solid and compact than the date-tree, is found to answer as well for rafts and other purposes connected with water, as for beams and rafters.[2] The general character of its growth differs essentially from that of the date-tree, having always bifurcated limbs,[3] and this peculiarity enables us to recognise it when represented in the sculptures. The fruit is a large rounded nut, with a fibrous exterior envelope, which has a sweet flavour, very similar to our gingerbread. The nut itself, when gathered unripe, is also eaten, and then presents a substance resembling cartilage or horn; but as soon as it is ripe it becomes exceedingly hard, and is not unlike, though much smaller than, the cocoa-nut. It was employed by the Egyptians for the hollow socket of their drills;

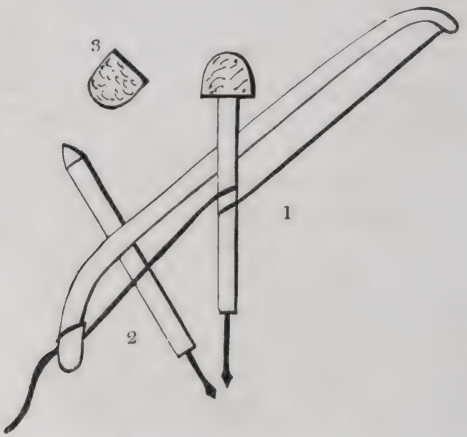

Fig. 1. Drill and the bow for turning it.
2. The drill alone.
3. The socket, of the dôm nut, in which it turned.

No. 171. *British Museum and Thebes.*

and being found peculiarly adapted for this purpose, from its great durability, it still continues to be used by carpenters and cabinet-makers in Egypt. That the mode of applying it among

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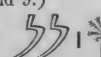
[1] The *Cucifera thebaica.* (*Vide* Plin. xiii. 4 and 9.)

[2] The  *mama* or dôm palm, the *Hyphæne cucifera.* (Brugsch, *loc. cit.*)

[3] About five feet (sometimes more, sometimes less) from the ground it divides into two branches, each of which again separates into two others, and these again into two other pairs, always by two, the uppermost sets being crowned by the leaves and fruit.

the ancients was precisely similar to that adopted at the present day, we have ample testimony from the sculptures at Thebes, where it occurs apart from, and affixed to,[1] the instrument itself in the hands of the workmen.[2] But it was not exclusively used, and we find they frequently substituted some hard wood; a speci-

Carpenter's tools.

Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4. Chisels and drills.
5. Part of drill.
6. Nut of wood belonging to it.
7, 8. Saws.
Fig. 9. Horn of oil.
10. Mallet.
11. Bag for nails.
12. Basket which held them.

No. 172. *British Museum.*

men of which[3] may be seen in the highly interesting collection of tools found at Thebes, in the British Museum: this, with the drills, and their bow, chisels, a saw, mallet, and a bag of skin, perhaps for holding nails, having been put into a basket, together

[1] Woodcut No. 171, *figs.* 1 and 3. [2] Woodcut No. 171.
[3] Woodcut No. 172, *fig.* 6.

with a horn of oil and the hone for sharpening the chisels, and buried in the tomb of a deceased workman.[1]

Of the dôm-nut were made beads, which, from their hardness, were capable of taking a high polish, as we observe in those now used in Egypt for the *sibhas*, or rosaries of the Moslems;[2] and both the manufactured parts of the nut and many specimens of the fruit have been found, perfectly preserved, in the sepulchres of Thebes. The leaves of the tree served for baskets, sacks, mats, and other similar interlaced works,[3] or indeed for all the purposes to which those of the date-tree were applied; and among these we may mention fans, fly-flaps, brushes, and sometimes parts of sandals.

Besides the date and dôm trees were the sycamore,[4] fig, pomegranate,[5] olive,[6] peach,[7] almond,[8] persea,[9] *nebq* or *sidr*,[10] *mokhayt* or *myxa*,[11] *kharoob*[12] or locust-tree, and some others; and among those which bore no fruit the most remarkable were the tamarisk[13] and *áthul*,[14] cassia fistula and senna, the palma christi or castor-oil tree,[15] myrtle,[16] the *sont* or acanthus,[17] the *sayal*,[18] *fitneh*,[19] *tulh*,[20] *lebbekh*,[21] and several other acacias,[22] besides many trees,[23] now only known in the desert, or in the more southerly region of

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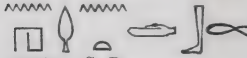
[1] Woodcut No. 172.

[2] These *sibhas* are sold in the bazars of all the country towns.

[3] Strabo, lib. xvii. Objects of these materials are found in the tombs.

[4] Plin. xiii. 7. The *neha en teb*  of the monuments.—S. B.

[5] *Ermen* or *remen* of the monuments. —S. B.

[6] The *t'et* often mentioned in the inscriptions. M. Chabas thinks that *teb* means the fruit of the olive. See note [4] *suprà*.—S. B.

[7] Plin. xv. 13. He denies the improbable story of the Persians having introduced it into Egypt as a poisonous fruit.

[8] Plin. xv. 28. The cherry, he says, could never be reared in Egypt (xv. 25). It is not now grown there.—The *s'uab* of ancient Egypt.—S. B.

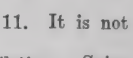
[9] Perhaps the *as't*.—S. B.

[10] *Rhamnus nabeka*, Forsk.

[11] *Cordia myxa*, Linn.

[12] *Ceratonia siliqua*, Linn. *Ceraunia siliqua* of Pliny (xiii. 8), which he says did not grow in Egypt.

[13] *Tamarix gallica*, Linn. Arabic, *Tárfah*.

[14] *Tamarix orientalis*, Forsk. Perhaps the *africana* of Desf. The Egyptian  *aser*.—S. B.

[15] Plin. xv. 7.

[16] Ibid. xv. 29, and xxi. 11. It is not now a native of Egypt.

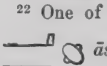
[17] *Mimosa*, or *Acacia nilotica*. *Spina Ægypti*, Plin. xiii. 9. Athen. xv. 7, &c. [Strabo, xvii. 556–559.—G. W.]

[18] *Acacia seyal*.

[19] *Acacia farnesiana*.

[20] *Acacia gummifera*.

[21] *Acacia lebbek*. *Mimosa lebbek*, Linn.

[22] One of these is supposed to be the  *ās'*, supposed by others to be the cedar.

[23] Amongst these may be the *bak* or *qab*, supposed to be the quince, and the *nebs*, conjectured by Brugsch, *loc. cit.*, to be the mulberry sycaminus, *loc. cit.*, but there was a *ta en nebs*, bread or conserve, made of it; the *meri* or sycamore, the *kat*, the *taseps*, which had a red fruit, or *bark*, the *àm* or *àmàm*, poplar, the *nàru*, and other unknown species.—S. B.

Ethiopia. But I confine myself for the present to the produce of the garden, in connection with their festivities and domestic wants.

So fond were the Egyptians of trees and flowers, and of gracing their gardens with all the profusion and variety which cultivation could obtain, that they even exacted a contribution of rare productions from the nations which were tributary to them, and foreigners from distant countries are represented bringing plants, among the presents to the Egyptian king. [And such attention, says Athenæus, did they give to their gardens, that through the care bestowed upon the culture of their plants, and the benign temperature of their climate, flowers which were only sparingly produced in other places (and at stated periods of the year) in Egypt flowered in profusion at all seasons, so that neither roses nor violets were absent even in the depths of winter.—G. W.] They carried this love for them still farther, and not only painted the lotus and other favourite flowers among the fancy devices on their walls, on the furniture of their houses, on their dresses, chairs, and boxes, on their boats, and, in short, whatever they wished to ornament, but they appear from Pliny [1] to have composed artificial flowers, which received the name 'Ægyptiæ;' if indeed we may be allowed to consider these similar to the 'hybernæ' he afterwards describes. And it is not improbable that they, like the Romans in their town-houses, had representations of gardens, or the rich blossoms of favourite flowers, painted on the stuccoed walls. Wreaths and chaplets were likewise in common use among the Egyptians at a very early period; and though the lotus was principally preferred for these purposes, many other flowers and leaves were employed; as of the chrysanthemum,[2] acinon,[3] acacia,[4] strychnus, persoluta, anemone, convolvulus, olive, myrtle, amaricus,[5] xeranthemum, bay-tree,[6] and others: and Plutarch tells us,[7] that when Agesilaus visited Egypt he was so delighted with the chaplets of papyrus sent him by the king, that he took some home when he returned to Sparta.

The deity whom they considered more immediately to preside

[1] Plin. xxi. 2. This is confirmed by discoveries in the tombs.

[2] Plin. xxi. 25.

[3] Ibid. xxvii.

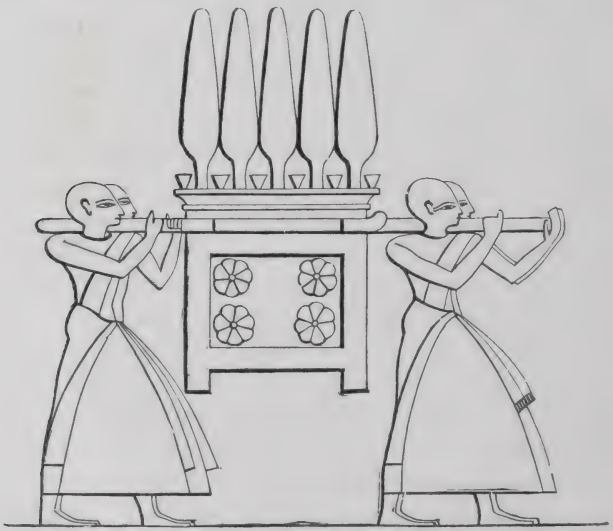
[4] Ibid. xiii. 9. Athen. 'Deipnos.' xv. 7.

[5] Athen. xv. 6.

[6] I have already observed that some of those found in the tombs appear to be of bay-leaves; and though not an indigenous production of Egypt, the plant may have been cultivated there. That called Alexandrian was probably Greek. (Plin. xv. 30 and xxiii. 8.)

[7] Also Athen. xv. 6.

over the garden was Khem,[1] the generative principle, who was supposed to answer to the Grecian Pan. It was also under the special protection of Ranno, a goddess frequently represented in the form of an asp, or with a human body and the head of that serpent; and thus we find the emblematic figure of an asp attached to the sculptured representations of a winepress, a vineyard, or other parts of a villa;[2] and the same deity appears in the capacity of protecting genius to a king, or the nurse of a young prince. Indeed the connection between the goddess Ranno, or the asp, and royalty is very remarkable; and the name *uræus*, which was applied to that snake,[3] has, with good reason, been derived by the ingenious Champollion from *ouro*, the Coptic word signifying 'king,' as its appellation of basilisk originated in the *basiliscos*[4] of the Greeks.



No. 173. The table carried behind the statue of the god Khem. *Thebes.*

Khem, or Pan, from his character as god of generation, was naturally looked upon as the deity to whose influence everything was indebted for its procreation, and for the continuation of its species; and we therefore frequently find, in the sacred sculptures

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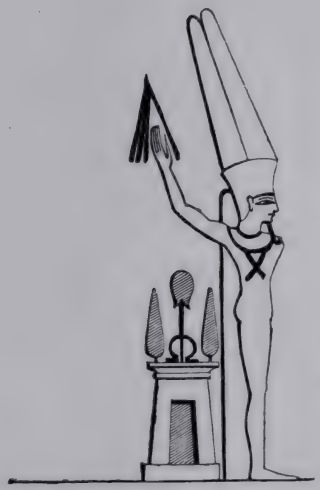
[1] Or Am.

[2] Woodcut No. 161.

[3] It resembles the cobra da capello, the *Coluber naja* of Linnæus, in everything except the spectacles on the head, which are wanting. It has now received the name of *naja haye*, which is certainly a misnomer, *haye* being the Arabic name for the cerastes, *Vipera cerastes*, or horned snake.

[4] 'Royal' [or for snakes in general. —G. W.].

of Egyptian temples, the emblematic representation of a king breaking up the soil with a hoe, in the presence of this god, as if to prepare it for his beneficent influence.[1] And this allegorical mode of worship was offered him, as well in his character of Khem as when under the name of Amunra Generator, which was one of the forms of the Theban Jupiter. On the altar or table carried behind his statue in sacred processions, or placed near it in his sanctuary, were two or more trees, together with his peculiar emblems;[2] and the hieroglyphics implying 'Egypt,' which occur



No. 174. Emblems of the god Khem.

Hieroglyphical group, containing a tree and the sign of land, meaning 'Egypt.'
No. 175. *Rosetta Stone.*

on the Rosetta Stone as well as on other Egyptian monuments, and have been supposed to read 'the land of trees,' bear an evident relation to the deity, whose name Khem[3] is so similar to the word Chemi, by which Egypt was known in Coptic, and in the ancient language of the country. In the form of the god of generation originated, no doubt, the Greek and Roman custom of placing their gardens under the protection of Priapus,[4] though, instead of an abstract notion[5] of the generative influence, they,

[1] Materia Hieroglyphica, pl. vi. of the Pantheon.

[2] Woodcuts Nos. 174, 175.

[3] Panopolis was also called Chemmis, from the Egyptian name, which can still be traced in its modern appellation, E'Khmim.

[4] Hor. Sat. i. 8. 1.

[5] It is remarkable that the Greeks and Romans continually took abstract and metaphysical notions literally, and that the Egyptians, on the other hand, converted the physical into metaphysical.

as in many other instances, merely attached to it an idea according with the grossness of their imaginations.

It is reasonable to suppose that the Egyptians spent much time in the cool and shady retirement of their gardens, where, like the Romans, they entertained their friends during the summer season; and from the size of some of the *kiosks* which occur in the paintings of the tombs, we may conclude they were rather intended for this purpose, than for the sole use of the master of the villa. That the gardens were originally laid out with a view to utility, and were chiefly stocked with vegetables for the consumption of the family, is more than probable; but as riches and luxury increased, to the simple beds of herbs were added avenues of shady trees, and the usual variety of aromatic plants and ornamental flowers. It then became divided into different parts, distinguished by a peculiar name, according to the purpose for which they were intended; and the vineyard, orchard, kitchen and flower garden, had each its own fixed limits, whose dimensions depended on the means or the caprice of its owner. Some of the richer individuals extended still farther the range of their villas; and a park, *paradeisos*, was

No. 176.

added,[1] which, independent of its fish-ponds[2] and preserves for game, contained many different sections, as the *gallinarium* for keeping fowls, the *chenoboscium* for geese, the stalls for fattening cattle, and for keeping the wild goats and other animals originally from the desert, whose meat was reckoned among the dainties of the table. It was in these extensive preserves that the rich amused themselves with the pleasures of the chace; and they also enclosed a considerable space in the desert with net fences, into which the animals were driven for the purpose of being hunted, though the usual custom in those districts was to course in view over the open plains. Many occupied their leisure in fowling and fishing; and there many a youth, and sometimes even a damsel, were wont to practise shooting at a target.[3] [Nor were the poorer classes without shady retreats from the heat of the sun; and a shed was erected in the field, under which they guarded their produce from intrusion; and this 'lodge in a garden of cucumbers' is still common throughout the country where similar precautions are required by the modern peasants.—G. W.]

[1] Conf. the Greek text of the Rosetta Stone, line 15.
[2] Isaiah xix. 10.
[3] Woodcuts Nos. 1 and 176.

No. 177. Female playing on a guitar, from a box. *Museum of Berlin.*

VIGNETTE F.—The Nóreg, a machine used by the modern Egyptians for threshing corn.

CHAPTER VI.

Furniture of Egyptian Rooms—Chairs, Stools, Ottomans, Mats, Couches, Tables—Mode of sitting—Headstools—Bedsteads—Palanquins—Washing and anointing—Bouquets—Bands of Music—Cymbals, Trumpets, Drums, Harps, Guitars, Lyres, Flutes, Pipes, Sistra, Sacred Instruments—Dancing—The Pirouette and Figure Dances.

THE apartments appropriated to the reception of their friends were sometimes on the ground-floor, at others on the first story; and the party usually sat on handsome chairs and fauteuils, each, like the *thronos* of the Greeks, containing one person.[1] They occasionally used stools and low seats, raised very little above the ground, and some sat cross-legged, or on one knee, upon mats or carpets; but men and women were generally apart, though apparently in the same room. While conversing, they did not recline upon *diwáns*, like Eastern people at the present day, nor did they, like the Romans, lie in a recumbent position, supported by the left elbow[2] on a triclinium, or a couch, during meals; though couches and ottomans formed part of the furniture of an Egyptian saloon.

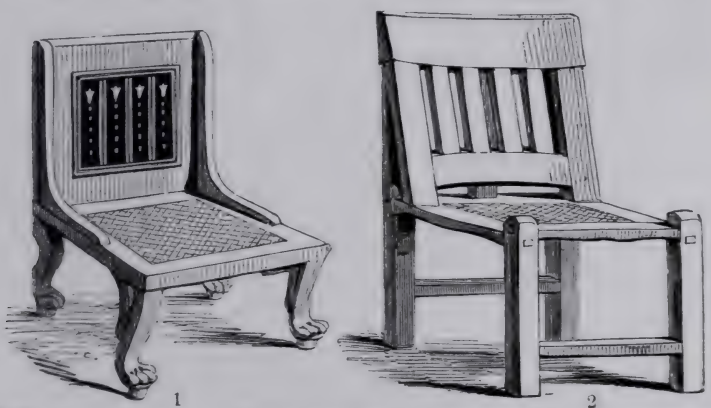
Besides the *thronos*, or single chair, was what the Greeks termed the *diphros*,[3] from its holding two persons; which was sometimes kept as a family seat, and occupied by the master

[1] Woodcut No. 178, *fig.* 1.
[2] Conf. Hor. Od. i. 22. 8.
[3] *Diphros* was also applied to a single chair, as in Theocr. Id. xv. 2

and mistress of the house.[1] This kind of chair was not, however, always reserved exclusively for them, nor did custom require

No. 178. 2 The double and single chair. 1 *Thebes.*

them to occupy the same seat, since we frequently find that they sat, like the guests, on separate chairs; and a *diphros*[2] was occasionally offered to visitors, both men and women.



No. 179. Chairs of an ordinary description. *British Museum.*
The seat of *fig.* 1 is 8 inches high, and the back 1 foot 4 inches. The seat of *fig.* 2 is 14 inches, and total height 2 feet 6 inches.

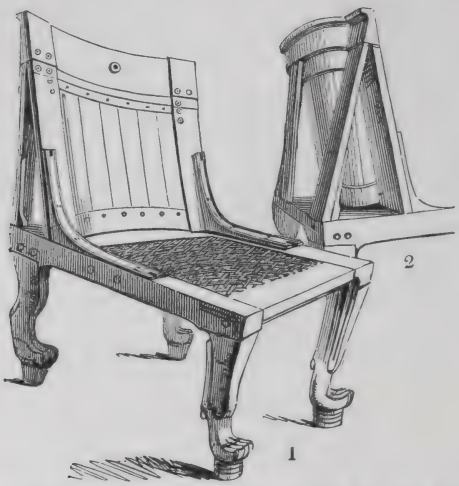
Many of the fauteuils were of the most elegant form, and were made of ebony and other rare woods, inlaid with ivory,[3]

[1] Woodcut No. 178, *fig.* 2.

[2] Called in the hieroglyphs *qana.*

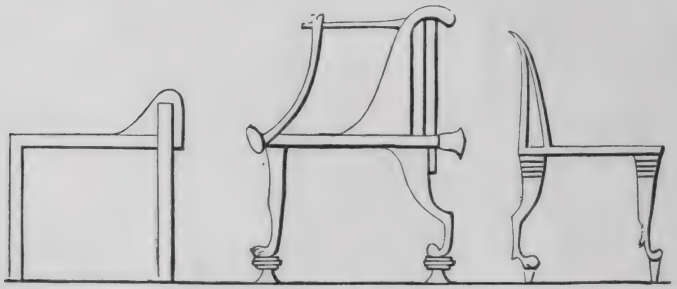
[3] Many made of ebony inlaid with ivory were brought as tributes from *Kus'* or Ethiopia, which, it appears, excelled in

covered with rich stuffs, and very similar to some now used in Europe,[1] to which, indeed, they have frequently served as models. None of these have yet been found in the tombs of



No. 180. Chair in the Leyden Museum; the seat 13 inches high, and the back 17 inches.

Thebes; but chairs of more ordinary quality are occasionally met with, some of which are in the British Museum and in the Leyden Collection. They are much smaller than the fauteuils



No. 181. Chairs, from various sculptures.

of the sculptures, the seat being only from eight to fourteen inches high, and are deficient both in elegance of form and

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the manufacture of this kind of furniture. They appear to be called in the inscriptions

maut, or as some read the word, *mafut*, and are depicted at Beitoualli in the tributes offered by the Black races to Rameses II. or Sesostris.—S. B.

[1] *Vide* Pl. X.

in the general style of their construction: in some the seat is of wood, in others of interlaced string or leathern thongs, in appearance as well as in rank not very unlike our own rush-bottomed chairs; and they probably belonged to persons of inferior station, or to those rooms which were set apart for casual visitors.

Various are the forms of chairs which occur in the sculptures, representing scenes of domestic life and sacred subjects.[1] Some were on the principle of our camp stools, furnished with a cushion, or covered with the skin of a leopard or other animal,[2] which could be easily removed when the chair was folded up;

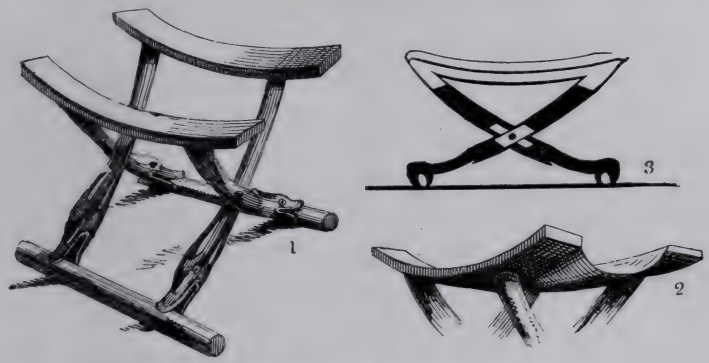

Fig. 1. A stool in the British Museum, on the principle of our camp stools.
2. Shows the manner in which the leather seat was fastened.
3. A similar one from the sculptures, with its cushion.

No. 182.

and it was not unusual to make other seats, and wooden head-stools or pillows, in the same manner; one of which was found by me at Thebes, and is now in the British Museum.[3] They were adorned in various ways, being bound with metal plates, or inlaid with ivory and foreign woods; and even in some ordinary chairs, sycamore, or other native wood, was painted to imitate that of a more rare and valuable quality.

The seat was frequently of leather, painted with flowers or fancy devices; and the figure of a captive, or a conquered foe, was frequently represented at the side or among the ornaments of the chair. Sometimes the seat was formed of interlaced

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[1] The Chinese have chairs of similar form.

[2] Pl. X. *fig.* 3. The skin was of the leopard or panther, the *abu* of the hieroglyphic texts.—S. B.

[3] Woodcut No. 197, *fig.* 2. They are the Greek *okladias*.

work of string, carefully and neatly arranged, which, like our Indian cane chairs, appears to have been particularly adapted for a hot climate; but over this even they occasionally placed a leathern cushion,[1] painted in the manner already mentioned.[2]

Most of the chairs and stools were about the ordinary height of those now used in Europe, the seat nearly in a line with the bend of the knee; but some were very low, and others offered that variety of position which we seek in the kangaroo chairs[3] in our own drawing-room. The ordinary fashion of the legs was in imitation of those of some wild animal, as the lion, or the goat, but more usually the former, the foot raised and supported

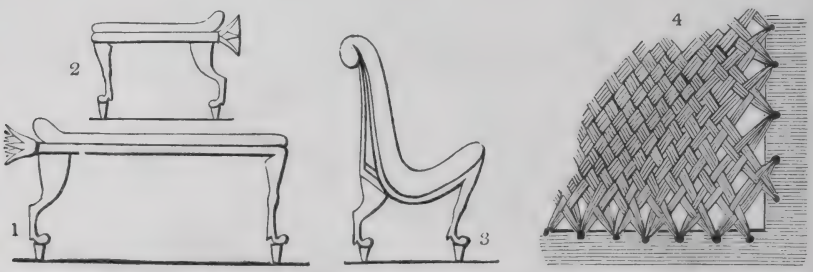

Fig. 1. A *diphros* or double chair, without a back.
2. A single chair, of similar construction.
3. A kangaroo chair.
4. The seat, formed of interlaced string.

No. 183. *Thebes, Alabastron, and Mr. Salt's Collection.*

on a short pin; and, what is remarkable, the skill of their cabinet-makers, even in the early era of Joseph, had already done away with the necessity of uniting the legs with bars. Stools, however, and more rarely chairs, were occasionally made with these strengthening members, as is still the case in our own country; but the form of the drawing-room fauteuil and of the couch was not degraded by so unseemly and so unskilful a support. The back of the chair was equally light and strong. It was occasionally concave, like some Roman chairs,[4] or the throne of Solomon,[5] and in many of the large fauteuils a lion[6]

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[1] Theocrit. Idyl. xv. lib. iii.

[2] Part of the leg of one of these chairs, terminating in the head of a goose, the beak open, has inscribed upon it in hieroglyphs: 'The hereditary nomarch, great councillor of the lord of the world (Pharaoh), the royal scribe, chamberlain of the great house (palace), Amenhetp justified.' This was cut on the leg after his death, to indicate the chair was destined for his sepulchre, and is of the period of the 18th Dynasty. It is in the Museum of Leyden. (Leeman's 'Mon. Égypt. du Musée de Leyde,' ii. pl. lxxiii.)—S. B.

[3] Woodcut No. 183, *fig.* 3.

[4] Woodcut No. 180.

[5] 1 Kings x. 19.

[6] As the throne of Solomon. *Vide* Pl. X.

formed an arm at either side; but the back usually consisted of a single set of upright and cross bars, or of a frame receding gradually and terminating at its summit in a graceful curve, supported from without by perpendicular bars;[1] and over this was thrown a handsome pillow of coloured cotton, painted

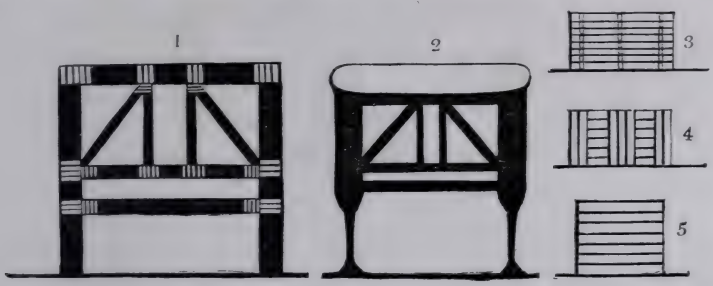


Fig. 1. Stools.
2. With a cushion.
3, 4, 5. With solid sides.

No. 184. *Thebes.*

leather, or gold and silver tissue, like the beds at the feast of Ahasuerus, mentioned in Esther;[2] or like the feather cushions covered with stuffs and embroidered with silk threads of gold, in the palace of Scaurus.

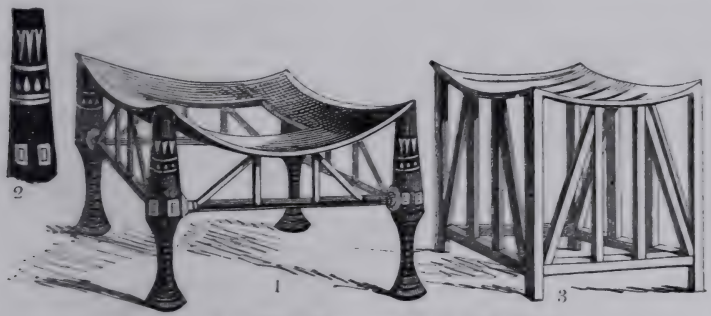


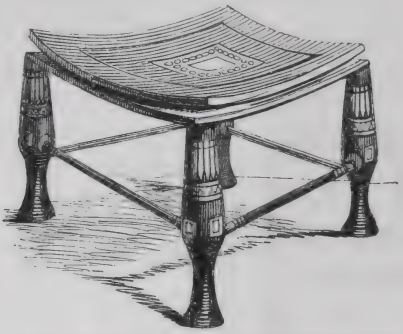
Fig. 1. Stool in the British Museum, of ebony inlaid with ivory.
2. Shows the inlaid parts of the legs.
3. Of ordinary construction, in the same collection.

No. 185.

The stools used in the saloons were of the same style and elegance as the chairs, and frequently only differed from them in the absence of a back; those of more delicate workmanship were made of ebony, and inlaid, as I have already stated, with ivory or rare woods; and many, as already observed, folded up, on the principle of our camp stools.[3] Some of an ordinary kind

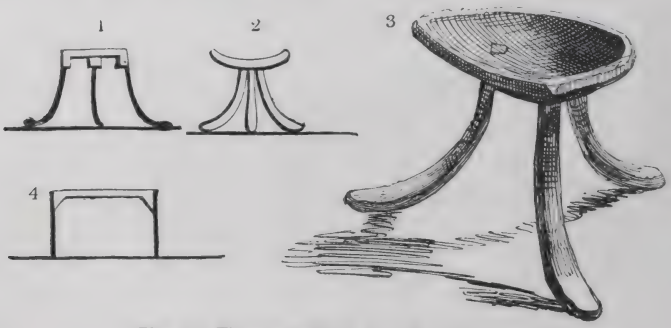
[1] Woodcut No. 187. [2] Esther i. 6. [3] Woodcut No. 182.

had solid sides, and were generally very low; and others, with three legs, not unlike those used by the peasants of England, belonged to persons of inferior rank.



No. 186. A stool with leathern cushion, in Mr. Salt's Collection.

The ottomans were simple square sofas, without backs, raised from the ground nearly to the same level as the chairs. The upper part was of leather, or a cotton stuff, richly coloured, like the cushions of the fauteuils; and the base was of wood, painted with various devices, and ornamented with the figures of captives, who were supposed to be degraded by holding so



Figs. 1, 2. Three-legged stools, from the sculptures.
3. Wooden stool, in Mr. Salt's Collection.
No. 187. 4 and 1 are probably of metal.

humiliating a position. And the same idea gave them a place on the soles of sandals, on the footstools of a royal throne, and on the walls of the palace at Medeenet Haboo, in Thebes, where their heads support some of the ornamental details of the building.

Footstools[1] also constituted part of the furniture of the

[1] Answering to the *thrēnus* and *scabellum* of the Greeks and Romans.

sitting-room; they were made with solid or open sides,[1] covered at the top with leather or interlaced string, and varied in height according to circumstances, some being of the usual size now

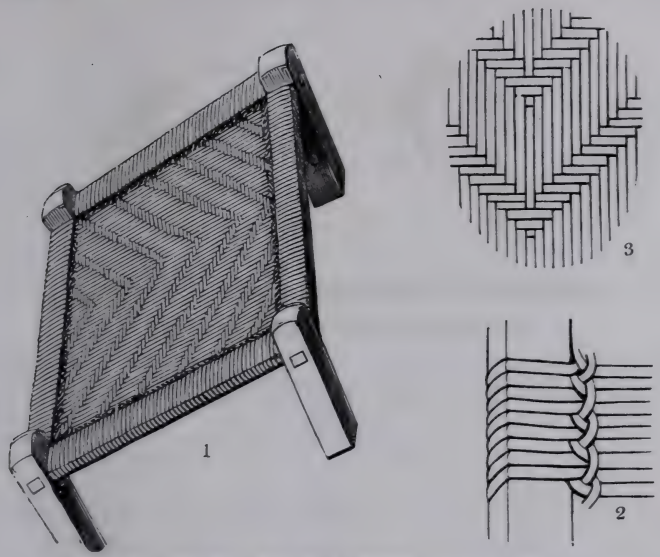
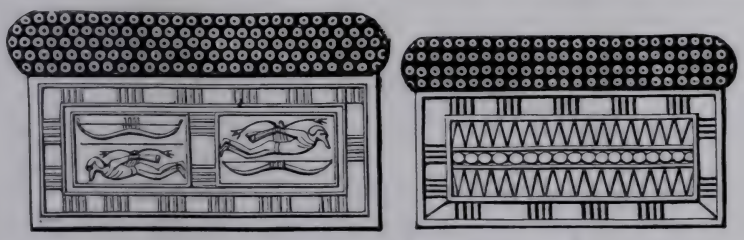


Fig. 1. Low stool, in the Berlin Museum.
No. 188. 2, 3. Mode of fastening, and the pattern of the seat.

adopted by us, others of inconsiderable thickness, and rather resembling a small rug. These last, indeed, and some of the low seats above alluded to, might be supposed to represent



No. 189. Ottomans, from the tomb of Rameses III. *Thebes.*

carpets, which have been mentioned by Homer[2] and Diodorus[3] as a very early invention, since we find instances of several

[1] Called *hunn* in the Statistical Tablet of Thothmes III.

[2] Hom. Od. iv. 124.

[3] The *stromnai polutelestatai*, mentioned by Diodorus as spread for the sacred animals of Egypt, are supposed to have been carpets. (Lib. i. 34.)

persons sitting upon them: though we may, with equal reason, imagine, from the mode of representing them, that some were of wood, and that they closed or folded in the centre.[1] Mats were commonly used in their sitting-rooms, as at the present day;

Fig. 1. A low seat, perhaps a carpet.
2. Either similar to *fig.* 1, or of wood.
3. A mat.

No. 190.

and we not only see them represented in the sculptures,[2] but remnants of them have been found in the Theban tombs.

Their couches evinced no less taste than the fauteuils. They

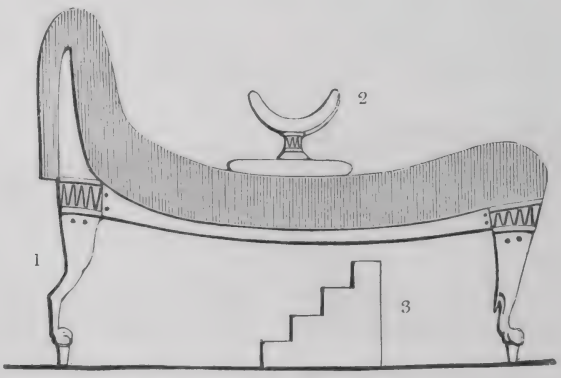


Fig. 1. A couch.
2. Pillow or head-stool.
3. Steps for ascending a lofty couch.

No. 191. *Tomb of Rameses III. at Thebes.*

were of wood, with one end raised, and receding in a graceful curve; and the feet, as in many of the chairs already described,

[1] As in woodcut No. 190, *fig.* 2.

[2] Woodcut No. 190, *fig* 3

were fashioned to resemble those of some wild animal.[1] But, though the Egyptians had couches, they do not appear to have reclined upon them more frequently than modern Europeans, in whose houses they are equally common; and, indeed, we have authority, both from the sculptures and from sacred history, for believing that the Egyptians, like the *early* Greeks and Romans,[2] were accustomed to sit at meals; for, as Philo justly observes, when Joseph entertained his brethren, he ordered them to *sit* according to their ages, the custom of reclining at meals not having yet been introduced.[3]

The couches[4] appear also to have been intended as bedsteads; and it is not impossible that they were used to sleep upon at night, and in the daytime, a rich covering[5] being substituted for

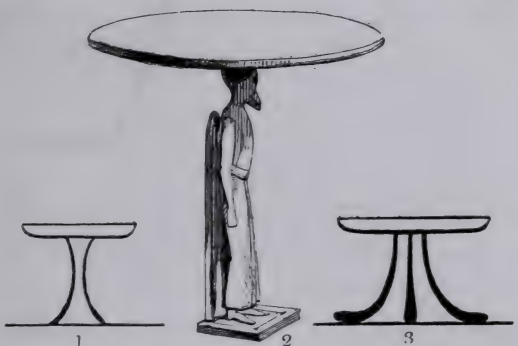


Fig. 1. Table, probably of stone or wood, from the sculptures.
2. Stone table, supported by the figure of a captive.
No. 192. 3. Probably of metal, from the sculptures.

the bedding, they were readily transformed into an ornamental piece of furniture; and the presence of the head-pillow placed upon it, and the steps at the side for ascending it, argue strongly in favour of this supposition; nor is the custom unusual in the East at the present day.

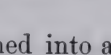
The Egyptian tables were round,[6] square, or oblong; the former

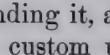
[1] The Greeks ornamented the legs of their tables and other furniture in the same manner.

[2] The custom of reclining is said to have been introduced from Carthage, after the Punic wars.

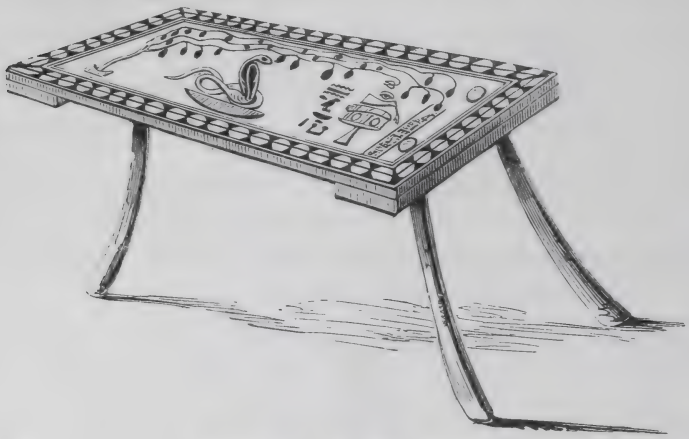
[3] Philo, lib. de Joseph., p. 555, ed. Francf. [The Chinese and the Egyptians were the only people of the East who used chairs, tables, and bedsteads, though Og, king of Bashan, had one of the last.—G. W.]

[4] Called *nemma*. They were used for the same purposes as couches at the present day; there is, however, no representation of sleeping on the monuments.—S. B.

[5] Called  *aft*, square piece. The mattresses and cushions seem to have been padded with feathers of the waterfowl. —S. B.

[6] Called  *tahetp* at the time of the 12th Dynasty.—S. B.

were generally used during their repasts, and consisted of a circular flat summit, supported, like the *monopodium* of the Romans, on a single shaft or leg in the centre, or by the figure of a man, intended to represent a captive.[1] Large tables had



No. 193. Wooden table, in the British Museum.[2] *Thebes.*

usually three or four legs, but some were made with solid sides; and though generally of wood, many were of metal or stone; and they varied in size, according to the purposes for which they were intended.[3]

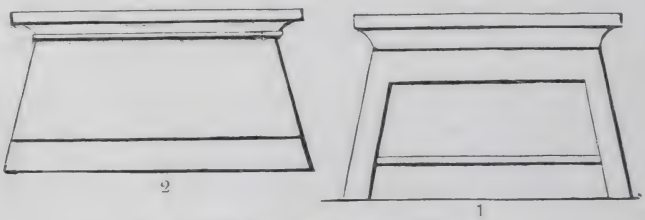


Fig. 1. Table, from the sculptures at Thebes.
No. 194. 2. With solid sides.

Common people either sat cross-legged, as the modern Asiatics, or crouched, on the ground; in which last position many Egyptian statues and painted figures are represented; and no one who has seen the peasants of Egypt can fail to recognise

[1] Woodcut No. 192, *fig.* 2.

[2] The upper part is ornamented with a figure of the goddess *Rannu*, or goddess of the harvest and vintages, represented as a coiled up uræus, having before her an altar of viands, and her name above, and placed under a vine. The line of hieroglyphs near the border is a sepulchral dedication to Osiris for a deceased Paperpa, the person for whom the table was made.—S. B.

[3] Woodcuts Nos. 192, 193, 194.

a position equally common to the modern inhabitants of the country, as to other Oriental people. When bearing sacred emblems before the shrine of a deity, or desirous of showing respect to a superior, they generally sat upon their heels;[1] and it is remarkable that this attitude continues to be adopted by persons of inferior rank in Moslem society.

No. 195. Positions, when seated on the ground.

Of the furniture of their bed-rooms we know little or nothing: but that they universally employed the wooden pillow above alluded to is evident, though Porphyry would lead us to suppose its use was confined to the priests, when, in noticing their mode of life, he mentions a half cylinder of well-polished wood sufficing to support their head,[2] as an instance of their simplicity and self-denial.[3] For the rich, they were made of Oriental alabaster, with an elegant grooved or fluted shaft, ornamented with hieroglyphics, carved in intaglio, and painted of a blue colour; others were of rare wood;[4] and those of a more ordinary kind were of sycamore, tamarisk, and other woods of the country, the poorer classes being contented with a cheaper sort, of pottery or stone. Porphyry mentions a kind of wicker bedstead of palm branches

Wooden pillow or head-stool, found at Thebes.
No. 196.

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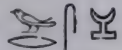
[1] As *figs.* 4 and 5 in woodcut No. 195.
[2] Porph. de Abst. lib. iv. s. 7.
[3] Woodcuts Nos. 196, 197.
[4] They were called  *urs*, like the Coptic *ouols*, are very common, and are of various forms and sizes in the stem. For comfort they must have been made to fit the head exactly, as they otherwise would have caused great pain. The sides of the base or foot are often ornamented with the figures of the god Bes or Bessa, sometimes accompanied by his female companion, Taur or Thoueris. (Leeman's 'Mon. Égypt. du Musée de Leyde,' ii. pl. lxxiv. 546.) Some have the sides of the lune beneath. (Guide to Egyptian Room, Brit. Mus. No. 2556c. p. 23.) They always appear in the coffins of the earlier dynasties. (Lepsius, 'Aelteste Texte,' pl. vi. 20, 35.)—S. B.

called *baïs*,[1] which, he says, was used by the priests; but it is reasonable to conclude they were also met with in the houses of other individuals, at least among the middle and lower classes; and it is remarkable that the same species of framework is still

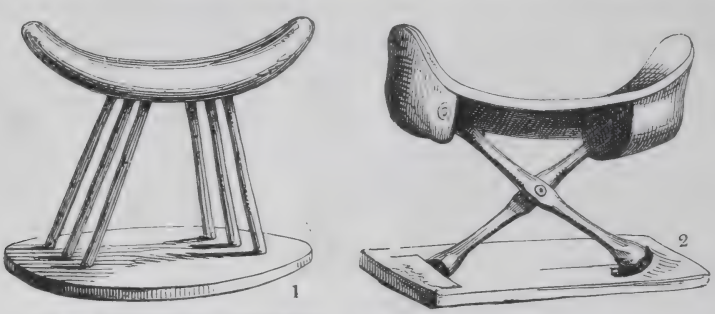


Fig. 1. Wooden pillow of unusual form.
2. Another found at Thebes, and now in the British Museum. The base was lost.
No. 197.

employed by the modern Egyptians, as a support to the *diwáns* of sitting-rooms, and to their beds. In size they vary according to the dimensions of the room and other circumstances; but they are invariably made of the *geréet*, or sticks of the palm branch, and are known by the general name of *kaffass*.[2] Each side consists of a number of upright bars, which pass through three rods

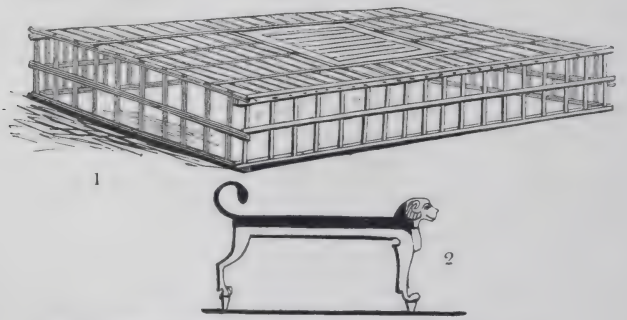


Fig. 1. Kaffass bedstead of palm sticks used by the modern Egyptians.
2. Ancient bier on which the bodies were placed after death.
No. 198.

at right angles with them, the upper and lower one forming the edge of the framework. The summit on which the bed is placed is constructed in the same manner with transverse *geréets*, and in the centre is a small mass of them in closer order, intended more

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[1] *Bai* is the Coptic for palm branch.
[2] Hencoops, and all other wicker work made of the *geréet*, have the same name.

for ornament than for use; and the usual dimensions of these bedsteads are about seven feet by three and a half, and from one foot to two feet in height. Wooden, and perhaps also bronze bedsteads,[1] may have been used by the wealthier classes of the ancient Egyptians; and it is at least probable that the couches they slept upon were as elegant as those on which their bodies reposed after death; and the more so, as these last, in their general style, are very similar to the furniture of the sitting-room.[2]

In their entertainments the Egyptians appear to have omitted nothing which could promote festivity and the amusement of the guests. Music,[3] songs, dancing,[4] buffoonery, feats of agility, or

Military chief carried in a sort of palanquin, an attendant bearing a buckler behind him.
No. 199. *Beni-Hassan.*

games of chance, were generally introduced; and in token of welcome, all the luxuries were offered which the cellar and the table could afford. The party, when invited to dinner, met about midday,[5] and they arrived successively in their chariots, in palanquins[6] borne by their servants, or on foot. Sometimes their

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[1] We read of a bedstead of *iron* belonging to Og, king of Bashan. (Deut. iii. 11.)

[2] *Fig.* 2 of woodcut No. 198.

[3] Isaiah v. 12.

[4] Conf. the feast given on the arrival of the prodigal son: 'Bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it; and let us eat, and be merry:' and his brother, when he drew nigh to the house, 'heard music and dancing.' (Luke xv. 23, 25.)

[5] Gen. xliii. 16.

[6] Woodcut No. 199.

attendants carried a sort of parasol to shade them from the sun, as represented in the woodcut below, which in the present instance appears to have been of leather, stretched over a light frame;[1] but those which were borne behind, and belonged exclusively to, the king, were composed of feathers, and were not very unlike the flabella carried on state occasions behind the Pope, in modern Rome. The same custom prevailed in Persia and other Eastern countries; and in the sculptures of Persepolis we have a

No. 200. Persian sculptures.

Figs. 1, 2, 3. Attendants bearing a parasol and fly-flap over a Persian chief, in some sculptures of Persepolis, which have a very Egyptian character.

Fig. 4 is evidently borrowed from the winged globe.

satisfactory instance of the use of a parasol or umbrella, which bears a greater resemblance to those of the present day, and conveys a better idea of its form, than an Egyptian artist would have given: though, from their general character, presenting so strong an analogy to those of Egypt, that we may suppose many

[1] From the man having a battle-axe in the other hand, I was inclined to suppose it a shield; but from his being in the act of raising it aloft, we may conclude it was for the purpose of a parasol. [It is the buckler, *aqam*, of the military officer, and used for the purpose.—S. B.]

of these sculptures were executed by captives taken from Thebes at the Persian conquest.

When a visitor came in his car, he was attended by a number of servants, some of whom carried a stool, to enable him to alight, and others his writing tablet, or whatever he might want during his stay at the house. In the accompanying woodcut [1] the guests are assembled in a sitting-room within, and are entertained with music during the melancholy interval preceding the announcement of dinner; for, like the Greeks, they considered it a want of good breeding to sit down to table immediately on arriving, and perhaps as Bdelycleon, in Aristophanes,[2] recommended his father Philocleon to do, they admired the beauty of the rooms, and commended the furniture, taking care to bestow unqualified praise on those objects which were intended for their approbation. As usual in all countries, some of the party arrived earlier than others; and the consequence, or affectation of fashion, in the person who now drives up in his curricle, is shown by his coming some time after the rest of the company. One of his footmen runs forward to knock at the door; others, close behind the chariot, are ready to take the reins, and to perform their accustomed duties; and the one holding his sandals in his hand, that he may run with greater ease, illustrates a custom, still common in Egypt, among the Arabs and peasants of the country, who find the power of the foot greater when freed from the encumbrance of a shoe.

To those who arrived from a journey, or who desired it, water was brought for their feet,[3] previous to entering the festive chamber; and it was either now, or immediately before dinner, that the guests washed their hands,[4] the water being brought in the same manner as at the present day; and ewers not unlike those used by the modern Egyptians are represented with the basins belonging to them, in the paintings of a Theban tomb. It is certain that basins were kept for the purpose of washing the hands and feet of the guests, and that in the houses of the rich they were of gold,[5] or other costly materials; but those who lived near their host were probably expected to perform their ablutions

[1] Woodcut No. 201.

[2] Aristoph. Vesp. line 1209. Noticed by Athenæus, lib. iv. c. 27.

[3] Joseph ordered his servants to fetch water for his brethren, that they might wash their feet before they ate (Gen. xliii. 24. Conf. also xviii. 4 and xxiv. 32; 1 Sam. xxv. 46). It was always a custom of the East, as with the Greeks and Romans; and they considered it a great want of hospitality to neglect to offer water for this purpose. (Conf. Luke vii. 44, 46.)

[4] Conf. Petron. Satyric. c. xxxi.

[5] Herodotus mentions a gold basin, or *podanipter*, belonging to Amasis, which he and the guests who dined with him used for washing their feet.

before they left home; and hence, I conceive, we may account for not finding any representation of this preliminary ceremony

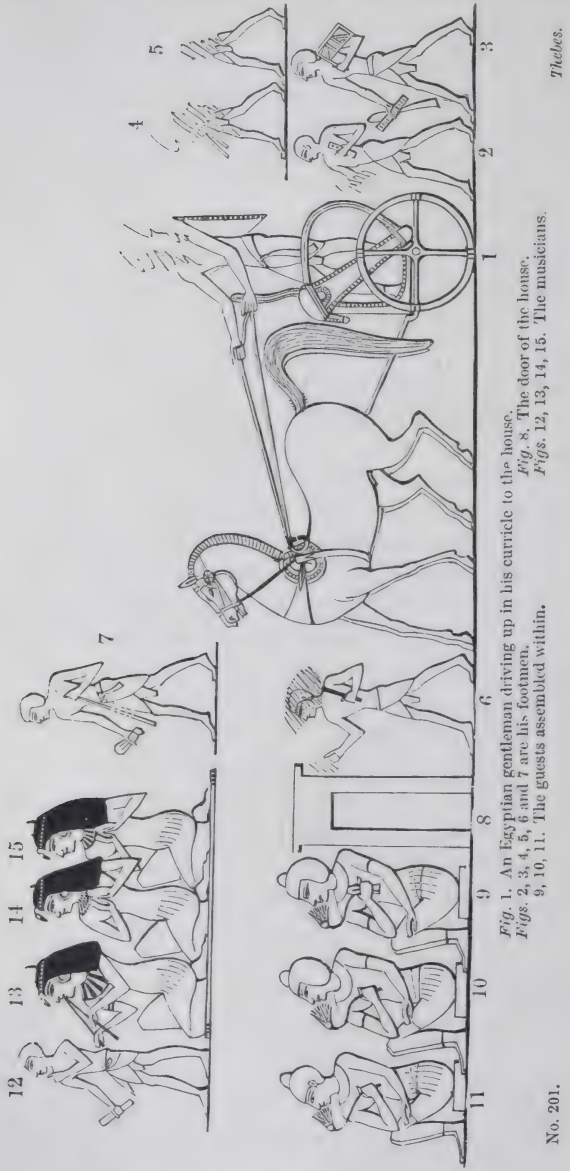


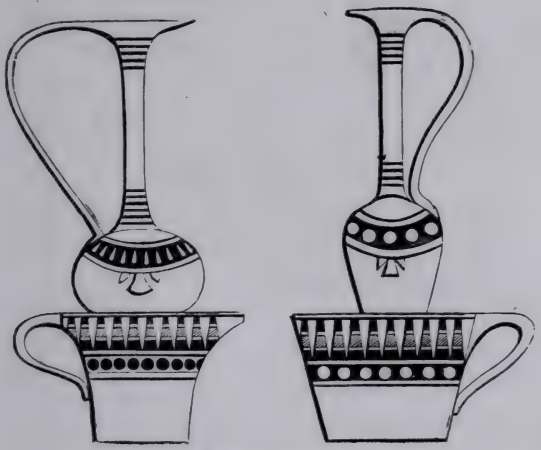
Fig. 1. An Egyptian gentleman driving up in his curricle to the house.
Figs. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 are his footmen. *Fig.* 8. The door of the house.
9, 10, 11. The guests assembled within. *Figs.* 12, 13, 14, 15. The musicians.

No. 201. *Thebes.*

in the paintings at Thebes. Athenæus[1] seems to apply the same

[1] Athen. iv. 27.

remark to the Greeks; and 'it was deemed indecent,' says that author, 'for anyone to go to a feast without having previously cleansed himself; though persons arriving from a journey not only washed, but were even clothed, at the mansion of their



No. 202. Golden ewers and basins in the tomb of Rameses III. *Thebes.*

host.' However, with the Greeks, as well as other people of antiquity, the usual custom was to bring water to the guests, numerous instances of which we find in Homer;[1] as when Telemachus and the son of Nestor were received at the house of Menelaus,[2] and when Asphalion poured it upon the hands of his master and the same guests on another occasion;[3] and Virgil describes the servants bringing water for this purpose, when Æneas was entertained by Dido.[4] Nor was the ceremony thought superfluous, and declined, even though they had previously bathed and been anointed with oil.[5]

It is also probable that, like the Greeks, the Egyptians anointed themselves before they left home; but still it was customary for a servant to attend every guest, as he seated himself, and to anoint his head;[6] and this was one of the principal tokens of welcome.[7] The ointment was sweet-scented, and, unlike the

[1] Homer, Od. iv. 50.
[2] Ibid. xv. 135.
[3] Ibid. iv. 216.
[4] Virg. Æn. i. 705: 'Dant famuli manibus lymphas.'
[5] Hom. Od. iv. 49 and 53. This is the case with the Moslems of the present day, who also require the water to be *poured upon* the hands. (Conf. 2 Kings iii. 11.)
[6] The Egyptians were shaved, and wore wigs. (Herodot. ii. 36, and the sculptures.) The Greeks, Jews, and other ancient people were very fond of ointment and perfume. (Prov. xxvii. 9; Psalm xxiii. 5; and Horace, Od. xii. 4.)
[7] Athenæus, xv. 13

Lacedæmonians, who banished those who sold perfumed ointments from their country, the Egyptians were particularly partial to this species of luxury.[1] It was contained, sometimes in an alabaster,[2] sometimes in an elegant porcelain vase; and so strong was the odour, and so perfectly were the different component substances amalgamated, that it has been known to retain its scent for several hundred years.[3] Servants took the sandals of the guests as they arrived, and either put them by in a convenient place in the house, or held them on their arm while they waited upon them.[4]

A servant anointing a guest.
No. 203. *Thebes.*

After the ceremony of anointing was over, and, in some cases, at the time of entering the saloon, a lotus flower was presented to each guest, who held it in his hand during the entertainment.[5] Servants then brought necklaces[6] of flowers, composed chiefly of the lotus; a garland was also put round the head, and a single lotus bud, or a full-blown flower, was so attached as to hang over the forehead.[7] Many of them, made up into wreaths and other devices, were suspended upon stands placed in the room, to be in readiness for immediate use, and servants were constantly employed to bring other fresh flowers from the garden,[8] in order to supply the guests as their bouquets faded;[9] and, to prevent their withering, they were generally put close to jars of water, into which the stalks were probably immersed.

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[1] It was called *api* or *tepi*, 'head oil' or 'pomatum,' and is often mentioned in the texts, or *qami*. ('Records of the Past,' vi. 51.)—S. B.

[2] Mary, when she washed Jesus' feet, brought an alabaster box of ointment. (Matt. xxvi. 7; Luke vii. 37.)

[3] One of the alabaster vases in the museum at Alnwick Castle contains some of this ancient ointment, between two and three thousand years old, and yet its odour remains.

[4] [It is mentioned as a high and unusual honour accorded to a subject, that he was allowed to enter into the presence of his sovereign with his sandals on, as in the case of Una of the 6th Dynasty. (Birch, 'Egypt,' p. 53.—S. B.]

[5] Plate XI.; and woodcut No. 190.

[6] To put on a ring or a necklace was a token of respect and welcome. (Gen. xli. 42.) The ring was generally a seal, as it is at the present day in the East, whence it is called, in Arabic, *khátom*. Necklaces were also put upon the figures of the gods and kings of Egypt.

[7] Plate XI. Athen. 'Deipnos.' xv. 4, 5, 9, 10.

[8] Ibid.

[9] This was the employment of the gardener. ('Records of the Past,' iv. p. 5.) These were flowers of the lotus, *s's'ni*.—S. B.

The stands that served for holding the flowers and garlands were similar to those of the amphoræ and vases,[1] some of which have been found in the tombs of Thebes; and the same kind of

No. 204. Servants bringing necklaces of flowers. *Thebes.*

stand was introduced into a lady's dressing-room, or the bath, for the purpose of holding clothes and other articles of the toilet. They varied in size according to circumstances, some being low

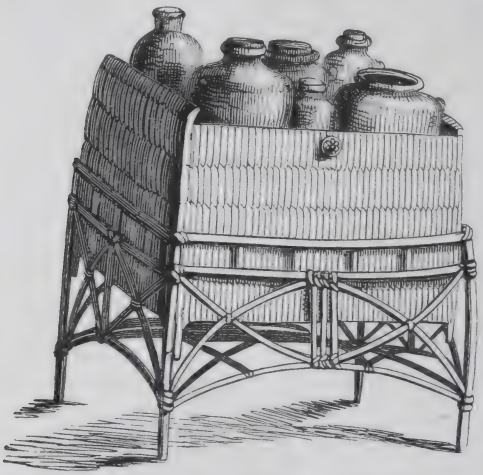
No. 205. Wooden stand, 8 inches square at the summit, for holding a small cup. *British Museum.*

and broad at the top, others higher, with a small summit, merely large enough to contain a single cup,[2] or a small bottle, one of

[1] Plate XI.

[2] Similar stands are represented in the mural paintings of a tomb. British Museum, No. 180.—S. B.

which, from Mr. Salt's Collection, may be seen in the British Museum; but those of a larger size were more generally used, and were more convenient for ordinary purposes. Others, though much smaller than the common stands, were broader in proportion to their height, and answered as small tables, or as the supports of cases containing bottles; and one of these last, preserved in the Berlin Museum, is supposed to have belonged to a medical man, or to the toilet of a Theban lady.



No. 206. A case containing bottles, supported on a stand. *Berlin Museum.*

Diodorus[1] informs us that when the Egyptians approached the place of divine worship, they held the flower of the *agrostis* in their hand, intimating that man proceeded from a well-watered or marshy land, and that he required a moist rather than a dry aliment; and it is not improbable that the reason of the great preference given to the lotus, on these occasions, was derived from the same notion. This did not, however, prevent their using many other kinds of flowers in the composition of bouquets, garlands, and chaplets; and artificial representations of them were employed by the Egyptians for the same purpose, as we may infer from an expression of Pliny[2] already noticed, and from the imitation of flowers and leaves in painted linen discovered in the tombs of Thebes. The Greeks and Romans had the same custom, and their guests were, in like manner, decked with flowers or garlands, which were brought in, according to Athenæus, at

[1] Diod. i. 43. [2] Plin. xxi. 2.

the beginning of their entertainments, or, according to some, before the second course; and in all cases they were provided by the master of the house. They not only adorned their *heads*,[1] *necks*,[2] and *breasts*,[3] like the Egyptians, but often bestrewed the couches on which they lay, and all parts of the room, with flowers; though the head was chiefly regarded, as appears from Horace,[4] Anacreon,[5] Ovid,[6] and other ancient authors. And this ceremony, like that of anointing the head with sweet-scented ointment,[7] was probably derived by the Greeks from Egypt, or, as some suppose, through the Ionians, from Asia. They also perfumed the apartment with myrrh, frankincense, and other choice odours, which they obtained from Syria;[8] and if the sculptures do not give any direct representation of this practice among the Egyptians, we know it to have been adopted and deemed indispensable among them; and a striking instance is recorded by Plutarch, at the reception of Agesilaus by Tachos.[9] A sumptuous dinner was prepared for the Spartan prince, consisting, as usual, of beef, goose, and other Egyptian dishes; he was crowned with garlands of papyrus, and received with every token of welcome; but when he refused 'the sweetmeats, confections, and perfumes,' the Egyptians held him in great contempt, as a person unaccustomed to, and unworthy of, the manners of civilised society.

The Greeks, and other ancient people, usually put on a particular garment at festive meetings,[10] generally of a white colour;[11] but it does not appear to have been customary with the Egyptians to make any great alteration in their attire, though probability, as well as the sculptures, lead us to conclude that they abstained from dresses of a gloomy hue.

The guests being seated, and having received these tokens of welcome, wine was offered them by the servants. To the ladies it was generally brought in a small vase,[12] which, when emptied into the drinking cup, was handed to an under servant, or slave, who followed; but to the men it was frequently presented in a one-handled goblet, without being poured into any cup, and

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[1] Hor. Od. ii. 7. 7; Athen. xv. 4 and 9.
[2] Athen. xv. 5.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Hor. Od. i. 26 and 38; iv. 11, &c.
[5] Anacreon, Od. iv.
[6] Ovid, Fast. lib. v.
[7] Hor. Od. ii. 7. 22: 'Funde capacibus unguenta de conchis.'
[8] Athen. iii. 22.
[9] Plut. in Agesil.
[10] Conf. Matt. xxii. 11.
[11] Cicero, in Vaticinium, s. xii. xiii.
[12] Wine was not only indispensable at an Egyptian but also at a Greek feast; where wine, bread, meat, couches, and tables were considered absolutely necessary. (Plut. Sympos. ii.)

sometimes in a large or small vase of gold, silver, or other materials. Nor does it appear to have been the custom of the Egyptians to provide each guest with his own cup, as among the ancient Greeks,[1] though we have evidence of its having been the case in some instances, and one was kept exclusively for the use of the master of the house.[2]

No. 207. Offering wine to a guest. *Thebes.*

Herodotus and Hellanicus both say that they drank wine out of brass or bronze goblets; and, indeed, the former affirms that this was the only kind of drinking-cup known to the Egyptians;[3] but he is not supported by fact, since we find that Joseph[4] had one of silver, and the sculptures represent them of glass and porcelain,[5] as well as bronze and the metals above mentioned. That those who could not afford the more costly kind should be satisfied with a cheaper quality is highly probable, and many were doubtless contented with cups of common earthenware; and though it may be said that the modern Egyptians have the custom of drinking water from earthen bottles, yet many of the richer classes have brass,[6] or, occasionally, porcelain and silver cups; and if these are used by a far less civilised and opulent people, for so simple a beverage as water, how much more likely were they to have been adopted by the ancient Egyptians, a people who were possessed of great riches, fond of luxury and show, and known to have employed vases of glass, porcelain, and

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[1] Homer, Il. iv. 262.

[2] Conf. Gen. xliv. 5. 'Is not this it (the cup) in which my lord drinketh?'

[3] Herodot. ii. 37.

[4] Gen. xliv. 2, 5.

[5] The imitations of the *pocula murrhina* of the Romans. (Plin. xxxiii. prœm. xxxv. 12, and xxxvii. 2.)

[6] These are also used by the *subbalin*, who sell water in the streets of Cairo.

Egyptian Party, from a tomb at Thebes

the precious metals, for numerous purposes, both in their houses and in the temples of the gods.

The practice of introducing wine at the commencement[1] of an entertainment, or before dinner had been served up, was not peculiar to this people; and the Chinese, to the present day, offer it at their parties to all the guests, as they arrive, in the same manner as the ancient Egyptians. We also find that they drank wine during the repast;[2] perhaps, also, to the health of one another, or of an absent friend, like the Romans;[3] and if they had no *rex convivii*,[4] or president, to encourage hilarity or to check excess, we may conclude that the master of the house recommended a choice wine, and pledged them to the cup.[5] They sometimes crowned the bowl with wreaths of flowers,[6] a custom prevalent also among the Greeks and Romans,[7] and a vase filled with blossoms of the lotus was frequently placed on a stand before the master of the house, or presented to him by a servant.

While dinner was preparing,[8] the party was enlivened by the sound of music; and a band, consisting of the harp, lyre, *guitar*, tambourine, double and single pipe, flute, and other instruments, played the favourite airs and songs of the country. Nor was it deemed unbecoming the gravity and dignity of a priest to admit musicians into his house, or to take pleasure in witnessing the dance; and, seated with their wives and family in the midst of their friends, the highest functionaries of the sacerdotal order enjoyed the lively scene. In the same manner, at a Greek entertainment, diversions of all kinds were introduced; and Xenophon and Plato inform us that Socrates, the wisest of men, amused his friends with music, jugglers, mimics, buffoons, and whatever could be desired for exciting cheerfulness and mirth.

Though impossible for us now to form any notion of the character or style of Egyptian music, we may be allowed to conjecture that it was studied on scientific principles; and, from

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[1] The same was usual at banquets in Judæa and other parts of Syria: Amos vi. 6.

[2] Gen. xliii. 34. The Hebrew is יִשְׁכְּרוּ, which is to be merry from strong drink. *Sikr*, שֵׁכָר, implies the same in Hebrew and Arabic.

[3] Pers. v. 1, 20. Hor. Od. i. 27, 9. Ovid. Fast. iii. 531.

[4] *Arbiter bibendi*, or *symposiarchos*, chosen by lot. (Hor. Od. i. 4.)

[5] Gen. xliii. 34. Conf. Isaiah xxii. 13; Luke xii. 19; the Wisdom of Solomon ii. 6; and 1 Cor. xv. 32.

[6] Plate XI.

[7] Virg. Æn. i. 747, and iii. 525.

[8] In early times, as with the modern Arabs, the master of the house killed the sheep, or whatever was to be brought to table; as Achilles, at the reception of Priam. (Il. Ω, 621.) At the feast of the Eed, among the Moslems, the same custom continues, even in the cities.

the great attention paid to it by Pythagoras, many years of whose life were spent in learning 'the wisdom of the Egyptians,' there is every reason to believe that whatever defects existed in the skill of ordinary performers, who gained their livelihood by playing in public or for the entertainment of a private party, music was looked upon as an important science, and diligently studied by the priests themselves. According to Diodorus, it was not customary to make music part of their education, being deemed useless and even injurious, as tending to render the minds of men effeminate; but this remark can only apply to the custom of studying it as an amusement, which might lead to luxurious and dissolute habits: and Plato, who was well acquainted with the usages of the Egyptians, distinctly says that they considered music of the greatest consequence, from its beneficial effects upon the mind of youth. This is confirmed by the following assertion of Strabo, that the children of the Egyptians were taught letters, the songs appointed by law, and a certain kind of music, established by government, to the exclusion of every other; and Diodorus himself not only allows the invention of music to have been ascribed by the Egyptians to divine origin, but shows that the poets and musicians of Greece visited Egypt for the purpose of improvement.[1]

The authority of Plato, who had spent thirteen years in the country, and had paid particular attention to the institutions of the Egyptians, is of the greatest weight on this question; and the whole passage connected with it is of so much interest, that I cannot refrain from introducing the dialogue in which it occurs.[2]

'*Athen. Guest.*—The plan we have been laying down for the education of youth was known long ago to the Egyptians, that nothing but beautiful forms and fine music should be permitted to enter into the assemblies of young people. Having settled what those forms and what that music should be, they exhibited them in their temples; nor was it allowable for painters, or other imitative artists, to innovate or invent any forms different from what were established; nor lawful, either in painting, statuary, or any branches of music, to make any alteration: upon examination, therefore, you will find that the pictures and statues made ten thousand years ago are in no one particular better or worse than what they now make.

'*Clin.*—What you say is wonderful.

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[1] Diod. i. 96.

[2] Plato, Second Book of Laws.

'*Athen.*—Yes, it is in the true spirit of legislation and policy: other things, practised among that people, may, perhaps, be of a trifling nature; but what they ordained about music is right, and it deserves consideration, that they were able to make laws about things of this kind, firmly establishing such melody as was fitted to rectify the perverseness of nature. This must have been the work of the Deity, or of some divine man: as in fact they say in Egypt, that the music which has been so long preserved was composed by Isis, and the poetry likewise: so that, as I said, if anyone is able to apprehend the rectitude of them, he ought to have the courage to reduce them to law and order. For the search of pleasure and pain, which is always directed to the use of new music, perhaps possesses no great power of corrupting the consecrated choir by an accusation of its antiquity. It appears, therefore, that the choir of the Egyptians was by no means capable of being corrupted, but that the contrary was entirely the case.'

That the Egyptians were particularly fond of music, is abundantly proved by the paintings in their tombs of the earliest times; and we even find they introduced figures performing on the favourite instruments of the country, among the devices with which they adorned fancy boxes or trinkets. The representation of a woman playing the guitar, which forms part of an ornamental design on a wooden box, in the Berlin Museum, will serve to illustrate this fact, and to show how much grace is sometimes evinced in Egyptian designs. Of this I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

That they paid great attention to the study of music, and had arrived at a very accurate knowledge of the art, is evident, when we consider the nature of the instruments they used, and the perfect acquaintance they must have had with the principles of harmony; and not only do the sculptures prove the fondness and, I may add, the skill of the Egyptians in the use of musical instruments, but the fact is confirmed by a statement of Athenæus,[1] who expressly tells us that both the Greeks and barbarians were taught by refugees from Egypt, and that the Alexandrians were the most scientific and skilful players on pipes and other instruments.

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[1] Athen. iv. 25. He quotes Menecles of Barca and Andron in his annals of Alexandria; and these migrations appear to have been most numerous at the period when the seventh Ptolemy, called Cacergetes, persecuted men of art and science.

In the infancy of music, as Dr. Burney has justly observed, 'no other instruments were known than those of percussion, and it was, therefore, little more than metrical.' Pipes of various kinds and the flute were afterwards invented; at first very rude, and made of reeds which grew in the rivers and lakes. The flute,[1] says Horace,[2] was originally small and simple, with a few holes; and if it was introduced at the chorus of a play, its sound had only sufficient power to suit a theatre of a very limited size. But in process of time it was made larger, with more notes and a louder tone, and, bound with brass, it rivalled the tone of the trumpet. To discover, we can scarcely say to invent, such simple instruments, required a very slight effort, which observation afterwards improved; and music must have undergone a regular progression, through the early stages of infancy and youth, till it attained the age of maturity. But, ere it reached this stage of perfection, the powers of the human mind had been called forth to exalt its character; improvement followed improvement, and music became a noble and valuable science. To the alterations made in the simple instruments of early times, succeeded the invention of others of a far more complicated kind; and the many-stringed harp, lyre, and other instruments, added to the power and variety of musical sounds.

To contrive a method of obtaining perfect melody from a smaller number of strings, by shortening them on a finger-board during the performance, like our modern violin, was unquestionably a more difficult task than could be accomplished in the infancy of music, and great advances must have been already made in the science before this could be attained, or before the idea would suggest itself to the mind. With this principle, however, the Egyptians were well acquainted, and the sculptures unquestionably prove it, in the frequent use of the three-stringed guitar.

A harp or lyre, having a number of strings imitating various sounds and disposed in the order of notes, might be invented even in an early stage of the art; but a people who had not attentively studied the nature of musical sounds would necessarily remain ignorant of the method of procuring the same tones from a limited number of strings; nor are our means simplified till they become perfectly understood. It is then evident, not only

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[1] *Tibia* was the flute; but it also signified a pipe, and the name *tibia dextra et sinistra* was applied to the double pipe. *Tibia obliqua*, πλαγίαυλος, was properly the flute.

[2] Hor. de Art. Poet. 202.

from the great fondness for music evinced by the early Egyptians, but from the nature of the very instruments they used, that the art was studied with great attention, and that they extended the same minute and serious investigation to this as to other sciences.

And though Diodorus[1] thinks that the Egyptians did not consider music a necessary part of an accomplished education, yet he attributes[2] the invention of it to the same deity who gave them laws and letters, who regulated the affairs of religion, and who taught them astronomy and all useful and ornamental arts.

This fabulous account of its origin evidently shows music to have been sanctioned and even cultivated by the priests themselves, who invariably pretended to have derived from the gods the knowledge of the sciences they encouraged, of which their body was the sole repository and source. Hermes or Mercury was, therefore, reputed to be the first discoverer of the harmony and principle of voices or sounds, and the inventor of the lyre.[3]

From his limiting the number of its strings to three, the historian evidently confounds the lyre with the Egyptian guitar; yet this traditional story, which he learnt during his visit to the country, serves to attest the remote antiquity of stringed instruments, and proves the great respect paid to music by the Egyptian priests, who thought it not unworthy of a deity to be its patron and inventor. In Greece, too, where music was particularly encouraged, its invention was attributed to the gods. Wind instruments were said to owe their origin to Minerva, as the lyre to Mercury, and Apollo was the patron of the science.

In noticing the harps of a tomb at Thebes,[4] Bruce makes the following remark, that they 'overturn all the accounts hitherto given of the earliest state of music and musical instruments in the East; and are altogether, in their form, ornaments, and compass, an incontestable proof, stronger than a thousand Greek quotations, that geometry, drawing, mechanics, and music were at the greatest perfection when this instrument was made, and that the period from which we date the invention of these arts was only the beginning of the era of their restoration.'[5] But if his remark applies to the harp, with much greater force does it to

[1] Diod. i. 1. [2] Ibid. i. 16.

[3] The same fable passed into Greece; but Apollo was said to have been the first who accompanied the lyre with his voice, and this was supposed to have given him a decided superiority over the flute of Marsyas.

[4] Of the time of Rameses III. B.C. 1235; consequently far from being the oldest harps represented in Egyptian sculpture.

[5] Bruce's Travels, book i. c. 6.

the three-stringed guitar above mentioned; and though we cannot fix the precise era of the invention of this or of any other Egyptian instrument, sufficient is known from the sculptures to prove that they were in common use[1] at the earliest periods of their known history.[2] The tomb in which the harps described by Bruce are painted, is one of those called Bibán el Moloók, where the kings of Egypt were interred; the description of which I have given in a previous work,[3] under the title of 'Bruce's, or the Harper's, tomb.'

The name of Bruce ought not to be passed by without a tribute to the injured memory of one whose zeal was rewarded with reproach and disbelief.[4] How easy is the part of a sceptic! What a slight effort, yet what an air of superiority and appearance of learning attend the expression of a doubt! Bruce had been *provokingly* enterprising. Many of his readers were incredulous, because he had done what they, in the plenitude of their wisdom, conceived impossible; and many of those most violent in their censures had neither sufficient experience nor knowledge of the subject to hazard an opinion. Envy prompted some, and fashion more, to speak of Bruce's narrative as a tale of wonder, or a pure invention;[5] and those who had never read his work fearlessly pronounced a censure to which others were known to assent. But it is gratifying to find that the

No. 208. The harp and double pipe. *Thebes.*

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[1] The harp, or a sort of lyre, was a common instrument in Syria in the time of Jacob (Gen. xxxi. 27); and this and the 'organ,' *kinóor* and *aogab*, were said to have been invented by Jubal, the sixth descendant of Cain (Gen. iv. 21).

[2] Those at the Pyramids are apparently of a date long previous to Usertesen, or the arrival of Joseph.

[3] 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 109.

[4] This was particularly striking with regard to his visit to the emerald mines. (Bruce, book i. c. 11.)

[5] In the Walpoliana are this remark and anecdote. 'Bruce's overbearing manner has raised enmity and prejudices; and he did wrong in retailing the most wonderful parts of his book in companies. A story may be credible when attended with circumstances, which seems false if detached. I was present in a large company at dinner, where Bruce was talking away. Some one asked, "What musical instruments are used in Abyssinia?" Bruce hesitated, not being prepared for the question, and at last said, "I think I saw one *lyre* there." George Selwyn whispered to his next man, "Yes; and there is one less since he left the country."'

HARPERS PAINTED IN THE TOMB OF RAMESES III.,
(The originals

KNOWN AS BRUCE'S, OR THE HARPER'S TOMB
are now effaced.)

THEBES

more mature investigations of the present day have vindicated the character of this distinguished traveller; and it is to be

No. 209.

Harps, pipe, and flute, from an ancient tomb near the Pyramids.

1. Harper, with harp, *ben t*, of seven cords; over him is inscribed in hieroglyphs *sqa em bents* (*a*), 'player (literally, 'scraper') on the harp.' 2. Singer, seated; above him, *hes t* (*b*), 'singer.' 3, 4. Similar harper and singer, and same inscriptions (*c*, *d*). 5, 6. Singer and player on the direct flute or pipe: before the former, *hes* (*h*), 'singer;' before the latter, *mem t* (*g*), 'pipe.' 7, 8. Singer and player on the oblique flute, *sebu* (*e*): before the former, *hes* (*f*), 'singer.'

hoped that his name will henceforward continue to be attached to the interesting monument above alluded to, as a memorial of his diligence under the most unfavourable circumstances, and as a token of his veracity. And so shall the name of Bruce be honoured *in his tomb.*

No. 210. The harp, guitar, and double pipe. *Thebes.*

It is sufficiently evident, from the sculptures of the ancient Egyptians, that their hired musicians were acquainted with the

No. 211. Harp, and a smaller one of four strings. *Thebes.*

triple symphony; the harmony of instruments, of voices, and of voices and instruments.[1] Their band was variously composed,

[1] Woodcut No. 209, &c.

consisting either of two harps, with the single pipe[1] and flute; of the harp and double pipe, frequently with the addition of the guitar; of a fourteen-stringed harp, a guitar, lyre, double pipe, and tambourine; of two harps, sometimes of different sizes, one

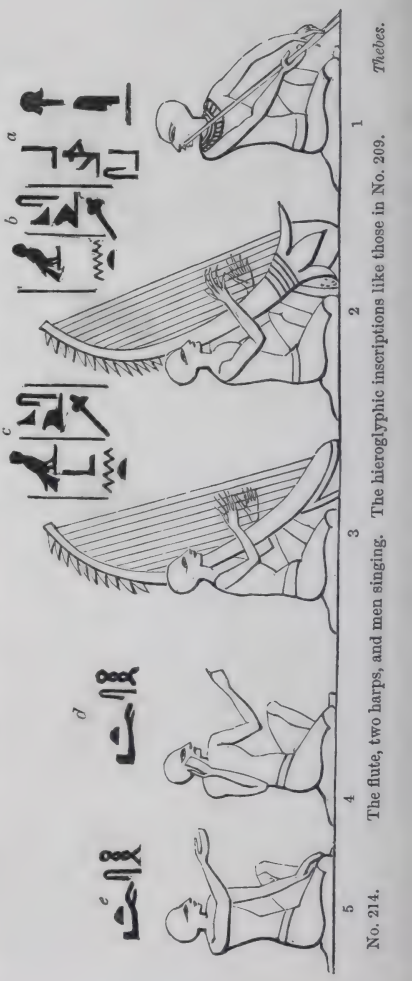
No. 212.

of seven, the other of four, strings; of two harps of eight strings, and a seven-stringed lyre; of the guitar, and the square or oblong tambourine; of the lyre, harp, guitar, double pipe, and a sort of

[1] It was played by the Greeks and Romans, to accompany the lyre and other instruments. (Horace, Od. lib. iii. 19, l. 19.)

harp with four strings, which was held upon the shoulder;[1] of the harp, guitar, double pipe, lyre, and square tambourine;[2] of the harp, two guitars, and the double pipe;[3] of the harp, two

No. 213. Two guitars, a harp, and double pipe; and a woman beating time with her hands.



No. 214. The flute, two harps, and men singing. The hieroglyphic inscriptions like those in No. 209. *Thebes.*

flutes, and a guitar;[4] of two harps and a flute; of a seventeen-stringed lyre, the double pipe, and a harp of fourteen strings; of

[1] Woodcut No. 234.
[2] Woodcut No. 212.
[3] Woodcut No. 213.
[4] Sacred music, woodcut No. 254.

the harp and two guitars; or of two seven-stringed harps and an instrument held in the hand, not unlike an Eastern fan,[1] to which were probably attached small bells, or pieces of metal that

Men and women singing to the harp, lyre, and double pipe. Before *fig.* 6 is *hes Ai*, 'the singer Ai.'
No. 215. *Thebes.*

emitted a jingling sound when shaken, like the crescent-crowned *bells* of our modern bands; besides many other combinations of these various instruments; and in the Bacchic festival of Ptolemy

No. 216. Harp and two guitars. *Thebes.*

Philadelphus, described by Athenæus, more than 600 musicians were employed in the chorus, among whom were 300 performers on the *kithara*.[2]

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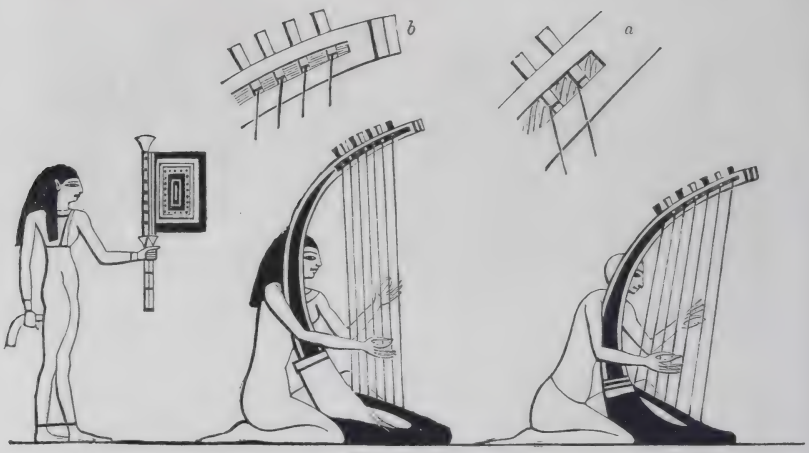
[1] Woodcut No. 217, *fig.* 3.

[2] Athen. lib. v.

Sometimes the harp was played alone, or as an accompaniment to the voice; and a band of seven or more choristers frequently sang to it a favourite air, beating time with their hands between



No. 217. Two harps, and another instrument, which perhaps emitted a jingling sound. *a* and *b* show how the strings were wound round the pegs. *Beni-Hassan.*

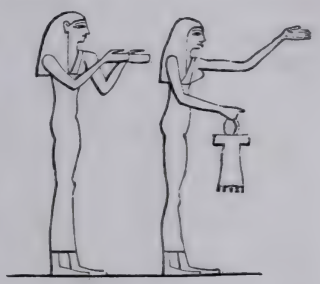
each stanza. They also sang to other instruments,[1] as the lyre, guitar, or double pipe, or to several of them played together, as the flute and one or more harps, or to these last with a lyre or a

No. 218. Blind harper and choristers. *Alabastron.*

guitar. It was not unusual for one man or one woman to perform a solo; and a chorus of many persons occasionally sang at a

[1] Woodcuts Nos. 213, 214, 215, and 216.

private assembly without any instrument, two or three beating time at intervals with the hand. Sometimes the band of choristers consisted of more than twenty persons, only two of whom responded by clapping their hands;[1] and in one instance I have seen a female represented holding what is, perhaps, a species of instrument, whose use and sound may have been similar to the one above mentioned.[2]



2 1

An unusual kind of instrument.
No. 219. *Thebes.*

The custom of beating time by clapping the hands between the stanzas, is still usual in Egypt, though I conceive it to be no longer done in the same manner by the modern as by the ancient Egyptians, whose notions of music, as of every other subject, must have been very different from those of their uncivilised successors.

On some occasions women beat the tambourine and *darabooka* drum,[3] without the addition of any other instrument, dancing or singing to the sound; and, bearing palm branches or green

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

No. 220. Women beating tambourines and the *darabooka* drum (*fig.* 1). *Thebes.*

twigs in their hands, they proceeded to the tomb of a deceased friend, accompanied by this species of music; and the same

[1] Herodot. ii. 60, where they are said to play the flute and cymbals, and to clap their hands; and the sculptures *passim*.

[2] Woodcut No. 219, *fig.* 1.

[3] The darabooka [*darabooka* is the Arabic name; the Egyptian has not been found—S. B.] is a sort of drum still used in Egypt, where it bears this name. Woodcut No. 220.

custom may still be traced in the Friday visit to the cemetery, and in some other funeral ceremonies among the Moslem peasants of modern Egypt.

If it was not customary for the higher classes of Egyptians to learn music for the purpose of playing in society, and if few amateur performers could be found among persons of rank, still some general knowledge of the art must have been acquired by a people so alive to its charms; and the attention paid to it by the priests regulated the taste, and prevented the introduction of a vitiated style. Those who played at the houses of the rich, as well as the ambulant musicians of the streets, were of the lower classes, and made this employment the means of obtaining their livelihood; and in many instances both the minstrels and the choristers were blind.[1]

From what has been said, it appears, first, that music was studied by the Egyptian priests with other views than that of affording pleasure and entertainment, the same science being borrowed by Pythagoras from Egypt. Secondly, that it was universally used at their private parties, where professional people were hired to perform. Thirdly, that we are to understand from the remark of Diodorus, of its not being customary for the Egyptians to learn music, that the higher orders did not study it as an amusement; and though the twelfth Ptolemy obtained the surname of Auletes from his skill in playing the flute, we cannot infer a general custom from the caprice of a Greek. Strabo, indeed, censures his taste; but this was rather owing to the feelings of a Roman,[2] than to the conviction that the conduct of the monarch was at variance with the customs of his people: for the Greeks[3] had not the same prejudices against music and the dance as many of the Romans; and, so far from deeming it unworthy a person of rank to excel in them, no one was thought to have received a proper education who possessed not those accomplishments. Cicero observes,[4] that 'they considered the arts of singing and playing upon musical instruments a very principal part of learning; whence it is related of Epaminondas, who, in my judgment, was the first of all the Greeks, that he played very well

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[1] Woodcut No. 218.

[2] Strabo was born at Amasia, in Pontus, on the borders of Cappadocia, and had studied in Greece, but was educated as a Roman.

[3] Polybius, lib. iv. 20, 21, commends the Arcadians for their love of music and the dance. (Plato's Crito, s. xii.; Phædo, s. iv.; Alcibiades, s. vi.; and Olympiodorus, Life of Plato.)

[4] Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. i.

upon the flute. And, some time before, Themistocles, upon refusing the harp at an entertainment, passed for an uninstructed and ill-bred person. Hence Greece became celebrated for skilful musicians; and as all persons there learned music, those who attained to no proficiency in it were thought uneducated and unaccomplished.' Cornelius Nepos, again, mentioning Epaminondas, observes that 'he played the harp and flute, and perfectly understood the art of dancing, with other liberal sciences;' 'though,' he adds, 'in the opinion of the Romans, these are trivial things, and not worthy of notice, yet in Greece they were reckoned highly commendable.'

Nor was it regarded with any other feeling by the Israelites; and they not only considered it becoming to delight in music and the dance, but persons of rank deemed them a necessary part of their education. Like the Egyptians, with whom they had so long resided, and many of whose customs they adopted, the Jews carefully distinguished sacred from profane music. They introduced it at public and private rejoicings, at funerals, and in religious services; but the character of the airs, like the words of their songs, varied according to the occasion; and they had canticles of mirth, of praise, of thanksgiving, and of lamentation. Some were *epithalamia*, or songs composed to celebrate marriages: others to commemorate a victory, or the accession of a prince; to return thanks to the Deity, or to celebrate His praises; to lament a general calamity, or a private affliction: and others, again, were peculiar to their festive meetings. On these occasions they introduced the harp, lute, tabret,[1] and various instruments, together with songs and dancing, and the guests were entertained nearly in the same manner as at an Egyptian feast. In the Temple, and in the religious ceremonies, the Jews had female as well as male performers, who were generally daughters of the Levites, as the Pallacides of Thebes were either of the royal family or the daughters of priests; and these musicians were attached exclusively to the service of religion,[2] as I believe them also to have been in Egypt, whether men or women. David was not only remarkable for his taste and skill in music, but took a delight in introducing it on every occasion. 'And seeing that the Levites

[1] Conf. Luke xv. 25 and Gen. xxxi. 27. This last, however, in the Hebrew, is *kinôor*, כִּנּוֹר, which is rather a lyre. It was known in the days of Seth (Gen. iv. 21) and of Job (xxi. 12).

[2] The function of the odists or bards is detailed in the decree of Canopus or Inscription of San. ('Records of the Past,' viii. p. 90.) There was a chief odist or musician over the rest.—S. B.

were numerous, and no longer employed as formerly in carrying the boards, veils, and vessels of the tabernacle, its abode being fixed at Jerusalem, he appointed a great part of them to sing and play on instruments at the religious festivals.' Solomon, again, at the dedication of the Temple, employed '120 priests to sound with trumpets;'[1] and Josephus pretends that no less than 200,000 musicians were present at that ceremony, besides the same number of singers, who were Levites.[2]

It has always been doubted whether the Jews studied music with the same systematic views as the Egyptians and Greeks; and as all airs, previous to the invention of notation, must have been traditional, and in some degree dependent on the taste and memory of the performers, many have questioned the possibility of their being either numerous or faithfully preserved.[3]

The early Greeks and Egyptians may not have had the means of handing down their compositions with the same fidelity as modern nations, yet this objection does not apply to the study of the science itself; their object being rather to touch the feeling than to delight the ear. It is impossible for us to determine whether the Egyptian priests, in later times, devised any method of preserving their melodies, or trusted entirely to oral tradition, as this secret would have been concealed by them with the same jealous care as the mysteries themselves; judging, however, from that adopted in Greece,[4] which was by disposing the letters of the alphabet in different ways, we may conclude that if the Egyptians really had any, it was equally cumbrous and imperfect.

Respecting the origin of this invention among the Greeks there is a diversity of opinion; it is generally attributed to Terpander, a celebrated poet and musician,[5] who flourished about six hundred and seventy years before our era; but the complication of sixteen hundred and twenty different notes must at all times have presented a considerable difficulty in reading and recollecting them.

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[1] 2 Chron. v. 12.

[2] Joseph. Antiq. lib. viii. 3: 'Solomon made 200,000 trumpets, according to the command of Moses, and 200,000 garments of fine linen for the singers, who were Levites .... and instruments for singing hymns, nablæ and cinyr, made of the finest brass, 40,000.'

[3] The Hebrew music has been discussed by Carl Engel: 'The Music of the most Ancient Nations,' 8vo. Lond. 1864, p. 277 and foll. The scales are given, p. 394. He inclines to the use of the pentatonic scale. —S. B.

[4] In one of the paintings from Herculaneum, a woman is seen playing on a lyre of eleven strings, and another sings from a paper which she holds in her hand, and which has either the notes, or the words of the song, written upon it.

[5] Plut. de Musicâ.

To inquire into the notions of Pythagoras, Plato,[1] and other Greek sages, who spent much time in Egypt, must be highly interesting, as it is almost the only means of obtaining any information respecting the character of Egyptian music, and their notions on the subject; and we have the authority of Plutarch[2] and other authors for believing that Plato and Pythagoras paid the greatest attention to this science.[3] The latter considered one of the noblest purposes to which it could be applied was to soothe and calm the mind,[4] and deemed it the duty of a philosopher to look upon it as an intellectual study rather than an amusement; for the gravity of Pythagoras censured the custom of judging music by the senses, and required that it should be submitted to the acumen of the mind, and examined by the rules of harmonic proportion.[5] It was the idea of this philosopher 'that air was the vehicle of sound, and that the agitation of that element, occasioned by a similar action in the parts of the sounding body, was its cause. The vibrations of a string, or other sonorous body, being communicated to the air, affected the auditory nerves with the sensation of sound; and this sound,' he argued, 'was acute or grave in proportion as the vibrations were quick or slow.' Others were of a different opinion; and Aristoxenus held the ear to be the sole standard of musical proportions. He esteemed that sense sufficiently accurate for musical, though not for mathematical, purposes; and it was, in his opinion, absurd to aim at an artificial accuracy in gratifying the ear beyond its own power of distinction. He, therefore, rejected the velocities, vibrations, and proportions of Pythagoras, as foreign to the subject, in so far as they substituted abstract causes in the room of experience, and made music the object of intellect rather than of sense.'[6] Modern investigations, however, have confirmed the statements of Pythagoras, and absolute demonstration has placed them beyond the possibility of doubt.

An interesting question now suggests itself: Whence did Pythagoras derive his notions respecting the theory of sound?

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[1] Plato and Eudoxus were thirteen years in Egypt, according to Strabo (lib. xvii.). In one of the tombs of the kings at Thebes is an inscription, written by a *daduchus* or torch-bearer of the Eleusinian mysteries, who says he examined those monuments many years 'after the divine Plato.'

[2] Plut. de Musicâ.

[3] Mr. Chappell ('Hist. of Ancient Music,' 8vo. London, 1874, p. 71) thinks Pythagoras imported the octave system from Babylon or Egypt. The story of the invention from the hammer and anvil is discredited by Ptolemy; but the invention of scales is generally attributed to Pythagoras.—S. B.

[4] Plut. de Virtute morali. Strabo, lib. i. p. 11, ed. Cas. Jamblichus, de Vitâ Pythag. &c.

[5] Plut. de Musicâ.

[6] 'Encyclop. Brit.' art. Music.

Did he arrive at these conclusions from his own experience? or is it not more probable that he was indebted to those under whom he studied for this insight into a subject they had so long been examining? But the fact of Pythagoras being the sole teacher of this doctrine, goes far to prove that it did not originate in Greece, and that his opinions were founded on Egyptian data. For what that philosopher asserted respecting sound emitted by a long and short string of the same quality and thickness, 'that the shorter made the quicker vibrations and uttered the acuter sound,' had been already shown by the Egyptians; and we may fairly conclude that he derived his knowledge of this subject from the same source[1] as that of the solar system, which remained unknown in Europe from his time to the days of Copernicus, and with which Pythagoras, of all the Greeks, was alone acquainted.[2]

On the sacred music of Egypt I shall make a few remarks in another part of this work: I now return to their customs at private entertainments. When hired to attend at a party, the musicians either stood in the centre or at one side of the festive chamber, and some sat cross-legged on the ground,[3] like the Turks and other Eastern people of the present day. They were usually accompanied on these occasions by dancers, either men or women, sometimes both; whose art consisted in assuming all the graceful or ludicrous gestures which could obtain the applause, or tend to the amusement, of the assembled guests.

Music[4] and dancing are also mentioned as having been considered essential at entertainments, among the Greeks, from the earliest times, and are pronounced by Homer[5] to be diversions requisite at a feast; 'an opinion,' says Plutarch,[6] 'confirmed by Aristoxenus, who observes that music is recommended in order to counteract the effect of inebriety; for as wine discomposes the body and mind, so music has the power of soothing them and

[1] Jamblichus informs us that Pythagoras derived his information upon different sciences from Egypt, and taught them to his disciples (Vitâ Pythag. lib. i. c. 29); that he learnt philosophy from the Egyptian priests (Ibid. i. c. 28); and that he employed music for curing diseases both of body and mind (Ibid. i. cc. 25, 29, and 31). He maintained 'that music greatly conduced to health . . . . . and that to temper and direct the morals and lives of men by means of music was most beneficial' (i. 25).

[2] Cicero, quoting Theophrastus, says that Icetas of Syracuse was of opinion that the heavens, the sun, moon, stars, and all bodies above us stood still, and that the earth alone moved, having the same effect when turned on its axis as if all the others were in motion. (Acad. Qu. 54, 39.)

[3] Woodcut No. 195, *fig.* 1; Nos. 210 and 218; and Plate XI.

[4] The Nabathæans of Arabia Petræa always introduced music at their entertainments (Strabo, xvii.); and the custom appears to have been very general among the ancients.

[5] Homer, Od. i. 152; quoted by Plutarch, de Musicâ.

[6] Plut. *loc. cit.*

of restoring their previous calmness and tranquillity.' Such, indeed, may have been the light in which the philosophic mind of Plutarch regarded the introduction of those diversions,[1] and such he attributed to the observation of the poet; but it may be questioned whether they always tended to the sobriety either of the Greeks or of the lively Egyptians.

Of the style and nature of Egyptian music we can glean but little from Herodotus, or any other writer who has mentioned the subject. The remark of the father of history, that some of their songs bore a plaintive character, is probably just; yet we cannot imagine it applicable to the generality of those introduced at the festive meetings of a cheerful people. That called Maneros he supposes to be the same as the Linus of the Greeks, 'which was known in Phœnicia, Cyprus, and other places:'[2] and he expresses his surprise that the same song should be met with on the banks of the Nile. 'I have been struck,' says the historian, 'with many things during my inquiries in Egypt, but with none more than this song, and I cannot conceive from whence it was borrowed; indeed, they seem to have had it from time immemorial, and to have known it by the name Maneros:[3] for they assured me it was so called from the son of their first monarch, who, being carried off by a premature death, was honoured by the Egyptians with a funeral dirge. And this was the first and only song they used at that early period of their history.'

Though this account is highly improbable, yet we learn from it that one of the many songs of the Egyptians was similar to the Linus of Greece, which was of a plaintive character, peculiarly adapted to mournful occasions; but whether it was of Egyptian or of Phœnician origin, it is of little moment to inquire.

Plutarch, on the other hand, asserts that it was suited to festivities[4] and the pleasures of the table, and that, 'amidst the diversions of a social party, the Egyptians made the room resound with the song of Maneros.'[5] In order, therefore, to reconcile

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[1] The ancients had very high notions of the effects of music; some founded on fact, others on fable and imagination. Of these last were the building of the walls of Thebes by the sound of Amphion's lyre, to which Pausanias gravely refuses to lend his authority (lib. ix.); and some of the stories related by Ælian of its effects upon wild animals. (Nat. Hist. xii. 46, &c.)

[2] Herodot. ii. 79.

[3] Pausanias, Græc. lib. ix., says, 'The Egyptians call the song of Linus in their language Manerôs;' and mentions two persons named Linus. (*Vide* also Hor. Od. lib. i. 12, 7; lib. xxiv. 13; and lib. iii. 11, 2.)

[4] I have sometimes doubted whether there may not have been also a musical instrument of this name.

[5] Plut. de Isid. s. 17.

these conflicting statements, we are naturally led to the conclusion that the Egyptians had two songs, bearing a name resembling Maneros, which have been confounded together by Greek writers; and that one of these bore a lugubrious, the other a lively character.

Many conjectures have been offered respecting the nature and origin of the song of Maneros, and some doubt its having derived this name from a son of the first Egyptian monarch,[1] contending that it was so called from the person to whom music owed its invention;[2] both which opinions are noticed by Plutarch, who in another work[3] states, on the authority of Heraclides, that Linus was a native of Eubœa.[4] And from his adding that Linus was famed for making lugubrious poems, it is evident that the song mentioned under this name by Herodotus, and considered to be the Maneros of Egypt, had a similar origin with the fabulous Linus himself.

If, however, conjecture is permitted, we may presume the song of Maneros did not derive its name from any individual;[5] and if this and the Greek Linus resembled each other, it was probably merely in their general character. The former idea is partly confirmed by another observation of Plutarch,[6] 'that others say Maneros is not a name, but a complimentary manner of greeting made use of by the Egyptians to one another, at their solemn feasts and banquets, implying a wish "that what they were then engaged in might prove fortunate and successful;" for such is the true import of the word.' It is, indeed, reasonable to suppose that their songs were made to suit the occasions, either of rejoicing and festivity, of solemnity, or of lamentation; and all their agricultural and other occupations had undoubtedly, as at the present day, their appropriate songs.

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[1] Herodotus, *loc. cit.* Plutarch says Maneros was the child who watched Isis as she mourned over the body of Osiris. (*Vide* Athenæus, lib. xiv. Plut. de Isid. s. 17.)

[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 17. J. Pollux calls him the inventor of agriculture, and says the song Maneros was sung by husbandmen. (Onom. iv. 7.)

[3] Plut. de Musicâ.

[4] But he does not confound the songs of Linus and Maneros, as Herodotus has done. Pausanias (Græc. lib. ii.) says Linus, the inventor of songs, was a son of Apollo; but refers to another part of his work (lib. ix.), where he mentions one Linus, the son of Amphimarus (the son of Neptune and Urania, killed by Apollo; the other a son of Ismenius, killed by Hercules. Some suppose there were three of this name; but authors are not agreed upon the subject. Pausanias asserts positively, 'that neither of the two just mentioned composed any poems; or, at least, any that came down to posterity.' (Lib. ix.)

[5] A festal dirge written by King Antef of the 11th Dynasty, supposed to be that alluded to by Herodotus (ii. 28), has been found on two papyri, one in the Berlin Museum, the other at Leyden. It has been translated by Mr. C. W. Goodwin. ('Records of the Past,' iv. pp. 115–118.)

[6] Plut. de Isid. s. 17.

At the religious ceremonies and processions where music was introduced, there is reason to believe the attendance of ordinary performers was not permitted, but that musicians attached to the priestly order, and organised for this special purpose, were alone employed; who were considered to belong exclusively to the service of the temple, as each military band of their army to its respective corps.[1]

When an individual died, it was usual for the women to issue forth from the house, and, throwing dust and mud upon their heads,[2] to utter cries of lamentation as they wandered through the streets of the town, or amidst the cottages of the village. They sang a doleful dirge in token of their grief; they by turns expressed their regret for the loss of their relative or friend, and their praises of his virtues; and this was frequently done to the time and measure of a plaintive, though not inharmonious, air.[3] Sometimes the tambourine was introduced, and the 'mournful song' was accompanied by its monotonous sound. On these occasions, the services of hired performers were uncalled for; though during the period of seventy days, while the body was in the hands of the embalmers, mourners[4] were employed, who sang the same plaintive dirge to the memory of the deceased; a custom prevalent also among the Jews, when preparing for a funeral.[5]

At their musical *soirées*, men or women played the harp, lyre, *guitar*, and the single or double pipe, but the flute appears to have been confined to men; and the tambourine and *darabooka* drum were generally appropriated to the other sex. The *darabooka* drum is rarely met with in the paintings of Thebes, and it is probable that it was only used on certain occasions, and chiefly, as at the present day, by the peasant women, and the boatmen of the Nile. From the representation given of it, I conclude it to be the same as that of the present day, which is made of parchment, strained and glued over a funnel-shaped case of pottery, which is a hollow cylinder, with a truncated cone attached to it. It is beaten with the hand, and, if relaxed, the parchment is braced by exposing it a few moments to the sun, or the warmth of a fire. It is generally supported by a band

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[1] This is confirmed by the inscription of the decree of Canopus. ('Records of the Past,' viii. p. 89.)—S. B.

[2] Herodot. ii. 85. Diod. ii. 91, as in 2 Sam. i. 2.

[3] Diod. ii. 72, 91.

[4] Hired to mourn, as with the Romans and others. The Egyptians mourned for Jacob seventy days. (Exod. l. 3. Herodot. ii. 86.)

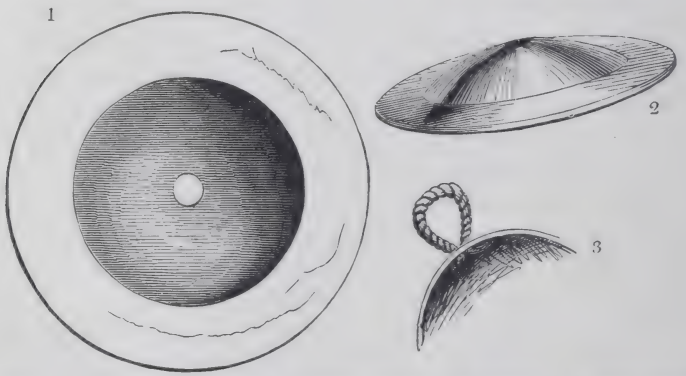
[5] Jer. xvi. 5, 7. Matt. ix. 23.

round the neck of the performer, who with the fingers of the right hand plays the air, and with the left grasps the lower edge of the head, in order to beat the bass, as in the tambourine; which we

No. 221. The darabooka of modern Egypt.

find from the sculptures was played in the same manner by the ancient Egyptians.[1]

Besides these instruments, they had cymbals[2] and cylindrical



No. 222. Egyptian cymbals, five inches and a half in diameter. *Salt's Collection.*

maces, two of which were struck together, and probably emitted a sharp metallic sound. The cymbals were of mixed metal, apparently brass or a compound of brass and silver, and of a form exactly resembling those of modern times, though smaller, being only seven, or five inches and a half, in diameter. The handle I

[1] Woodcut No. 220.

[2] They have been found in the tombs of Thebes.

believe to have been also of brass, bound with leather, string, or any similar substance, and, being inserted in a small hole at the summit, was secured by bending back the two ends. The same kind of instrument is used by the modern inhabitants of the country; and from them have been borrowed those very small cymbals played with the finger and thumb,[1] which supply the place of castanets in the *almeh* dance. Indeed, there can be no doubt that these were the origin of the Spanish castanet, having been introduced into that country by the Moors, and afterwards altered in form, and made of chestnut (*castaña*) and other wood, instead of metal. Cymbals were also an old Arabic instrument, and Clemens says that the Arabs marched to battle by the sound of cymbals.[2]

The cymbals of modern Egypt are chiefly used by the attendants of sheikhs' tombs, who travel through the country at certain periods of the year, to collect the charitable donations of the credulous or the devout among the Moslems, who thus, indirectly and unconsciously, encourage the idleness of these pretenders, in the hope of obtaining some blessing from the indulgent saint. Drums and some other noisy instruments, which are used at marriages and on other occasions, accompany the cymbals, but these last are more peculiarly appropriated to the service of the sheikhs, and the external ceremonies of religion: and this is the more remarkable, as we find no instances in the paintings of Thebes of their having been used at the festive meetings of the ancient Egyptians; and a person whose coffin contained a pair of cymbals was described in the hieroglyphics of the exterior as the minstrel of a deity. We may, therefore, conclude that this instrument belonged, as with the modern Egyptians, to the service of religion, though probably not so exclusively[3] as the sacred sistrum.

The cylindrical maces were also admitted among the instruments used on solemn occasions; though they more properly formed part of the military band, or regulated the dance. They varied slightly in form, but consisted generally of a straight handle, or cylinder, surmounted by a head, or some ornamental device, the whole being probably of brass, or other sonorous metal.

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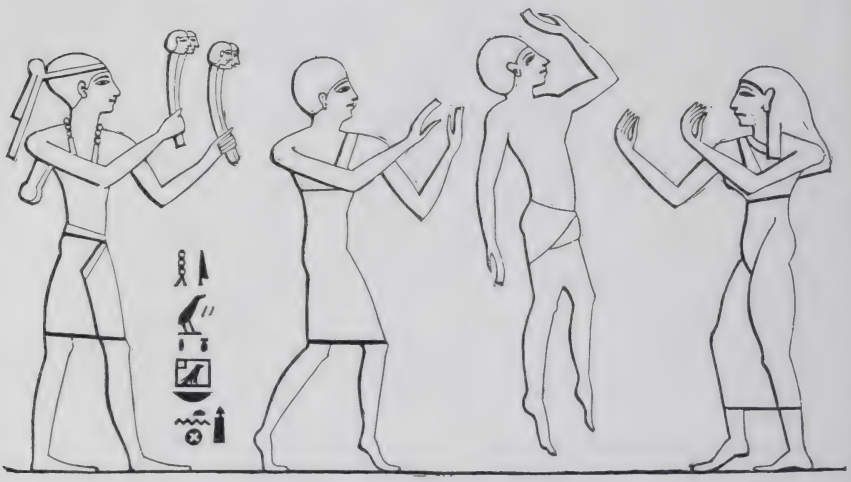
[1] The same manner of holding them is represented in the paintings of Herculaneum.

[2] Pædagog. lib. ii. p. 54.

[3] I am not certain that the two figures represented in the woodcut No. 226 are not playing cymbals, though from the injury done to those sculptures we are unable to discover what they hold in their hands. To judge, however, from their position, we may conclude they are playing this instrument. (Hor. Od. lib. i. 16, 8.)

Sometimes the handle was slightly curved, and double, with two heads at the upper extremity; but in all cases, the performer held one in each hand; and the nature of the sound depended greatly on the force with which he struck them together. It is not improbable that their hollow head contained a loose metallic ball, which gave a jingling noise when shaken; and we find that the clang of such instruments was thought as essential for martial music three thousand years ago, as at the present day. [The objects held in the hands of the attendant of Athor appear to



No. 223. Man playing the cylindrical maces, and dancing figures. *Thebes.*

The inscription reads: 'The attendant of Athor, lady of Heliopolis,' or Tentyris.

have been a kind of castanets used in the dance. Many similar objects supposed to be employed for the same purpose are in the different museums of Europe; they are made of ivory or wood, flat, pierced at one end for a cord to hold them together. Sometimes they are recurved, and always terminate in human heads, which formed the parts clapped together. The outside of the ivory ones are often ornamented with engraved figures of the deities Bes and Athor, who presided over dancing, and various animals.[1] —S. B.]

Similar to these maces[2] appear to have been the round-headed pegs, resembling large nails, seen in the hands of some dancing figures in the paintings of Herculaneum, and supposed to have

[1] Pierret, 'Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne,' p. 119.

[2] Similar instruments of wood are used in the same manner by the Japanese.

been struck together, as an accompaniment to the lyre, which is played by another person, in the same picture: but I am not aware of their having been mentioned by any Greek or Latin writer.

We may conclude the Egyptians were not guilty of the same extravagance in music and other amusements, as the Greeks and Romans, extraordinary instances of which are mentioned by ancient authors. The flute of Ismenias, a celebrated Theban musician, cost at Corinth three talents, or 581*l.* 5*s.* of our money; and if, says Xenophon, a bad flute-player would pass for a good one, he must, like those whose reputation is established, expend considerable sums on rich furniture, and appear in public with a large retinue of servants. Amœbæus, again, an Athenian harper of great repute, received an Attic talent, or 193*l.* 15*s.* a day for his performance: and the actors of the Roman stage were not only paid immense sums, Roscius making 500 sestertia, or 4036*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* per annum; but in later times they became such favourites, that they established parties in the city, and had sufficient influence to induce the people to espouse their quarrels.

Though the Egyptians were fond of buffoonery and gesticulation, they do not seem to have had any public show which can be said to resemble a theatre; nor were their pantomimic exhibitions, which consisted chiefly in dancing and gesture,[1] accompanied with any scenic representation.[2] The stage is, indeed, allowed to have been purely a Greek invention; and to dramatic entertainments, which were originally of two kinds, comedy and tragedy, were added the Roman pantomime. Music formed a principal part of the old comedy; and a chorus was present, as in tragedy, to sing between the acts.[3] And, indeed, when we consider the licence of ancient comedy, and the frequent decrees which it was found necessary to make in order to suppress it, and sometimes even to prohibit dramatic performances or the erection of a theatre, we may be assured that similar representations would not have been tolerated by the severity of an Egyptian priesthood, whether the idea had originated in the country, or

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[1] At Rome, after the time of Augustus, the *mimi*, or *pantomimi*, were confined to these, and did not speak.

[2] The Egyptians, however, intended to represent the passions and certain continued actions by special pantomimic gestures, which conveyed to the eye a sequence of adventures. Although no speeches are recorded, it is not impossible they accompanied the actions. (Cf. Duemichen, 'Resultate,' Taf. viii.)—S. B.

[3] Our orchestra performs this office of the chorus. The duties of the Greek chorus varied at different times.

had been accidentally introduced at a later period from the Greeks.[1]

Some instruments of the military band differed from those of ordinary musicians; but it may be questioned whether the sculptures have recorded all the various kinds used in the Egyptian army. The principal ones appear to have been the trumpet and drum: the former used to marshal the troops, summon them to the charge, and direct them in their evolutions;[2] the latter to regulate and enliven their march.[3]

No. 224. A military band. *Thebes.*

Fig. 1. Trumpeter.
2. Drummer.
3, 4, 5. Men with castanets.

The trumpet, like that of the Israelites, was about one foot and a half long, of very simple form, apparently of brass; and when sounded, it was held with both hands, and either used singly or as part of the military band, with the drum and other instruments. The musicians were not distinguished by any particular dress from the rest of the soldiers; whole regiments are represented attired in the same costume as their trumpeters; and if any difference can be perceived, it consists in their being without arms, either offensive or defensive. It is true, that the other figures given in the above woodcut are clad in different dresses, which might be supposed to indicate a peculiar garb for the trum-

[1] There was a theatre at Antinôê, a city of Central Egypt, founded by Adrian, and one at Alexandria; but these were Greek or Roman towns, and no building of the kind is met with in any of ancient Egyptian date.

[2] In the battle-scenes at Medeenet Haboo, in Thebes.

[3] The principal use of military music was to regulate the pace of the march, so that the different columns should not press on one another, or club, as it is called.

peters; but some corps of archers are represented in another part of the picture wearing both these costumes; and that all the privates of the same regiment had a similar uniform is still more satisfactorily shown in a procession of soldiers at Thebes, marching to celebrate a sacrifice, a small portion of which is given in a previous part of this work.[1] Though the drummers, trumpeters, and other musicians of the Egyptian army are represented in the sculptures without arms, we cannot suppose this really to have been the case; and when equipped for war, and marching to the attack of an enemy, they were probably armed like the rest of the troops, at least with a sword and shield, or other requisite means of defence.

The trumpeter.
No. 225. *Thebes.*

The trumpet was particularly, though not exclusively, appropriated to martial purposes. It was straight, like the Roman *tuba*, or our common trumpet; but it is uncertain whether that used in the Egyptian cavalry was of another form, as in the Roman army, where the *lituus* or clarion, bent a little at the end like an augur's staff, supplied the place of the *tuba* of the infantry.

In Greece, various instruments were adopted for summoning troops to battle. The Lacedæmonians and Cretans advanced to the sound of flutes,[2] others to that of lutes; and many preferred the lyre, which, according to Plutarch,[3] was long employed by the Cretans for this purpose. The trumpet, indeed, does not appear to have been in very early use among the Greeks, and it is rarely mentioned by Homer at the siege of Troy, where the chief instruments were the flute, lyre, and pipe, or *surinx*. The trumpet or *salpinx* was, however, known in Greece before that event: it was reputed to have been the invention of Minerva, or of Tyrrhenus,[4] a son of Hercules; and in later times it was generally adopted,[5] both as a martial instrument and by the ambulant musicians of the streets.[6] In some parts of Egypt a prejudice existed against the trumpet, and the people of Busiris and Lyco-

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[1] Woodcut No. 18.

[2] Polyb. lib. iv. 20; Plut. de Musicâ, and in Lycurgo.

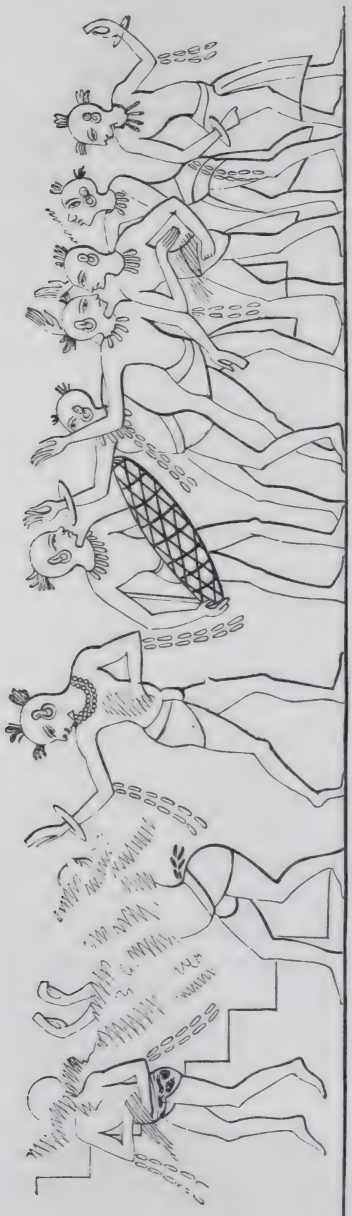
[3] Plut. de Musicâ.

[4] According to Athenæus (iv. 25), the *Tyrrhenians* invented trumpets and horns.

[5] Plut. de Musicâ.

[6] Ibid. de Solertiâ Animalium, where he relates a curious anecdote of a magpie imitating the performances of a band of trumpeters.

polis abstained entirely from its use, conceiving, says Plutarch,[1] from the sound of this instrument resembling the braying of an ass, that it was Typhonian; or, at least, that it reminded them too forcibly of an animal emblematic of the evil genius.



Men dancing in the street to the sound of the drum.

No. 226.

The Israelites had trumpets for warlike[2] as well as sacred purposes,[3] for festivals and rejoicings;[4] and the office of sounding them was not only honourable, but was committed solely to the priests.[5] They were of different kinds: some of silver,[6] which were suited to all occasions, as I have already stated; others appear to have been of horns, like the original *cornu* of the Romans; and these are distinctly stated to have been employed at the siege of Jericho.[7] The Greeks had six species of trumpets; the Romans four, in their army —the *tuba*, *cornuus*, *buccina*, and *lituus*; and in ancient times the *concha*, so called from having been originally made of a shell. They were the only instruments employed by them

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[1] Plut. de Isid. et Osir. s. 30.

[2] Numb. x. 2, 5, 9, 10.

[3] Exod. xix. 13; Levit. xxiii. 24; and Numb. x. 10.

[4] Numb. x. 10, and 2 Chron. xv. 14.

[5] Numb. x. 8; Josh. vi. 4.

[6] Josephus says, they were nearly a cubit or 1½ ft. long, with a tube of the thickness of a flute.

[7] These were the *sôferôth*, cornets; the silver ones were the *khetztzróth*, or *khetzotzróth*, trumpets. From the name, I should think the former had a shrill tone. Josh. vi. 4: 'Trumpets of rams' horns.'

for military purposes, and in this they differed from the Greeks and Egyptians.

The sculptures of Thebes fail to inform us if the long and short drum were both comprehended in Egypt under the head of martial music; it is, however, evident that the former was not only used in their army, but by the buffoons who danced to its sound.[1]

The buffoons were sometimes foreigners; and in the woodcut on the previous page they appear to be blacks, who amused the spectators with their own national dance, or one which they had learned from the Egyptians. Among many ancient people it was customary to teach slaves to dance and sing, in order that they might divert their master, or entertain a party of guests; and the Romans even employed them in various trades and manufactures. Those, too, who gave proofs of ability and genius, were frequently instructed in literature and the liberal arts, and the masters profited by their industry, or sold them at a great price in consequence of their accomplishments. The Egyptians, indeed, pursued this system to a certain extent: slaves were employed in public works[2] and in domestic occupations; and there is evidence from the sculptures that many of the musicians and dancers, both men and women, were slaves, who had been taken captive in war from their Ethiopian and Asiatic enemies. Yet it is not probable they were instructed in the same manner as those above mentioned at Rome; though the very kind treatment of Joseph, the mode of his liberation, and his subsequent marriage[3] with the daughter of a freeborn Egyptian, a high functionary of the sacerdotal order,[4] are striking proofs of the humanity of the Egyptians,[5] and of their indulgent conduct towards manumitted slaves.

The only drum represented in the sculptures is a long drum, very similar to one of the *tomtoms* of India. It was about two feet or two feet and a half in length, and was beaten with the hand, like the Roman *tympanum*. The case was of wood or copper, covered at either end with parchment or leather, braced by cords, extending diagonally over the exterior of the cylinder, which in this respect differed from our modern drums; and when played, it was slung by a band round the neck of the drummer, who during

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[1] Woodcut No. 226.

[2] Exod. i. 11, 14. Herodot. ii. 108.

[3] Gen. xli. 45. The case of Joseph was, no doubt, of an extraordinary nature.

[4] 'Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah (in Hebrew, Poti-Phra; in Egyptian, Pet-Phre or Pet-re, Heliodotus), priest of On,' the city of the Sun, or Heliopolis.

[5] As was the lenient punishment of Joseph, when with his master Potiphar. (Gen. xxxix. 19, 20.)

the march carried it in a vertical position at his back. Like the trumpet, it was chiefly employed in the army; and the evidence of the sculptures is confirmed by the authority of Clement of Alexandria, who states that the drum was used by the Egyptians in going to war.[1] Both these instruments are found to have been common at the earliest period of which we have any account from the sculptures of Thebes, or about the sixteenth century before our era; and there is no reason to suppose them to have been then a recent invention.

The drum.
No. 227. *Thebes.*

When a body of troops marched to the beat of drum, the drummer was often stationed in the centre or the rear, and sometimes immediately behind the standard bearers; the trumpeter's post being generally at the head of the regiment, except when summoning them to form or advance to the charge:[2] but the drummers were not always alone, or confined to the rear or centre; and when forming part of the band, they marched in the van, or, with the other musicians, were drawn up on one side while the troops defiled, as in our European armies.

Besides the long drum, the Egyptians had another, not very unlike our own, both in form and size, which was much broader in proportion to its length than the *tomtom* just mentioned, being two feet and a half high, and two feet broad. It was beaten with two wooden sticks; but as there is no representation of the mode of using it, we are unable to decide whether it was suspended horizontally and struck at both ends, as is usual with a drum of the same kind still used at Cairo, or at one end only, like our own; though, from the curve of the sticks, I am inclined to think it was slung and beaten as the *tamboor* of modern Egypt. Sometimes the sticks were straight, and consisted of two parts, the handle and a

Mode of slinging the drum behind, when
No. 228. on a march.

[1] Clemens Alex. Stromat. ii. 164.

[2] Joshua vi. 9.

thin round rod, at whose end a small knob projected, for the purpose of fastening the leather pad with which the drum was struck; they were about a foot in length, and, judging from the form of the handle of one in the Berlin Museum,[1] we may conclude they belonged, like those above mentioned, to a drum beaten at both ends. Each extremity of the drum was covered with red leather, braced with catgut strings passing through small holes in its broad margin, and extending in direct lines over the copper body, which, from its convexity, was similar in shape to a cask.[2]

In order to tighten the strings, and thereby to brace the drum, a piece of catgut extended round each end, near the edge of the leather; and crossing the strings at right angles, and being twisted round each separately, braced them all in proportion as it was drawn tight: but this was only done when the leather and the

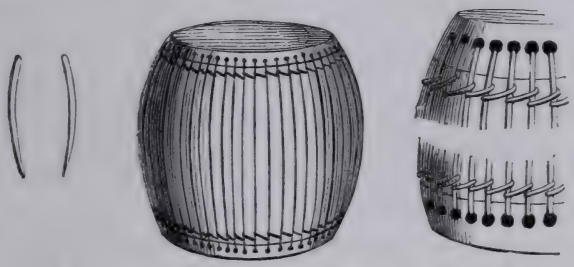

Fig. 1. The drum.
2. Shows how the strings were braced.
3. The sticks.

No. 229. *Found at Thebes.*

strings had become relaxed by constant use; and as this piece of catgut was applied to either end, they had the means of doubling the power of tension on every string. It is true that this kind of drum does not occur in any sculptures hitherto discovered; yet it is not less certain that it was among the instruments of the country, one of them having been found in the excavations made at Thebes by D'Athanasi, during Mr. Madox's stay at that place in 1823; to whom I am indebted for the original sketch of the accompanying woodcut.[3]

Besides the ordinary forms of Egyptian instruments, several

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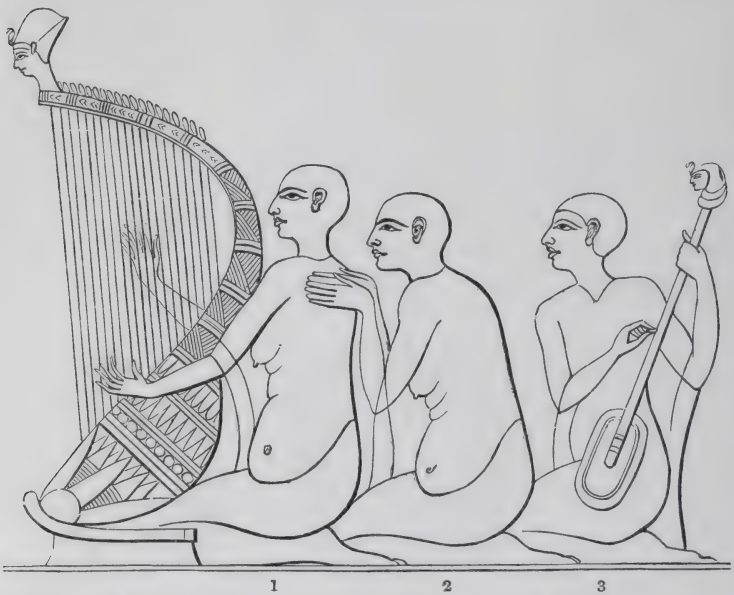
[1] Given in woodcut No. 40, *fig.* 2, p. 209.

[2] I believe it to be the same which is now in the Museum at Paris.

[3] Woodcut No. 229. [There is, however, a slight inaccuracy in Mr. Madox's representation of the strings of the drum, as I discovered on examining the original at Paris: they should be double.—G. W.]

were constructed according to a particular taste or accidental caprice. Some were of the most simple kind, others of very costly materials, and many were richly ornamented with brilliant colours and fancy figures; particularly the harps and lyres. The harps



No. 230. A richly-painted harp on a stand, a man beating time with his hands, and a player on the guitar.

varied greatly in form, size, and the number of their strings: they are represented in the ancient paintings with four, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, fourteen, seventeen, twenty, twenty-one, and twenty-two strings. That in the Paris Collection

No. 231. Head of a harp from Thebes, and now in the British Museum.

appears also to have had twenty-one; and the head of another, found by me at Thebes, was made for seventeen strings, as is shown by the number of its pegs. They were frequently

very large, even exceeding the height of a man, tastefully painted with the lotus and other flowers, or with fancy devices; and those of the royal[1] minstrels were fitted up in the most splendid manner, adorned with the head or bust of the monarch himself. The oldest harps found in the sculptures are in a tomb, near the Pyramids of Gizeh, between three and four thousand years old. They are more rude in shape than those usually represented; and though it is impossible to ascertain the precise number of their strings,[2] they do not appear to have exceeded seven or eight, and are fastened in a different manner from ordinary Egyptian harps.

I have already noticed the great antiquity of the harp, and its early use in some Eastern or Asiatic countries,[3] which is fully confirmed by the oldest Egyptian sculptures. It does not appear to have been known to the Greeks, but many stringed instruments, as the cithara, went from Asia to Greece; and this last, according to Plutarch, was originally styled Asiatic,[4] having been introduced from Lesbos,[5] where music was long cultivated with success. The same author observes that the cithara was employed upon sacred and festive occasions,[6] and Heraclides of Lesbos supposed it to have been invented by Amphion;[7] but a diversity of opinion always existed upon the subject of its introduction into Greece.

Terpander,[8] who lived about two hundred years after Homer, was one of the first to attain any celebrity in its use, and he is reputed to have instituted laws for this instrument some time before they were arranged for the flute or pipe. Cepion, his disciple, who followed the Lesbian model, established its form; and few changes were introduced into it till Timotheus of Miletus,[9] who flourished about the year 400 B.C., added four to the previous seven strings.

How far, then, do we find the Egyptians surpassed the Greeks at this early period, in the science of music! Indeed, long before

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[1] Conf. the royal minstrels of David and Solomon. Asaph was chief master of music to David (1 Chron. xvi. 7, and xxv. 6).

[2] Woodcut No. 208.

[3] Egypt was included in Asia by some ancient writers. *Vide* also Herodot. ii. 15, 16.

[4] Plut. de Musicâ.

[5] The Lesbians were famed for the lyre and other instruments. Conf. Horace, Od. lib. i. 21, 11, 34.

[6] Plut. Sympos. lib. vii.

[7] Plut. de Musicâ.

[8] He was a native of Lesbos, or of Antissa; and was said to have added three strings to the lyre, which had until then only four. Plutarch says it had seven strings till his time, and that he added many more tones.

[9] Pausan. Græc. lib. iii.

the lyre was known in Greece, the Egyptians had attained the highest degree of perfection in the form of their stringed instruments; on which no improvement was found necessary, even at a time when their skill was so great that Greek sages visited Egypt to study music, among the other sciences, for which it was renowned. And harps of fourteen and lyres of seventeen strings are found to have been used by the ordinary Egyptian musicians, at the remote period of the reign of Amasis, the first king of the 18th Dynasty, who lived about 1570 B.C.,[1] nine hundred years before the time of Terpander.

No. 232. Harp raised on a stand or support. *Thebes*

The inscription says: 'The words of the temples—the bard Aahmes (Amasis).'

The strings of the Egyptian harp were of catgut; and some of those discovered at Thebes, in 1823, were so well preserved, that they emitted a sound on being touched, as I shall presently have occasion to observe. Some harps stood upon the ground, having an even, broad base; others were placed upon a stool,[2] or raised upon a stand or limb attached to the lower part;[3] and from the appearance of that given in the above woodcut, we may

[1] Some harps of the time of Usertesen I. have seven strings.
[2] Instances of this are also found at Herculaneum. Woodcut No. 233.
[3] Woodcut No. 232.

suppose they intended to show that the harp, like many Greek lyres, was occasionally made of tortoiseshell. In many instances

No. 233. Minstrel standing, while playing the harp. *Dendera.*

the minstrel stood to the instrument;[1] and it was customary for the harps they used in this manner to be flat at the base, like those represented in Bruce's tomb. But many which were squared

No. 234. A light kind of instrument borne on the shoulder. *Thebes.*

for this purpose were inclined towards the performer, who supported the harp as she played;[2] for this kind of instrument

[1] Woodcut No. 233. [2] Woodcut No. 216; but not always.

seems to have been more generally appropriated to women than to men. Minstrels indeed were of both sexes; but we more frequently meet with representations of men seated to the harp, though instances occur of their kneeling and standing, and of women sitting, as they struck the cords.

A light species of four-stringed instrument, which I shall presently have occasion to mention, was supported upon the shoulder, and played with both hands; but this manner of holding it, and perhaps its use, may have been confined to women.[1] There was also a small four-stringed harp usually played by men, which stood upon the ground[2] like others of more ordinary form, and served as an accompaniment to one of larger dimensions.[3] Many of the harps were covered with bulls' hides, or with leather, which was sometimes of a green[4] or of a red[5] colour, frequently painted with various devices, vestiges of which may be traced in that of the Paris Collection.[6]

It may be questioned whether the four-stringed instrument above mentioned ought to bear the name of harp; for certainly the difference in its form from that used as an accompaniment to the large harp[7] suffices to show that these two are not the same, and this is further confirmed by the appearance of two of the very same portable instruments in the Paris and British Museums.[8] It may also be observed, that though the small harp has only four strings, it has six pegs, which would indicate the occasional use of two more cords; and it is not impossible that the absence of those strings may be attributed to some neglect of the artist.[9] The representation of the other instrument agrees exactly with those of the London and Paris collections, having four pegs and the same number of cords, fastened at the lower end to a bar extending down the centre of its concave body, which was covered with leather, strained over it, and perforated here and there with small holes to allow the sound to escape. It was always played with the hands, and never, like the guitar and some lyres, with a plectrum. Another of very similar form, and with the same number of cords, was found at Thebes; and from the copy I have seen of it, made by Mr. Madox, it appears to have

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[1] Woodcut No. 234.
[2] Woodcut No. 211.
[3] As that of woodcut No. 211.
[4] One found at Thebes by Mr. Salt.
[5] One seen by Mr. Madox at Thebes.
[6] Woodcut No. 238.
[7] Woodcut No. 211.
[8] Woodcut No. 240, *figs.* 2 and 2*a*.
[9] I have seen a harp with six strings and nine pegs, probably an oversight of the draughtsman; unless those additional pegs were used for some purpose. One of the lyres of Herculaneum has eleven strings and seven pegs.

been furnished with a peg at the lower end, whose use it is not easy to determine, but which probably served to secure the strings.

It does not appear that the Egyptians had any mode of shortening the strings during the performance, either in this instrument or the harp, or had invented any substitute for our modern pedals; nor is there any instance of a double set of cords, as in the old Welsh harp. They could, therefore, only play in one key, until they tuned it afresh, which was done by turning the pegs. There is, however, reason to believe that the want of pedals was partially supplied by the introduction of a second row of pegs, since we find that these are frequently double, or two to each string;[1] and a contrivance of this kind might have the effect of giving an additional half-note. In playing the harp, some minstrels sat cross-legged on the ground, like Asiatics of the present day, or upon one knee,[2] whether men or women;[3] others preferred a low stool; and many stood, even while performing on ordinary occasions in the houses of private individuals.

[The question of the harp having been played to the pentatonic scale has been discussed by Dr. Engel in his 'Music of the Ancients;'[4] and the transition from the bow shape to the triangle, and the relation of the Egyptian to the Greek harp, has been described by Mr. Chappell in his 'History of Music.'[5] It seems possible that the twang of the bowstring may have suggested the harp to the inventor of that instrument. A great harp made of or inlaid with silver and gold and precious stones is mentioned in the annals of Thothmes III.[6] The harp was called *ben* or *ben.t*, or else *ta ben*, 'the harp.'—S. B.]

Before the images of the gods, and in religious ceremonies, it is natural to suppose that the sacred minstrels adopted this posture, out of respect to the deity in whose service they were engaged; and we have abundant evidence from the harpers in Bruce's tomb, who are officiating before Shu,[7] and from several other instances, that this instrument was employed in their form of worship, and to celebrate the praises of the gods. So suitable, indeed, was the harp considered for this purpose, that they represented it in the hands of the deities themselves, as well as

[1] In the harp given in woodcut No. 213 are eight strings and sixteen pegs.
[2] Woodcut No. 232.
[3] Woodcuts Nos. 210 and 218.
[4] 8vo. Lond. 1864, p. 154.
[5] 8vo. Lond. 1874, p. 310.
[6] 'Records of the Past,' ii. p. 20.
[7] One of the Egyptian deities.

the tambourine and the sacred sistrum. It was held in the same consideration by the Jews; and there is reason to believe that in this respect they followed the example of the Egyptians, from whom many of their customs were derived. Harps and psalteries appear from the Scriptures[1] to have obtained the first rank; and cymbals, trumpets, and cornets[2] were also designated as part of the sacred band, as in some of the religious ceremonies of Egypt.

The Jewish psaltery I am inclined to suppose the same as, or similar to, the four-stringed instrument above described, though Josephus gives it 'twelve musical notes.'[3] In Hebrew, it was called *psanterin*,[4] and probably sometimes *nabl*, a name from which was borrowed the *nabla*[5] of the Greeks; and this last is mentioned in Strabo as one of many instruments known by barbarous appellations.[6]

Athenæus considers the *nablum*, *pandura*, *sambuca*, *magadis*, and *trigon* not to be new instruments; but yet they may have been brought originally from foreign countries: and he afterwards states, on the authority of Aristoxenus, that the '*Phœnicica pêctis*, *magadis*, *trigon*, *clepsiangus*, *scindapsus*, and *enneachordon* (of nine strings) were foreign instruments.'[7]

Some light might be thrown on the names of the various harps, lyres, and other musical instruments of Egypt, if those mentioned in the Bible were more accurately defined; but much

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[1] 1 Chron. xvi. 5.

[2] 1 Chron. xv. 28, &c.

[3] Josephus, Antiq. vii. 12, 3, says, 'The viol was of ten strings, played with the bow (perhaps plectrum): the psaltery had twelve musical notes, and was played with the fingers; . . . the cymbals were broad and large instruments of brass.' Some of the instruments mentioned in Dan. iii. 15, 'cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer,' are very uncertain; in the Hebrew they are *korna*, *mushrookítha*, *kítharus*, *sabka*, *psanterîn*, and *sumphonéeh*; the third and last of which are evidently Greek names. The Syriac version gives the *karno*, *mushrookítho*, *kíhoro*, *kinoro*, and *tziphunio*, the fourth being omitted; the Arabic has والونج والمزمار والصفارة والتالي والكبثارة 'trumpet, flute, harp, lyre, psaltery, and pipe;' and the Septuagint, 'σάλπιγξ, σύριγξ, κιθάρα, σαμβύκη, ψαλτήριον, συμφωνία.' The trumpet was called in Hebrew שׁוֹפָר, *sofar*. (Job xxxix. 24, and Numb. vii. 20). In Arabic, *siffer* is 'to whistle.'

[4] *Psanterin* is for *psalterion*.

[5] The *nabla* is supposed to be the *nefer* or guitar. (Mr. Chappell's 'History of Ancient Music,' pp. 61, 301.)

[6] Strabo, lib. x.

[7] Athen. iv. c. 25. The *pandura* he supposes to have been made from the laurel which grows by the Red Sea; probably Strabo's olive of that coast, the *shorai*, or *Shora maritima* of the present day. J. Pollux calls it *pandoura*, and says it was a three-stringed instrument, invented by the Assyrians (lib. iv. 9). The *magadis* of Anacreon he supposes to be the same as the *psithyra*, or *ascarum*, a stringed instrument of quadrangular form, apparently played like the Arab *qanóon*, but not resembling it in sound. [See on the pandoura; Chappell, 'Hist. of Music,' pp. 301–2.—S. B.]

confusion exists between the *cithara* or *kitarus*, the *āshúr*,[1] the *sambuc*, the *nabl*, and the *kinóor;* nor can the various kinds of drums, cymbals, or wind instruments of the Jews be more satisfactorily ascertained. The difficulty of identifying them is not surprising, when we observe how many names[2] the Greeks had for their stringed instruments, and how the harps and lyres represented in the Egyptian sculptures approach each other in principle and form; and we sometimes hesitate whether to ascribe to them a place among the former or the latter. One of these, with nine strings, was carried by the musician, and sometimes held by pressing it between the side and elbow, perhaps supported at the same time by a belt over the shoulder;[3] and another, which

Triangular instrument, or trigon.
No. 235. *Thebes.*

Another, held under the arm and played by the god Bes.
No. 236. *Dakkeh.*

stood upon the ground, had eight strings, and was also played by the hand, the minstrel standing.[4] The tassels on the lower limb of the former appear to be merely ornamental; though it is possible that, since there are no pegs, they were intended for tightening the cords, in order to alter the key; and in some instances, each cord of a large harp is accompanied by one of these tassels, which terminates a long string, wound round the upper limb of the instrument, as may be seen on that of the Paris Museum.[5] This harp is of moderate dimensions, and had either twenty-one or twenty-two strings. It is highly interesting, as

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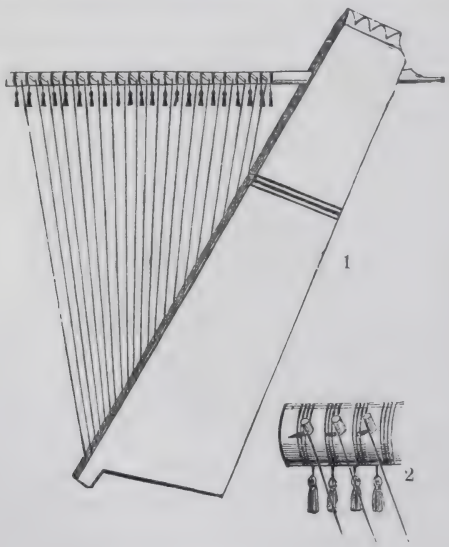
[1] So called from having *ten* strings.
[2] Witness those given by J. Pollux, iv. 9.
[3] Woodcuts Nos. 235, 236.
[4] Psinaula.
[5] Woodcut No. 238.

well from its preservation as from the insight it gives us into the form and principle of these instruments; and if it is far from

No. 237. An unusual kind of instrument. *Alabastron.*

being the first quality of harp, either in elegance of shape or in the richness of its materials, yet, from the number of its strings,



No. 238. The harp or trigon of the Paris Collection. *Fig.* 2 shows how the cords were fastened.

it must have been one of the highest power in use among the

Egyptians, since they are seldom represented in the sculptures with more than two octaves.

All the Egyptian harps have a peculiarity for which it is not easy to account—the absence of a pole, and, consequently, of a support to the bar, or upper limb, in which the pegs were fixed; and it is difficult to conceive how, without it, the cords could have been properly tightened, or the bar sufficiently strong to resist the effect of their tension, particularly in those of a triangular form.

Another instrument, of nearly the same capacity as the Paris harp, was found at Thebes in 1823, where it was seen by Mr. Madox, to whom I am indebted for the sketch I have given of it in a succeeding woodcut.[1] It had twenty cords of catgut, so well preserved that, as I have already observed, they still retained their sound, after having been buried in the tomb probably three thousand years; a length of time which would appear incredible, if we had not repeated instances of the perfect preservation of numerous perishable objects, even of an older date, in the sepulchres of Thebes. It is to the excessive dryness of the soil, and of the rock in which the pits are hewn, frequently to the depth of fifteen, thirty, and even seventy feet, and to the total exclusion of air, that this is to be attributed; and grains of corn and other seeds have been found which have remained entire, without undergoing any change, and without making any effort to strike root in the sand, or the vase in which they were deposited.

Experiments are said to have been tried with some grains of corn thus preserved, which sprouted when sown;[2] and though I cannot speak of this as a fact, yet I am inclined to believe that if seed thus discovered were immediately put into the earth, the results would be as stated; since experience shows that seeds buried at certain depths are unable to germinate, till removed nearer the surface of the earth; and I have known them to remain for years on the plains of the Egyptian desert, awaiting that rain which has at length enabled them to take root in the previously parched soil.

The instrument just mentioned was of a form which might

[1] Woodcut No. 240, *fig.* 3.

[2] Several are now in the different collections of Europe. The experiments are said to have been made in France. [The possibility of corn germinating after so many years is strongly denied by some botanists on account of the impossibility of the delicate and minute embryo, placed immediately below the surface, being preserved so long in life, close to the surface. —S. B.]

require it to hold an intermediate rank between the lyre and the harp, like the two previously noticed: nor would the number of twenty strings be any objection, since we meet with Egyptian lyres of nearly the same power, having eighteen cords. The frame was of wood, covered with red leather, on which could be traced a few hieroglyphics. The strings were fastened to the upper limb, and wound round a rod inserted into the lower part, which was probably turned in order to tighten them, and may be considered similar in principle to that on the summit of many ancient lyres, or of the *kisírka* used in modern Ethiopia. In the former, the rod itself was turned; in the latter, each string is fastened over a ring of some adhesive material, intervening between it and the rod, and the turn of this ring regulates the tension of the cord. Neither this nor the two above alluded to were provided with pegs, a peculiarity which may be considered a distinctive mark between this class of instruments and the harp.

There are still two others, which appear unconnected either with the harp or lyre, and yet differ from the two already described, having pegs to brace the strings. Of these, one has a flat broad body, covered with a sounding-board, in the centre of which is a rod securing the cords; and perpendicular to it is another rod at the upper end of the instrument, into which the pegs are inserted that supported and tightened its ten strings.[1]

The other, which bears still less analogy to the Egyptian harp, appears to have had five strings, each secured by a peg, and passing over a hollow circular body, covered probably with a thin piece of wood or leather.[2] It was seven inches in length, the neck about one foot three inches, and the five pegs were fixed in the lower side, in a direct line, one behind the other. At the opposite end of the circular part were two holes, for fastening the rod that secured the strings, as in the preceding instrument;[3] which may be seen in one of the two found at Thebes by Mr. Salt, and now in the British Museum. They are not of the best quality, nor very perfectly preserved, and the one I have described has lost two of its rude pegs. The other has only four, and the lower part is much injured. They are both of sycamore wood, and exactly like that in the Berlin Collection,

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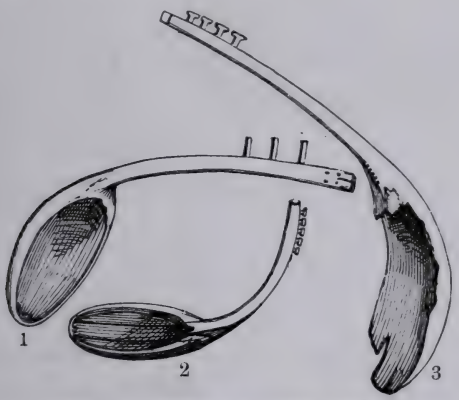
[1] Given in woodcut No. 240, *fig.* 5, from Prof. Rosellini's work.

[2] Woodcut No. 240, *fig.* 1, and woodcut No. 239.

[3] Woodcut No. 238.

which has the five pegs entire, and has the body composed of three pieces of wood.

At first sight this instrument appears to resemble the Egyptian guitar, both in its form and the position of the strings; on restoring it, however, and introducing them, we find that the principle was totally different, and that the neck was not intended, as in the guitar, for shortening the cords, and consequently the instrument was of a very inferior kind, and of an exceedingly limited power.



No. 239. *Figs.* 1, 3. Instruments in the British Museum.
2. In the Berlin Museum.

In addition, then, to the guitar, harp, and lyre, we may enumerate at least five, independent of the four-stringed harp previously mentioned,[1] which do not come under the denomination of any of the three; nor do I include in the five that represented in the sculptured tomb of Alabastron,[2] which may deserve the name of standing lyre; nor one occurring in the same tomb, and played as an accompaniment to the lyre. Unfortunately it is much damaged, and the appearance of several bars or cords can alone be traced, which the performer strikes with a stick.[3]

It is true that, of the five instruments here represented,[4] *figs.* 1 and 2 are very similar in principle, as are 3 and 4, however different their tones and powers may have been; but still they must be considered distinct from the harp, lyre, and guitar; and they may, perhaps, bear some analogy to the *nabl*,[5] the *sambuc*,

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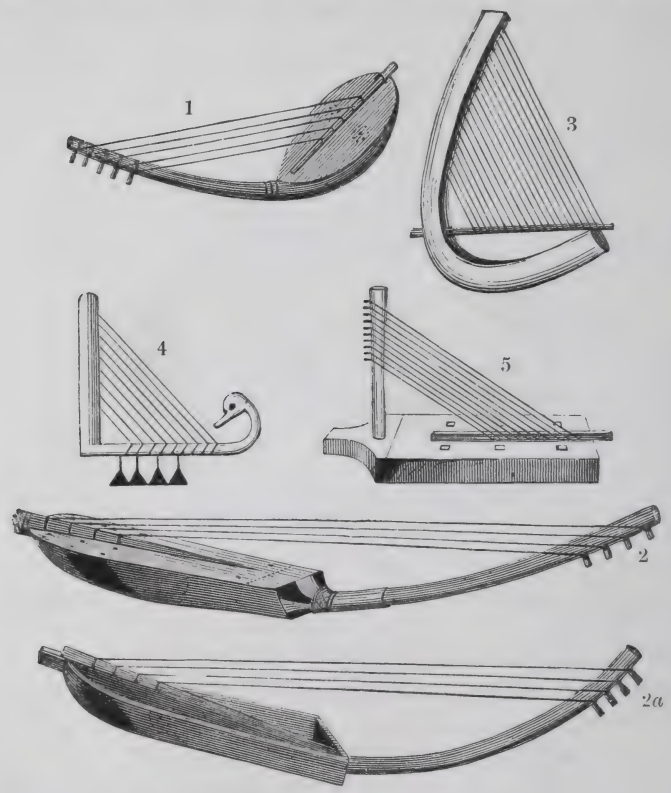
[1] Woodcut No. 211. [2] Woodcut No. 237. [3] Woodcut No. 241.
[4] Woodcut No. 240. [5] Amos vi. 5. The *nabl* may have been a sort of guitar.

and the ten-stringed *āshúr* of the Jews; though these were generally played with a sort of plectrum, and the former always with the hand.

Of the instrument *fig.* 2, the most curious and perfect specimen I have seen was brought by Mr. Burton from Thebes, and is now in the British Museum. It only wants the four strings: the exact form, the pegs, the bridge or rod to which the



No. 240. Five instruments differing from the harp, lyre, and guitar.

cords were attached, and even the parchment covering its wooden body, and serving instead of a sounding-board, still remain; and from its lightness as well as size, we may judge how portable it was, and how conveniently it might be used in the manner described in the sculptures, upon the shoulder of the performer.[1]

The Egyptian lyre was not less varied in its form and the

[1] Woodcut No. 234.

number of its cords than the harp; and they ornamented it with numerous fancy devices their taste suggested. Diodorus limits the number of its cords to three; however, as his description does not apply to the Egyptian lyre, but to the guitar, it is unnecessary to introduce it till I mention that instrument.

A singular story of its supposed invention[1] is related by Apollodorus. 'The Nile,' says the Athenian mythologist, 'after having overflowed the whole country of Egypt, when it returned within its natural bounds, left on the shore a great number of animals of various kinds, and among the rest a tortoise,[2] the flesh of which being dried and wasted by the sun, nothing remained within the shell but nerves and cartilages, and these being braced and contracted by the drying heat became sonorous.[3] Mercury, walking along the banks of the river, happened to strike his foot against this shell, and was so pleased with the sound produced, that the idea of a lyre presented itself to his imagination. He therefore constructed the instrument in the form of a tortoise,[4] and strung it with the dried sinews of dead animals.'

Many of the lyres were of considerable power, having five, seven, ten, and eighteen strings. They were usually supported between the elbow and the side, and the mode of playing them was generally with the hand, and not, as in Greece and Rome, with a plectrum. This custom, however, was also adopted by the Egyptians; and as it occurs in sculptures of the earliest periods, it is evident they did not borrow it from Greece; nor was it unusual for the Greeks to play the lyre with the hand without a plectrum; and many instances of both methods occur in the paintings of Herculaneum. Sometimes the Egyptians touched the strings with the left hand, while they struck them with the plectrum; and the same appears in the frescoes of Herculaneum, where I have observed lyres of three, six, nine, and eleven strings,

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[1] The invention of the Greek lyre is also attributed to Mercury. Pausanias states that Mercury having found a tortoiseshell on a mountain of Arcadia, called Chelydorea, near Mount Cyllene, formed it into a lyre. (Pausan. Græc. lib. viii. Arcad.) And he mentions (lib. ii.) a statue of Mercury, in the temple of Apollo at Argos, 'holding a tortoiseshell, of which he proposes to make a lyre.' (Hor. Od. lib. i. 10, 6.)

[2] Pausanias says the tortoise of Mount Parthenius, in Arcadia, was particularly suited for making lyres, as well as that of the Soron oak forest, which, for this purpose, rivalled the Indian species. (Lib. viii.)

[3] In the collection of the British Museum, No. 6384a, is a sounding-board of a small lyre made of the shell of a tortoise. It came from the collection of the late A. C. Harris, of Alexandria.—S. B.

[4] From having been made of a tortoise-shell, the lyre received the name *testudo*. (Hor. Od. lib. iii. 11, 3.)

played with the plectrum; of four, five, six, seven, and ten, with the hands; and of nine and eleven, with the plectrum and fingers at the same time.

An instrument played as an accompaniment to the lyre.

No. 241. *Alabastron.*

Some lyres were ornamented with the head of a favourite animal carved in wood, as the horse, ibex, or gazelle;[1] and others were of more simple shape. The strings were fastened at the upper end to a cross-bar connecting the two sides, and at the lower end they were attached to a raised ledge or hollow sounding-board, about the centre of the body, which was of wood, like the rest of the instrument. The Berlin and Leyden Museums possess lyres of this kind, which, with the exception of the strings, are perfectly preserved. That in the former collection is ornamented with horses' heads, and in form, principle, and the alternating length of its cords, resembles the one given in woodcut No. 244; though the board

2 1

No. 242. Lyres played with and without the plectrum. *Thebes.*

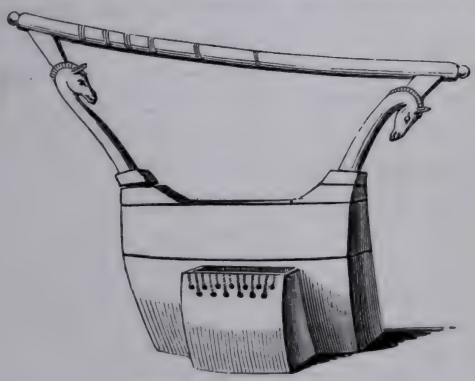
to which the strings are fastened is nearer the bottom of the

[1] As in woodcut No. 243.

instrument, and the number of strings is thirteen instead of ten: and thus we have an opportunity of comparing real Egyptian lyres with the representations of them drawn by Theban artists, in the reign of Amenophis I., and other early monarchs, more than 3000 years ago.

Lyre ornamented with the head of an animal.
No. 243. *Thebes.*

The body of the Berlin lyre is about ten inches high and fourteen and a half broad, and the total height of the instrument is two feet.[1] That of Leyden[2] is smaller, and less ornamented, but it is equally well preserved, and highly interesting from a hieratic inscription written in ink upon the front. It has no extra sounding-board; its hollow body sufficiently answers this purpose; and the strings probably passed over a movable bridge, and were secured at the bottom by a small metal



No. 244. Lyre in the Berlin Collection.

ring or staple. Both these lyres are entirely of wood, and one of the sides, as of many represented in the sculptures,[3] is longer

[1] Woodcut No. 244.

[2] In mentioning these harps, I feel it a pleasing duty to acknowledge the obliging assistance and free access I met with at both those museums, particularly at that of Leyden; and I take this opportunity of expressing my obligations to Baron A. von Humboldt, Signor Passalacqua, Dr. Leemans, and M. Jansen. The two museums where the greatest facilities are given to strangers for copying the monuments they contain, appear to me to be the British Museum and the Museum of Leyden.

[3] Woodcuts Nos. 242 and 243.

than the opposite one; so that they tuned the instrument by sliding the cords upwards, along the bar.

Similar to these were many of the Greek lyres, sometimes imitating the shape and position of the horns of a gazelle and other elegant forms, and the number of their strings was as varied as those of the Egyptians. In Greece, the instrument had at first only four cords, till an additional three were introduced by Amphion;[1] who, as Pausanias seems to hint, borrowed his knowledge of music from Lydia, and was reputed to have been taught the use of the lyre by Mercury; a fable which may be solved in the same manner as the legend respecting the invention of that instrument and of the Egyptian guitar, which I shall presently notice.

Lyre of the Leyden Collection. *Fig.* 2 shows the lower end. No. 245.

Seven continued to be the number of its strings, until the time of Terpander,[2] a poet and musician of Antissa near Lesbos (670 B.C.), who added several other notes;[3] but many were still made with a limited number; and though lyres of great power had long been known, and were constantly used by them, still many Greeks and Romans[4] contented themselves with, and perhaps preferred, those of a smaller compass. The lyres in the paintings of Herculaneum vary in the number of their strings, as much as those in the Egyptian frescoes; and we there find them with three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, and eleven cords.

There is no instance of a harp in those paintings; but a triangular instrument[5] of eight strings, carried under the arm and

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[1] Pausan. lib. ix.

[2] Plut. de Musicâ.

[3] Pliny's account differs from Plutarch, and he attributes the addition of the eighth string to Simonides, the ninth to Timotheus. (Lib. vii. 56, where he mentions the inventors of different instruments.) [Mr. Chappell, 'Hist. of Ancient Music,' 1874, pp. 29–49, has discussed this point at full length.—S. B.]

[4] Conf. Hor. *loc. cit.*

[5] The two limbs supporting the strings form the two opposite sides, as the outer string the third, or base of the isosceles triangle.

played with both hands, bears some analogy to that previously described from Thebes, which, as I have observed, we doubt whether to class among the harps or lyres;[1] and another of seven cords is played with the two hands in the manner of a harp, by a woman reclining on the ground. It is difficult to say whether any one of these comes under the denomination of *magadis*, which, according to Athenæus, 'was furnished with strings,[2] like the *cithara*, *lyra*, and *barbiton*;' but though little can be ascertained respecting the form of the numerous instruments alluded to by ancient authors,[3] the triangular lyre above mentioned cannot fail, from its shape, to call to mind the *trigon*,[4] or the *sambuca*, which is also described as being of a triangular form.[5]

The Jewish lyre, or *kinóor*, had sometimes six, sometimes nine strings, and was played with the hand, or with a plectrum; and if, when we become better acquainted with the interpretation of hieroglyphics, the 'strangers' at Beni-Hassan should prove to be the arrival of Jacob's family in Egypt, we may examine the Jewish lyre drawn by an Egyptian artist. That this event took place about the period when the inmate of the tomb lived, is highly probable; at least, if I am correct in considering Usertesen I. to be the Pharaoh the patron of Joseph; and it remains for us to decide whether the disagreement in the number of persons here introduced, thirty-seven being written over them in hieroglyphics, is a sufficient objection[6] to their identity.

It will not be foreign to the present subject to introduce those figures, which are curious, if only considered as illustrative of ancient customs at that early epoch, and which will be looked upon with unbounded interest should they ever be found to refer to

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[1] Woodcut No. 235.

[2] The name *magadis* was also applied to a kind of pipe. (Athen. iv. 25.)

[3] Aristotle (Repub. lib. viii. c. 6, de Musicâ) says, 'Many ancient instruments, as *pectides* and *barbiti*, and those which tend to delight the ear by their souad; *heptagona* (septangles), *trigona* (triangles), *sambucæ*, and all that depend upon skilful execution in fingering the cords.' [The *magadis* had a bridge to divide the strings into two parts in the ratio of 2 to 1, so as to play in octaves on one string. The Egyptian *magadis* is the heptachord lyre. Woodcuts Nos. 242 and 245. Chappell, 'Hist. of Ancient Music,' pp. 14, 55, 255. —S. B.]

[4] Athen. *loc. cit.*

[5] Suidas gives this account of the σαμβύκη, 'ὄργανον μουσικὸν τρίγωνον.' It was said to be made of strings of unequal length and thickness, answering to the appearance of the one above alluded to at Herculaneum. There is another of triangular form at Herculaneum, with ten strings, which is held over the shoulder while played with the two hands.

[6] In 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 26, I have expressed a fear that in consequence of this number, and of the expression 'captives,' we can only rank them among the ordinary prisoners taken by the Egyptians during their wars in Asia; but the contemptuous expressions common to the Egyptians in speaking of foreigners might account for the use of this word. Those presented by Joseph to Pharaoh were only five; and the person seated here is not the king. (Exod. xlvii. 2.)

the Jews.[1] The first figure is an Egyptian scribe, who presents an account of their arrival to a person seated, the owner of the tomb, and one of the principal officers of the reigning Pharaoh. The next, also an Egyptian, ushers them into his presence; and two advance, bringing presents, the wild goat or ibex and the gazelle, the productions of their country. Four men, carrying bows and clubs, follow, leading an ass on which two children are placed in panniers, accompanied by a boy and four women; and last of all, another ass laden, and two men, one holding a bow and club, the other a lyre, which he plays with the plectrum. All the men have beards, contrary to the custom of the Egyptians, but very general in the East at that period, and noticed as a peculiarity of foreign uncivilised nations throughout their sculptures. The men have sandals, the women a sort of boot reaching to the ankle,[2] both which were worn by many Asiatic people. The lyre is rude, and differs a little in form from those generally used in Egypt; but its presence here, and in others of the oldest sculptures, amply testifies its great antiquity, and claims for it a rank among the earliest stringed instruments.[3]

The Egyptian guitar has only three strings; and to it I believe Diodorus alludes, when he applies that number to the lyre, which he says corresponded to the three seasons of the year. Its invention he attributes to Hermes or Mercury,[4] who taught men letters, astronomy, and the rites of religion, and who gave the instrument three tones—the treble, bass, and tenor; the first to accord with summer, the second with winter, and the third with spring.

That the Egyptian year was divided into three parts is abundantly proved by numerous hieroglyphic inscriptions, as well as by the authority of Greek writers; and each season consisted of four months of thirty days each, making a total of three hundred and sixty days in the year. To these were added five more at the

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[1] Plate XII.

[2] Similar high shoes, or boots, were also worn by Greek and Etruscan, and even by Egyptian women, being found in the tombs of Thebes.

[3] The scene represented is the bringing of the cosmetic or *kohl* for the eyes by a tribe of the *Aamu* or Semitic people by the royal scribe Neferhetep. The inscription over the scene reads, 'The arrival to offer the *collyrium*, *mestem*, which the thirty-seven Aamu bring to him.' The scribe Neferhetep unrolls a papyrus on which is inscribed, 'The year six of the reign of his majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Rakhakheper (or Usertesen II.), the number of the Aamu brought to the nomarch Chnumhetep was living Mestem, the Aamu of the Shu. The number was thirty-seven.' A second officer, the major-domo or usher, named Khrati, accompanies the royal scribe; and the name of the Heqa or Hyk, the ruler of the land, was Ab-sha, or Ab-shen. (Brugsch, 'Histoire d'Égypte,' 4to, Leipzig, 1859, p. 63. Rosellini, 'Monumenti Reali,' xxxvi. xxxvii.)—S. B.

[4] Diod. i. 16.

Fig. 1 & 2 are Egyptians

ARRIVAL OF SOME FOREIGNERS IN EGYPT FROM BENI HASSAN

end of the twelfth month; and every fourth or leap year, another intercalary day increased this number to six, and thereby regulated the calendar, in the same manner as at the present day.[1]

That Diodorus confounds the guitar with the lyre is probable, from his attributing its origin to Mercury, who was always the supposed inventor of the latter; though there is reason to believe that the same fable was told him by the Egyptians in connection with the other three-stringed instruments, and that it led to his mistake respecting the lyre.

It was no doubt from a conviction of the great talent required for the invention of an instrument having only three cords, and yet equalling the power of one with numerous strings, that the Egyptians were induced to consider it worthy of the deity who was the patron of the arts; and the fable[2] of his intervention, on this and similar occasions, is merely an allegorical mode of expressing the intellectual gifts communicated from the Divinity, through his intermediate agency.

The Egyptian guitar consisted of two parts,—a long flat neck or handle, and a hollow oval body, either wholly of wood or covered with leather, whose upper surface was perforated with several holes, to allow the sound to escape. Over this body, and the whole length of the handle, extended three strings, —no doubt, as usual, of catgut—secured at the upper extremity, either by the same number of pegs, or by some other means peculiar to the instrument. It does not appear to have had any bridge; but the cords were fastened at the lower end to a triangular piece of wood or ivory, which raised them to a sufficient height; and in some of those represented in the sculptures, we find they were elevated at the upper extremity of the handle by means of a small cross-bar, immediately below each of

Female playing the guitar.
No. 246. *Thebes.*

[1] See appendix of 'Materia Hieroglyphica;' and Diodorus, i. 50, who mentions this quarter day, and who 'visited Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy Neos Dionysos' (i. 44).

[2] Of a similar nature is that mentioned by Diodorus concerning Osiris, who was reputed to have been the first to plant the vine, and to teach man the use of the grape. (Diod. i. 15.)

the apertures, where the strings were tightened. This answered the same purpose as the depressed end of our modern guitar; and, indeed, since the neck was straight, some contrivance of the kind was absolutely necessary.

It is true that the paintings do not indicate the existence of pegs in this instrument for securing and bracing the strings, but their common use in the harps and psalteries strongly argues their adoption in the guitar; and it is more probable that the artist may have omitted them, than that the two or four tassels attached to that part of the handle should be the substitute for a more perfect method well known to them, and adopted in other instruments. In one instance, however, the strings appear to have been each passed through a separate aperture in the handle, and then bound round it and tied in a knot.[1]

Dancing while playing the guitar.
No. 247. *Thebes.*

The length of the handle was sometimes twice, sometimes thrice, that of the body; and I suppose the whole instrument to have measured about four feet, the breadth of the body being equal to half its length. It was struck with the plectrum, which was attached by a string to the neck, close to its junction with the body; and the performers usually stood as they played. Both men and women[2] used the guitar. Some danced whilst they touched its strings, supporting it on the right arm; and I have met with one instance of it slung by a band round the neck, like the modern Spanish guitar.[3]

It is, indeed, from an ancient instrument of this kind, sometimes called cithara, that the modern name guitar has been derived; though the cithara of the Greeks and Romans, in early times at least, was always a lyre.[4] The Egyptian guitar may be called a lute; but I cannot suppose it to have been at all similar to the barbiton,[5] so frequently mentioned by Horace and other

[1] Woodcut No. 210.
[2] Pl. XI., and woodcut No. 216.
[3] Woodcut No. 248.
[4] Pausan. Græc. lib. iii.
[5] The barbitos of Strabo, who mentions it as an instrument of foreign origin. Its name was not derived from *βάρβαρος*.

authors; though this last is believed by some to have had only three strings.[1] Athenæus,[2] on the contrary, describes it with many cords, and attributes its invention to Anacreon; and Theocritus also applies to it the epithet *polychordon*. It was particularly consecrated to Polyhymnia; and, like the cithara,[3] appears to have been derived from Lesbos.[4]

Guitar slung by a belt.
No. 248. *Thebes.*

An instrument of an oval form, with a circular or cylindrical handle, was found at Thebes, not altogether unlike the guitar; but, owing to the imperfect state of its preservation, nothing could be ascertained respecting the pegs, or the mode of tightening the strings. The wooden body was faced with leather, the handle extending down it to the lower end, and part of the string remained which attached the plectrum. Three small holes indicated the place where the cords were secured, and two others, a short distance above, appear to have been intended for fastening some kind of bridge; but this is merely conjecture, as I had not an opportunity of examining it, and am indebted to Mr. Madox for the accompanying sketch.

An instrument like the guitar found
No. 249. at Thebes.

Wire strings were not used by the Egyptians in any of their instruments, nor, as far as we can learn from ancient authors, were they of any other quality than catgut;[5] and the employment of this last in the warlike bow is supposed to have led to its adoption in the peaceful lyre, owing to the accidental discovery of its musical sound. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that the Arabs, a nation of hunters, should have

[1] The Greeks had a lyre of three strings, which might have been the barbiton, if this really had only three cords; but it is generally supposed to have been a large instrument.

[2] Athen. iv.

[3] The eyes upon a cithara in pl. cxcii. of Mr. Hope's 'Costumes' recall an Egyptian ornament.

[4] Conf. Hor. Od. lib. i. 1, 33.

[5] Part of a catgut string was found with the harp discovered by Mr. Burton at Thebes, now in the British Museum, No. 6383.—S. B.

been the inventors of the *monochordium*,[1] an instrument of the most imperfect kind (especially when the skill of a Paganini is not employed to command its tones): but it is a remarkable fact that the same people still possess the instrument; and poor singers in the streets of Cairo accompany the voice with a one-stringed *rahâb*.

This circumstance may also be adduced as a proof of its antiquity; for, being used by the reciters of poems,[2] it has evidently been the instrument of their early bards, who are the first musicians in every country. There is no instance of it in the sculptures of the ancient Egyptians, nor is it probable that, even if known to them, it would have been admitted in their musical entertainments; unless indeed it were used, as at present, for an accompaniment in recitative.

The flute was at first very simple, and, as Horace observes, 'with a few holes;' the number being limited to four, until Diodorus, of Thebes in Bœotia, added others; improving the instrument, at the same time, by making a lateral opening for the mouth.[3] It was originally of reed; but in process of time it increased in size and in the number of its notes, and was made of better and more sonorous materials. It is impossible to say whether the Egyptians had one or several kinds of flutes, adapted, as with the Greeks,[4] to different purposes—some to mournful, others to festive occasions; but it is evident that they employed the flute both at banquets and in religious processions.

Most of those used by the Greeks were borrowed, like their names, from Asia—as the Lydian, Phrygian, Carian, and Mysian flutes; and Olympus, the disciple of Marsyas, introduced the instrument from Phrygia[5] into Greece, and was reputed by some[6] to have brought the lyre from the same country. Clonas, who lived many years after Terpander, was said to have been the first to invent laws and suitable airs for the flute, though these were supposed to have been borrowed from the Mysians;[7] and Pausanias ascribes[8] the construction of the flute to Ardalus, the son of Vulcan.[9]

[1] J. Pollux, Onom. iv. 9.

[2] Hence called *rahâb e shâer*, 'the poet's viol.' Mr. Lane has given a drawing and description of it in his accurate and minute work on 'The Modern Egyptians: Manners and Customs,' vol. ii. p. 74.

[3] J. Pollux, Onom. iv. 10.

[4] Pausanias (lib. ix.) mentions three as being different—the Doric, Lydian, and Phrygian.

[5] Plut. de Musicâ.

[6] Alexander on Phrygia, quoted by Plutarch, *loc. cit.*

[7] Plut. de Musicâ.

[8] Paus. Corinth. lib. ii.

[9] Athenæus considers Marsyas the inventor of the *αὔλος*; the *κάλαμος*, or reed, having been used before his time. The *μονοκάλαμος*, according to Euphorion, was a reputed invention of Mercury. (Athen. iv. 25.)

Aristotle, in mentioning Minerva as its inventor, merely alludes to one of the many allegorical fables connected with that goddess, Apollo, and Mercury; and the story of Minerva's throwing aside the flute, offended at the deformed appearance of her mouth during the performance, is supposed by him to refer to the disrepute into which it fell, when its acquirement appeared to interfere with mental reflection. 'For,' he adds, 'the flute is not suited to improve morals, but is rather a bacchanalian instrument, and very properly forbidden to be used by young people and freemen. Nor was it till after the Persian war that the Greeks, inflated by the pride of victory, laid aside their previous discrimination, and introduced all kinds of instruction, without consulting propriety or the maintenance of morality; forgetting that music is good if it tends to guide and correct the mind of youth, but highly prejudicial when indulged in merely as a pleasure.'

To Pronomus, of Thebes in Bœotia,[1] they were indebted for an improvement in the instrument, by uniting the powers of three, the Doric, Lydian, and Phrygian, into one: but this may perhaps refer to the double pipe; and, as we have already observed in the harp and lyre, all the improvements, and the reputed invention of the instrument, date long subsequently to that era when it had been already perfected among the Egyptians. Indeed, in the earliest sculptures, which are those in the tomb of an individual behind the Great Pyramid, between three and four thousand years old, is a concert of vocal and instrumental music, consisting of two harps, a pipe, a *flute*, and several voices;[2] and during the reigns of the Pharaohs of the 18th Dynasty many other combinations frequently occur.

The performers either stood, knelt,[3] or sat upon the ground; in every instance I have met with, they are men; and, what renders the introduction of the instrument more interesting, is the presence of the word *sêbi*[4] in the hieroglyphics, which is the Coptic name of the flute. It was held with both hands, was sometimes of extraordinary length, and the holes were placed so low that, when playing, the musician was obliged to extend his arms.

The pipe seems also to have belonged principally, if not

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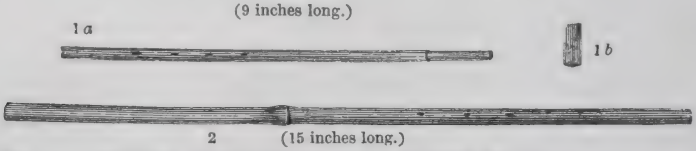
[1] Pausan, lib. ix. [2] Woodcut No. 209.
[3] Woodcut No. 214.
[4] This name is very remarkable, and goes far to prove that flutes were made, as in Bœotia and in some countries of the present day, of the leg-bones of animals. It has the same meaning as the Latin *tibia*, 'a flute,' or 'thigh-bone:' thus, CHBI-Ṉ-PAT, *sebi en-rat*, is the *tibia cruris*, or 'thigh-bone.'

exclusively, to male performers; but as it is very rarely introduced in the sculptures, I conclude it was not held in great estimation. The same remark applies to it in many other countries, where it was considered rather a pastoral instrument;[1] and in Greece it was at first peculiar to Arcadia. In form, the Egyptian pipe may have differed slightly from the Greek *μόναυλος* and the Roman *fistula*,[2] though the *μόναυλος*, or single pipe of Greece, is allowed to have been introduced from Egypt.[3] It was a straight tube, without any increase at the mouth; and, when played, was held with both hands. It was of moderate length, apparently not exceeding a foot and a half, and many have been found much smaller; but these may have belonged to the peasants, without meriting a place among the instruments of the Egyptian band: indeed, I have seen one measuring only nine inches in length,[4] and those in the Museum of Leyden vary from seven to fifteen inches.

Flute-player. The flute is of great length.
No. 250. *Thebes.*

Some have three, others four holes, as is the case with fourteen of those at Leyden, which are made of common reeds; and some[5] were furnished with a small mouthpiece of the same humble materials, or of a thick straw, inserted into the hollow of the pipe, the upper end so compressed as to leave a very small aperture for the admission of the breath.



No. 251. Reed pipes, of Salt's Collection, now in the British Museum.

J. Pollux seems to attribute to this simple pipe a much more varied power than we should imagine, giving it, as he does, the title of 'many-toned.' 'It was made,' he adds, 'of the straw of

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[1] Athenæus (iv. 25) says, some pipes were made of reeds, and called *tityrinæ* by the Dorians of Italy. The name *καλαμαύλης* was also applied to this sort of pipe, as well as *μονοκάλαμος*.

[2] Hor. Od. iii. 19, 19.

[3] J. Pollux, Onom. iv. 10. Athenæus says the same, and ascribes the invention of it and the photinx to Osiris. (Deipnos. 4.)

[4] It had probably been broken at the joint of the centre of the reed.

[5] One of these is in the British Museum. Woodcut No. 251, *fig.* 1, *a* and *b*.

barley, and was the reputed invention of Osiris;'[1] but we are at a loss to know to what instrument he alludes, when he speaks of 'the giglarus, a small sort of pipe used by the Egyptians,'[2] unless it be one of the reed pipes already mentioned.

Another kind, which is given in Professor Rosellini's admirable work on Egyptian Antiquities, appears to have been made of separate pieces, like our flutes, unless those divisions represent the joints of the reed; and the form of the upper end seems more complicated, though the number of holes is limited to five.

The following are the observations of Mr. William Chappell on the Egyptian flute:—

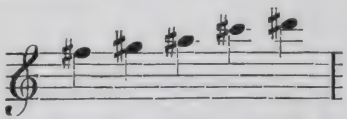
'It was a custom of the Egyptians, in the early dynasties of the empire, to deposit a musical pipe by the side of the body of a deceased person, and, together with the pipe, a long straw of barley. The pipes were played upon by short pieces of barley-straw, which were cut partly through, to perhaps a fourth of the diameter, and then, by turning the blade of the knife flat, and passing it upwards towards the mouth end, a strip of an inch or more in length was raised, to serve as a beating reed, like the hautboy reed, and thus to sound the pipe. The principle is the same as the old shepherds' pipe, and as shepherds are no longer as musical as in former days, boys bred in the country have taken up the art. One of the pipes in the British Museum has still the cut piece of straw with which it had been played within it, and a similar piece is to be found within a pipe in the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities at Turin. Entire straws which were thus deposited are preserved in the Museum at Leyden, and in the Salt Collection at the British Museum. These straws give us a new insight into the Egyptian doctrine of the transmigration of souls. They seem to convey a high compliment to the deceased—that he had led so good a life that he would once more resume the human form, and triumph with his pipe, which would have been useless in the mouth of a bird or of a beast.

'The musical lesson is also extraordinary. We learn from these pipes that the early Egyptians understood the principle of the bagpipe drone, and that of the old English Recorder, alluded to by Shakespeare in "Hamlet" and in "A Midsummer Night's Dream." Also that they played music in the *pentaphonic* or Scotch scale, as well as in the diatonic scale. One of the pipes in the collection

[1] J. Pollux, *loc. cit.*

[2] Ibid. *loc. cit.*: Γίγλαρος δὲ μικρός τις αὐλίσκος, Αἰγύπτιος, μονωδίᾳ πρόσφορος.

at Turin required the piece of straw to be sunk three inches within the pipe to elicit any sound. This is the principle of the bagpipe drone, and that pipe could not have been played at any time by the lips directly upon the straw. The Recorder pipe is in the collection of the British Museum. It is a treble pipe of $10\frac{1}{8}$ inches in length, and has four holes for musical notes, besides two round apertures, opposite to one another, and bored through the pipe, at within an inch of the mouth-end. If those had remained open, there could have been no sound produced; but, by analogy with the English Recorder, they were covered with the thinnest bladder, such as that of a small fish, the object being to produce a slightly tremulous tone by the vibration of the bladder, making it more like the human voice than the pure and steady quality of an English flute, such as was blown at the end, or of a diapason pipe in an organ. This pipe is also remarkable for being on the *pentaphonic* or Scotch scale, and that the pitch should be precisely that of a modern harmonium, and the notes to correspond with the black keys upon a pianoforte.

The scale is

The first note of this scale is produced by the whole length of the pipe.

'The next to be remarked upon is a tenor pipe in the British Museum of $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, which has also four holes for notes.

The scale at the present pitch is

'The last sharp is a puzzle. It may have been intended for G, but, if not, it was probably to give the leading note to a treble pipe. We find three pipers playing together with pipes so varied in length in the tomb of Tebhen of the 4th Dynasty of Egypt,[1] that they must have been playing treble, tenor, and bass. It is this which suggests the idea of the F sharp being a leading note to another pipe, and further, because one of those at Turin has the first four notes only a tone lower, without any fifth note. It is the one with the bagpipe drone, $23\frac{3}{8}$ inches in length, and has only three holes.'

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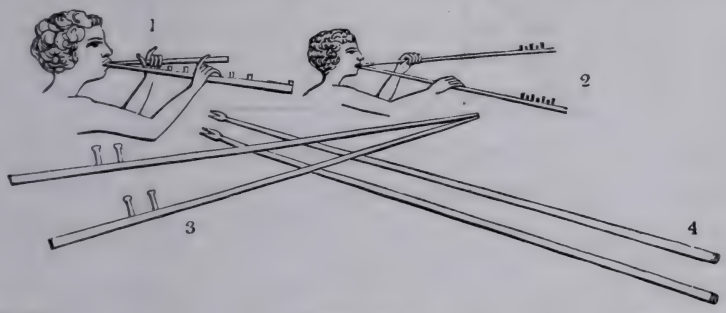
[1] Lepsius, 'Denkmäler,' Abt. ii. Blatt. 36, from the Pyramids of Gizeh, Grab 93.—S. B.

The double pipe consisted of two pipes, perhaps occasionally united together by a common mouthpiece, and played each with the corresponding hand. It was common to the Greeks[1] and other people, and, from the mode of holding it, received the name of right and left pipe, the *tibia dextra* and *sinistra* of the Romans.[2] The latter had but few holes, and, emitting a deep sound, served as a bass. The other had more holes, and gave a sharp tone;[3] and for this purpose they preferred the upper part of the reed (when made of that material) for the right-hand pipe, and the lower part, near the root, for the left tube.[4] To them, also, the name of *auloi* was applied by the Greeks, as was that of *monaulos* to the single pipe.

In the paintings of Herculaneum, some of the double pipes are furnished with pegs, fixed into the upper side of each tube,



No. 252. Double pipes. *Herculaneum.*

towards the lower extremity; but it is difficult to ascertain the purpose for which they were intended. Some have two in each; others five in the left, and seven in the right hand pipe; and others again five in the right, and none in the other, which is of much smaller dimensions, both in length and thickness.[5]

Nothing of the kind has yet been met with in the sculptures of the Egyptians; but as they may have had pipes of similar construction, and these tend to throw some light on the general

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[1] The double pipe of the Greeks had sometimes two pegs at the lower end, or five on one and seven on the other pipe. Woodcut No. 252.

[2] 'The pipe called *magadis* and *palæomagadis* emits a deep and an acute sound, as Alexander states.' (Athen. iv. 25.)

[3] 'Biforem dat tibia cantum.' (Virg. Æn. ix. 618.)

[4] Plin. xvi. 36. The reed of Orchomenus was called auletic, from being suited to the flute; another was named *syringia*, being more proper for making pipes.

[5] This does not agree with the above statement of the *tibia dextra* emitting the sharper sound; but it is possible that they varied according to the pleasure of the performer, being separate. Woodcut No. 252, *fig.* 1.

appearance and use of the instrument, they are introduced in the woodcut on the previous page.

The double, like the single pipe, was at first of reed, and afterwards of box,[1] lotus-thorn,[2] and other sonorous wood; or of horn, ivory, bone,[3] iron or silver. It was not only used on solemn occasions, but very generally at festive banquets,[4] both among the Greeks and Egyptians. Men, but more frequently women, performed upon it,[5] occasionally dancing as they played; and

No. 253. Woman dancing, while playing the double pipe. *Thebes.*

from its repeated occurrence in the sculptures of Thebes, we may suppose the Egyptians preferred it to the single pipe. Of its tone no very accurate notion can be formed; but it is easy to conceive the general effect of an instrument emitting a tenor and bass at the same time. The modern Egyptians have imitated it in their *zummára*, or double reed; but not, I imagine, with very great success, since it is both harsh and inharmonious, and of the rudest construction. Nor is it admitted, like the ancient double pipe, at festivals, where other instruments are introduced; nor allowed to hold a rank in their bands of music, humble and imperfect as they now are; and its piping harshness and monotonous drone are chiefly used for the out-of-doors entertainments of the peasants, or as a congenial accompaniment to the tedious camel's pace.

Many of the instruments of the ancients, whether Greeks,

[1] Plin. *loc. cit.* Boxwood for the pipes used on solemn occasions, the lotus-thorn for the lively-toned instruments. (J. Pollux, Onom. iv. 9.)

[2] Athenæus tells us, the pipes made of the lotus-wood of Africa were called by the Alexandrians *photinges*.

[3] Some were made at Thebes, in Bœotia, of the thigh-bone of the fawn. (Athen.; and J. Pollux, iv. 10.) The latter writer mentions the bones of vultures and eagles used by the Scythians.

[4] According to the same author, the name of boys' pipe, or hemiopus, was applied to one of those used at feasts.

[5] Woodcuts Nos. 201, 253, &c.

Romans, or Jews, bore a noisy and inharmonious character; and Lucian relates an anecdote of a young flute-player named Harmonides, who, thinking to astonish and delight his audience at the Olympic games, blew with such violence into the instrument on which he was performing a solo, that, having completely exhausted himself, he died with the effort,[1] and may be said to have breathed his last into the flute. But that it was really a flute, seems highly improbable; and on this and many other occasions, ancient writers appear to have confounded the instrument with a species of clarionet, or bell-mouthed pipe, which, being different from the straight *fistula*, was comprehended under the more general name of *aulos* or *tibia*. Of the clarionet we have no instance in the sculptures of Egypt; and the modern inhabitants have probably derived their clamorous and harsh-toned instrument from some model introduced by the Romans, or other foreigners; who, after the reign of Amasis, visited or took possession of the country.

Nor do we meet with that combination of long and short reeds, now known by the name of pan-pipes,[2] in any of the musical scenes portrayed in the tombs; which, from its having been used by the Jews, we might expect to find in Egypt. It was called in Hebrew *ãogab*,[3] and is one of the oldest instruments mentioned in sacred history, its invention being said to date *before* the age of Noah.

The tambourine was a favourite instrument both on sacred and festive occasions. It was of three kinds, differing, no doubt, in sound as well as form. One was circular, another square or oblong, and the third consisted of two squares separated by a bar.[4] They were all beaten by the hand, and used as an accompaniment to the harp and other instruments.

Men and women played the tambourine, but it was more generally appropriated to the latter, as with the Jews;[5] and they frequently danced to its sound, without the addition of any other music. It was of very early use in Egypt, and seems to have been known to the Jews[6] previous to their leaving Syria: being

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[1] No doubt from the bursting of a blood-vessel. J. Pollux mentions a player on the trumpet, one Herodorus of Megara, whose instrument stunned every one. (Onom. iv. 11.)

[2] Some of those at Herculaneum have all the reeds of the same length, in others they decrease towards one end; as described by J. Pollux (iv. 9), who says they were bound together with waxed string.

[3] Job xxi. 12, and Gen. iv. 21, translated 'organ.'

[4] Woodcut No. 261, *fig.* 3.

[5] Exod. xv. 20: 'And Miriam took a timbrel in her hand, and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances.' Judges xi. 34, Jephthah's daughter, and xxi. 21; 1 Sam. xviii. 6.

[6] As was the harp, which I before mentioned. Gen. xxxi. 27: 'With tabret and with harp;' '*be taph oo be kinoor*.' The harp, tabret, and *ãogab* were known in the days of Job. (Job xxi. 12.)

among the instruments mentioned by Laban, under its Hebrew name *taph*, the *tar* of the modern Arabs.

From the imperfect representations of those in the tombs of Thebes, it is difficult to say whether the Egyptian tambourine had the same movable pieces of metal, let into its wooden frame, as in that of the present day; but their mode of playing it was similar, and from their holding it up after it had been struck, we may venture to conclude the adoption of the metal rings, for the free emission of whose sound that position was particularly suited. It is evident, from the paintings at Herculaneum, that the Greek tambourine was furnished with balls of metal, pendent from the front part, or from the centre, of its circular rim, to which each appears to have been attached by a short thong; and this instrument was mostly confined to women, as with the Egyptians, and chiefly used by the Greeks in festivals of Bacchus and Cybele.

With the name of tambourine that of Anacharsis will always be connected; and, however improbable the story, it has been very generally believed that he fell a sacrifice to the indignation of his countrymen, in consequence of having introduced the instrument into Scythia when he returned from Greece. Some, with more reason, suppose that an attempt to reform the laws of his country after the Athenian model, was the cause of his death.

Among the instruments of sacred music[1] may be reckoned the harp, lyre, flute, double pipe, tambourine, cymbals, and even the guitar; but neither the trumpet, drum, nor *mace*, was excluded from the religious processions, in which the military were engaged. They do not, however, appear to have been admitted, like the former, among those whose introduction into the courts of the temple was sanctioned on ordinary occasions; and perhaps the peculiar title of 'the holy instrument' ought to be confined to the sistrum.

The harp, lyre, and tambourine were often admitted during the religious services of the temple;[2] and in a procession in honour of Athor, represented on a frieze at Dendera,[3] two goddesses are observed to play the harp and tambourine;[4] and this

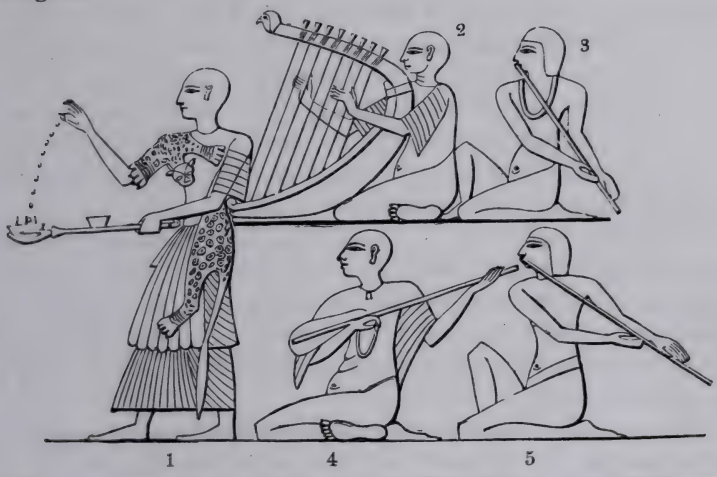
[1] Woodcut No. 254.

[2] With the Jews, the harp, lute, and ten-stringed *āshúr* were employed in the praise of the Deity, as well as trumpets, cymbals, and other instruments. (Psalm xxxiii. 2; and again in Psalm lxxxi. 2, 'The tabret (timbrel), the merry harp, with the lute (psaltery),' and 'the trumpet;' 1 Chron. xxv. 1.) Asaph even played the cymbals (1 Chron. xvi. 5).

[3] Formerly Tentyris, in Upper Egypt.

[4] In a painting at Herculaneum, representing a sacrifice in the Temple of Isis, the tambourine is introduced, and a man blowing what appears to be the *cornu* or horn.

last again occurs in the hand of another deity at Hermonthis. The priests, bearing various sacred emblems, frequently advanced to the sound of the flute,[1] and entered the temple to celebrate their most important festivals; and with the exception of those of Osiris at Abydus,[2] the sacred rites of an Egyptian deity did not forbid the introduction of the harp, the flute, or the voice of singers.



No. 254. Sacred musicians, and a priest offering incense. *Leyden Museum.*

At the *fête* of Diana, or Bast, at Bubastis, music was permitted as on other similar occasions;[3] and Herodotus[4] mentions the flute and the *crotala*, which were played by the votaries of the goddess, on their way down the Nile to the town where her far-famed temple stood. In the processions during the festival of Bacchus, the same author[5] says the flute-player goes first, and is followed by the choristers, who chant the praises of the deity; and we find the flute represented in the sculptures in the hands of a sacred musician attached to the service of Amun, who is in attendance, while the ceremonies are performed in honour of the god. And that cymbals were appropriated to the same purpose we have sufficient reason for inferring, from their having been found buried with an individual whose coffin bears an inscription

[1] The flute is mentioned by Apuleius, in speaking of the mysteries of Isis. (Apuleius, Metamorph. lib. xi.) Herodot. ii. 48.

[2] Strabo, lib. xvii.

[3] J. Pollux, Onom. iv. 11: 'The trumpet was used in some processions and religious services, by the Egyptians, Greeks, Tyrrheni, and Romans.'

[4] Herodot. ii. 60.

[5] Ibid. ii. 48.

purporting that she was the minstrel of Amun, the presiding deity of Thebes.

Crotala were properly a sort of castanets, made of hollow wooden shells; and cymbals bore the name of *crembala;* but in some instances, as in the passage of Herodotus, the name *crotala* appears to signify cymbals. They were occasionally like our clappers [1] for frightening birds; and that Pausanias had in view something of the kind is probable, from the use to which he supposes they were once applied requiring a much more powerful sound than that produced by castanets. 'The birds of Stymphalus,' [2] says that writer, 'which lived on human flesh, are commonly fabled to have been destroyed by the arrows of Hercules; but Pisander, of Camirus, affirms that they were frightened away by the noise of crotala.' [3]

That the harp was a favourite instrument in religious ceremonies, is evident from the assertion of Strabo; from the frequent mention of minstrels of Amun and other gods, in the hieroglyphic legends placed over those who play that instrument; and from the two harpers in the presence of the god Ao, before mentioned.

The custom of approaching the holy place, and of singing the praises of the Deity, was not peculiar to the Egyptians. The Jews regarded music as an indispensable part of religion, and the harp held a conspicuous rank in the consecrated band.[4] David was himself [5] celebrated as the inventor of musical instruments, as well as for his skill with the harp; he frequently played it during the most solemn ceremonies: and we find that, in the earliest times, the Israelites used the timbrel, or tambourine, in celebrating the praises of the Deity; Miriam [6] herself, 'a pro-

[1] Pausan. Arcad. lib. viii.

[2] Represented in the Etruscan tombs.

[3] The crotala or castanets of the Egyptians were carved pieces of ivory or wood, sometimes terminating in a human head, at other times ending in a hand. They were flat and generally pierced at the end not so ornamented with a hole, and held together by a piece of palm fibre cord. When struck together, they give a kind of dull clapping sound. The Greek crotala, as appears from the vase paintings, were of a shape quite different, flat and resembling a bell, and made of brass. They were without doubt more noisy than the Egyptian, and their sound suitable for scaring birds. None have been discovered. The Egyptian are figured in woodcut No. 224, p. 456, and were often ornamented on the exterior with figures in outline of the god Besa and various animals, and are often of a late period. In the vase paintings of the Greeks, crotala are often seen in the hands of Mænads or Bacchantes.—S. B.

[4] 2 Sam. vi. 5: 'And David and all the house of Israel played before the Lord, on all manner of instruments, made of *firwood*, even on harps, and on psalteries, and on timbrels, and on cornets, and on cymbals.'

[5] Amos vi. 5: 'Invent unto themselves instruments of music, like David;' and 1 Chron. xxiii. 5: 'Praised the Lord with the instruments which I made (said David).'

[6] Exod. xv. 20.

phetess, and the sister of Aaron,' having used it while chanting the overthrow of Pharaoh's host.

With most nations it has been considered right to introduce music into the service of religion; and if the Egyptian priesthood made it so principal a part of their earnest inquiries, and inculcated the necessity of applying to its study, not as an amusement, or in consequence of any feeling excited by the reminiscences accompanying a national air, but from a sincere admiration of the science, and of its effects upon the human mind, we can readily believe that it was sanctioned, and even deemed indispensable, in many of their religious rites. Hence the sacred musicians were of the order of priests, and appointed to the service, like the Levites,[1] among the Jews; and the Egyptian sacred bands were probably divided and superintended, in the same manner as among that people.

[The priests, according to Diodorus,[2] did not learn music; but Strabo[3] speaks of singers, flute-players, and harpers, called *hieropsaltistæ*, or sacred harpers. Clemens mentions the psalmist, *hymnodos*, who learnt two books, the hymns to the gods, several of which, as those to Ptah, Amen Ra, Thoth, and the Nile, have been preserved; and Josephus[4] states that they played the *buni* and the *trigonon enharmonion*, or enharmonic trigon. In the hieroglyphs the *hes*, or bards, are often mentioned; but it does not appear that they belonged to the class of prophets. In the decree of Canopus, the *threne*, or dirge, in honour of the deceased child, Queen Berenike, was to be handed to the leader of the band, *ododidaskalos*, by the sacred scribes.[5]—S. B.]

At Jerusalem 'Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun' were the three directors of the music of the tabernacle, under David, and of the temple, under Solomon. Asaph had four sons, Jeduthun six, and Heman fourteen.

These twenty-four Levites, sons of the three great masters of sacred music, were at the head of twenty-four bands of musicians, who served the temple in turns. Their number there was always great, especially at the grand solemnities. They were ranged in order about the altar of burnt sacrifices. Those of the family of Kohath were in the middle, those of Merari at the left, and those of Gershom on the right hand. The whole business of their life

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[1] 1 Chron. xv. 16.
[2] Diod. ii. 32.
[3] Porphyry, de Abst. lib. iv. p. 374.
[4] In Hypomnestrio, p. 330. *V.* T. Fabricii.
[5] Lepsius, 'Die Dekret von Canopus,' fol., Berlin, 1866, p. 24.

was to learn and practise music; and being provided with an ample maintenance, nothing prevented their prosecuting their studies, and arriving at perfection in the art. Even in the temple, and in the ceremonies of religion, female musicians were admitted as well as men; and they were generally the daughters of Levites. Heman had three daughters, who were proficients in music; and the 9th Psalm is addressed to Benaiah, chief of the band of young women, who sang in the temple.

Ezra, in his enumeration of those he brought back from the captivity, reckons two hundred singing men and singing women; and Zechariah, Aziel, and Shemiramoth[1] are said to have presided over the seventh band of music, which was that of the young women.[2]

In many other places mention is made of women who sang and played on instruments;[3] and the fact of some of them being the daughters of priests and of the first families, is analogous to the custom of the Egyptians, who only admitted those of the priests and kings into the service of the temple. Herodotus states, indeed, that women were not allowed in Egypt to become priestesses of any god or goddess, the office being reserved exclusively for men;[4] but though it is true that the higher functions of the priesthood belonged to these last, as far as regarded the slaying of victims, presenting offerings, and other duties connected with the sacrifices, yet it is equally certain that women were also employed in the service of the temple, and were even, according to the historian himself, so fully instructed in matters appertaining to religion, that two who had been carried away and sold into Libya and Greece were enabled to institute oracles in those countries. This statement of Herodotus[5] appears to contradict the former one above mentioned, especially as he admits them to have had access to the altars of the god they served,[6] the Theban Jupiter; but it is probable that he merely refers to the higher offices of the priesthood, without intending to exclude them altogether from those sacred employments.

It is difficult to decide as to the name, or the precise rank or office, they bore; but the sculptures leave no room to doubt that they were admitted to a very important post, which neither the

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[1] 1 Chron. xv. and xvi.

[2] Calmet.

[3] Exod. xv. 20. Psalm lxviii. 25: 'The singers go before, the minstrels follow after; in the midst are the damsels playing with the timbrels.' And 2 Sam. xix. 35.

[4] Herodot. ii. 35.

[5] Ibid. ii. 54.

[6] Ibid. ii. 56.

wives and daughters of priests, nor even of kings, were ashamed to accept. In the most solemn processions they advanced towards the altar with the priests, bearing the sacred sistrum;[1] and a queen or a princess frequently accompanied the monarch, while he offered his praise or a sacrifice to the deity, holding one or two of those instruments in her hand.[2]

[The offices in the hierarchy held by women have been already noticed at an early period under the 4th and 6th Dynasties; they held the post of *neter hent*, or prophetess, and such are found of the goddesses Neith and Athor, but after this period they appear to have been excluded from the priesthood proper. Queens, indeed, were styled *neter hemet*, 'divine wife,' or *neter tut*, 'divine handmaid,' of Amen, the *pallakis* of the Greek writers; but it is probable that the office was purely honorary. At a later period from the 18th Dynasty there were *aha*, sistrum players, determined by the hieroglyph of a draped female holding a sistrum, and singers, *qemā*, attached to the worship of the gods, especially of Amen Ra at Thebes, and a few offices of secular character were held by women.—S. B.]

By some the sistrum was supposed to have been intended to frighten away Typho, or the evil spirit; and Plutarch, who mentions this,[3] adds that 'on the convex surface is a cat with a human visage; on the lower part, under the moving cords, the face of Isis; and on the opposite side that of Nephthys.' The bars, to which he alludes, were generally three, rarely four; and each had three or four rings of metal, whereby the 'rattling noise made with the movable bars' was greatly increased.

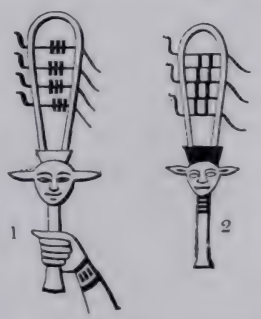
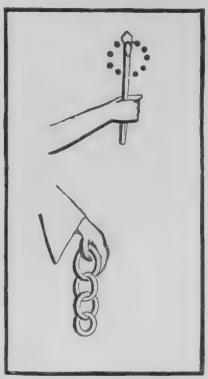


Fig. 1. The sistrum of four bars. 2. Of unusual form. No. 255. *Thebes.*

The instrument was generally from about eight to sixteen or eighteen inches in length, and entirely of bronze or brass. It was sometimes inlaid with silver, gilt, or otherwise ornamented; and being held upright, was shaken, the rings moving to and fro upon the bars. These last were frequently made to imitate snakes, or simply bent at each end to secure them; and I have met with one

[1] *Conf.* Claudian, de iv. cons. Honor. 570, and woodcut No. 8.
[2] Woodcut No. 8, *fig.* 5. [3] Plut. de Isid. s. 63.

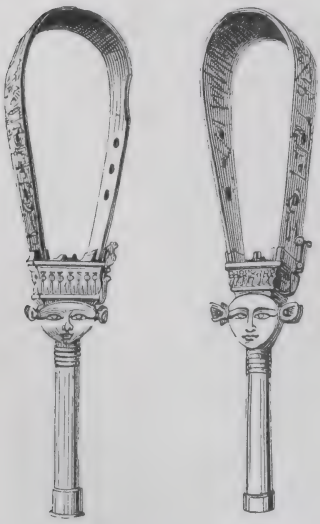
instance of their being connected with each other by cross pieces, besides the unusual addition of two intermediate bars.[1]



No. 256. Instrument and chain shaken by a person in a religious ceremony represented at Herculaneum.

In a sacrifice to Isis, represented at Herculaneum, in company with several sistra is an instrument consisting of a rod and a set of movable balls, arranged in a circle, apparently shaken by the performer; who, in the other hand, holds four links of a chain, intended, no doubt, to emit a similar jingling sound; but as the paintings in which they occur are of a late date, and the rites only borrowed from those of Egypt, we have no direct evidence of their having been used by the Egyptians themselves.

The most interesting sistrum I have seen is one brought to England by Mr. Burton, and now in the British Museum. It was found at Thebes; and, being of a good style and of the most correct Egyptian form, appears to indicate great antiquity, and one of the best periods of art.



1 2

Sistrum in Mr. Burton's Collection, now in the British Museum.
No. 257.

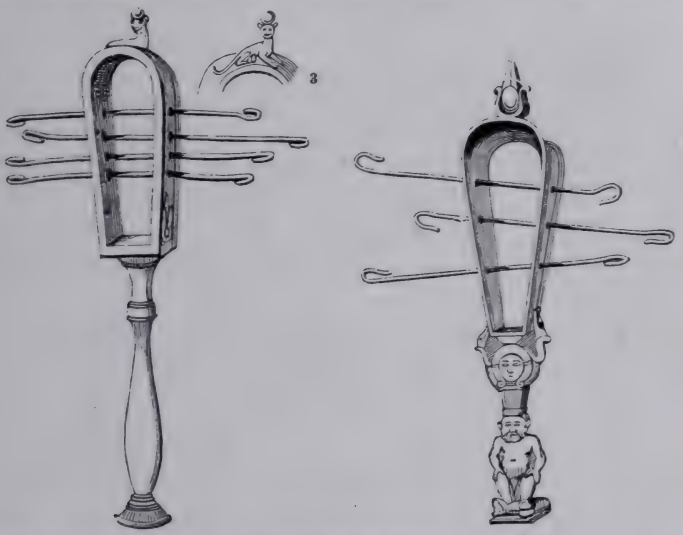
Two others in the British Museum are highly preserved, but are evidently of a late epoch; and another in the same collection is of very modern date. They have four bars, and are of very small size. Mr. Burton's sistrum is one foot four and a half inches high, and was furnished with three movable bars, which have been unfortunately lost. On the upper part are represented the goddess Bast, or Bubastis, the sacred vulture, and other emblems; and below is the figure of a female, holding in each hand one of these instruments.

The handle is cylindrical, and surmounted by the double face

[1] Woodcut No. 255, *fig.* 2.

of Athor,[1] wearing an 'asp-formed crown,' on whose summit appears to have been the cat, now scarcely traced in the remains of its feet. It is entirely of bronze; the handle, which is hollow, and closed by a movable cover of the same metal, is supposed to have held something appertaining to the sistrum; and the lead, still remaining within the head, is a portion of that used in soldering the interior.

One of the Berlin sistra is eight, the other nine inches in height: the former has four bars, and on the upper or circular part lies a cat,[2] crowned with the disc or sun. The other has three



Nos. 258, 259. Sistra in the Berlin Museum.

bars; the handle is composed of a figure supposed to be of Typho, surmounted by the heads of Athor; and on the summit are the horns, globe, and feathers of the same goddess.[3] They are

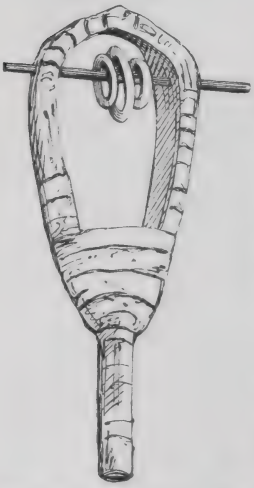
[1] Plutarch, de Isid. s. 63.

[2] Plutarch, *loc. cit.* He supposes the four bars corresponded to the four elements. These sistra are of the Roman period.

[3] The upper part of the handle of the sistrum always at an early period was ornamented with a head of the cow-eared Athor, the Egyptian Aphroditê, or Venus, surmounted by a cornice, and often inlaid with gold or silver. Older sistra than that of Mr. Burton are found in museums. The sistrum was called *ses'*, which is evidently the origin of its name, although *seistron* may have been assimilated or derived from a Hellenic root. The action of shaking the sistrum was called *ârt ses'*, and was a sign of joy. Besides the above wooden model, which probably formed part of a wooden figure, models of sistra made of blue or bluish-green porcelain have been found, and the handles of others show that they were often of large size. A small model in the British Museum is surmounted by a hawk and vulture, and the part for the base is in shape of a pylon. They sometimes have inscriptions having the name of the goddess Seχet, or Bast, the Bubastis or

both destitute of rings; but the rude Egyptian model of another, in the same collection, has three rings upon its single bar, agreeing in this respect, if not in the number of the bars, with those represented in the sculptures.

Songs and the clapping of hands may likewise be considered connected with sacred music; and they are both noticed in the sculptures and by ancient authors. Those who attended at the festival of Bubastis are said by Herodotus to have celebrated the Deity in this manner, with the music of flutes and cymbals; and the Jews followed the same custom,[1] like the Moslem inhabitants of modern Egypt.



Rude model of a sistrum, in the No. 260. Berlin Museum.

The *chnoue*, an instrument said by Eustathius to have been used by the Greeks at sacrifices to assemble the congregation, was reputed to have been of Egyptian origin; but I do not believe it has been met with in the sculptures. It was a species of trumpet, of a round shape, and was said to have been the invention of Osiris.

The dance consisted mostly of a succession of figures, in which the performers endeavoured to exhibit a great variety of gesture; men and women danced at the same time, or in separate parties, but the latter were generally preferred, from their superior grace and elegance. Some danced to slow airs, adapted to the style of their movement: the attitudes they assumed frequently partook of a grace not unworthy of the Greeks; and some credit is due to the skill of the artist who represented the subject, which excites additional interest from its being in one of the oldest tombs of Thebes.[2] Others preferred a lively step, regulated by an appropriate tune; and men sometimes danced with great spirit, bounding from the ground,[3] more in the manner of Europeans than of an Eastern people. On these occasions the music was not always composed of many

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Artemis of the Egyptians, and the names of monarchs of the 26th Dynasty and their immediate successors. It has been supposed that sistra were used in sepulchral ceremonies, but they are not so represented. (Pierret, 'Dict. d'Archéologie Égyptienne,' p. 514.)—S. B.

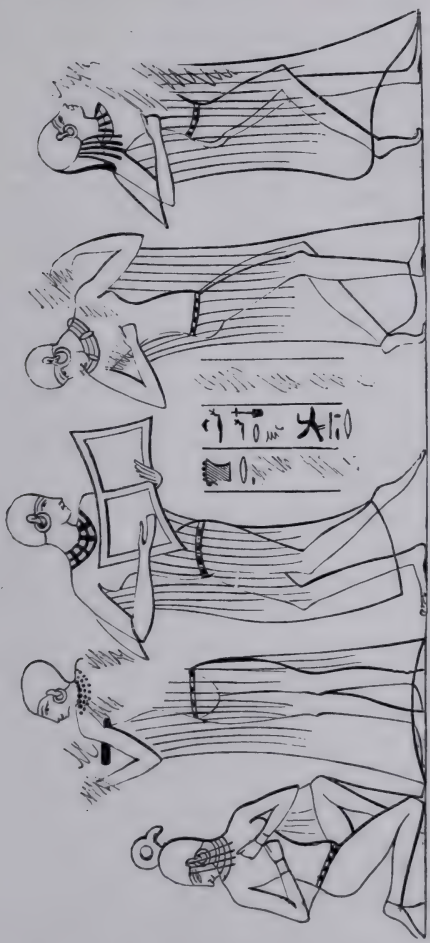
[1] Psalm xlvii. 1.

[2] Of the time of Amenophis II., B.C. 1450. Woodcut No. 261.

[3] Woodcut No. 223.

instruments, and here we only find the cylindrical maces, and a woman snapping her fingers to the time[1] in lieu of cymbals or castanets.

Graceful attitudes and gesticulation were the general style of



their dance; but, as in all other countries, the taste of the performance varied according to the rank of the person by whom they were employed, or their own skill; and the dance at the house of a priest differed from that among the uncouth peasantry, or the lower classes of townsmen.

[1] The 'Lesbium servate pedem, *meique Pollicis ictum*' of Horace (Od. lib. iv. 6, 39), might refer to this mode of marking the time.

It was not customary for the upper orders of Egyptians to indulge in this amusement, either in public or private assemblies; and none appear to have practised it but the lower ranks of society, and those who gained their livelihood by attending festive meetings. With the Greeks, it was also customary at feasts to have women who professed music and dancing to entertain the guests; they even looked upon the dance as a recreation, in which all classes might indulge, and deemed it an accomplishment becoming a gentleman: it is therefore not surprising that, like music, it should have formed part of their education.

The Romans, on the contrary, were far from considering it worthy of a man of rank, or of a sensible person; and Cicero says,[1] 'No man who is sober dances, unless he is out of his mind, either *when alone*, or in any decent society; for dancing is the companion of wanton conviviality, dissoluteness, and luxury.'[2] Nor did the Greeks indulge in it to excess; and effeminate dances were deemed indecent in men of character and wisdom. Indeed, Herodotus informs us that Hippoclides, the Athenian, who had been preferred before all the nobles of Greece as a husband for the daughter of Clisthenes, king of Argos, was rejected on account of his extravagant gestures in the dance.

Of all the Greeks, the Ionians were most noted for their fondness of this art; and, from the wanton and indecent tendency of their songs and gesticulations, dances of a voluptuous character, like those of the modern Alméhs[3] of the East, were styled by the Romans 'Ionic movements.'[4] Moderate dancing was even deemed worthy of the gods themselves. Jupiter, 'the father of gods and men,' is represented dancing in the midst of the other deities; and Apollo is not only introduced by Homer thus engaged, but received the title of *orchestes*, 'the dancer,' from his supposed excellence in the art. In early ages, before the introduction of luxury, it was an innocent recreation; and, as Athenæus[5] observes, 'becoming of persons of honour and

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[1] Cicero, Orat. pro Murænâ.

[2] Sallust (Bell. Catil.) says of Sempronia, 'psallere saltare elegantius quam probræ necesse est,' which shows that even at that time the Roman ladies played and danced.—S. B.

[3] Alméh, Eulmeh, or Ghowázee, women in Egypt and other countries who dance with the most indecent gestures to the sound of a violin and tambourine, singing and repeating verses. They were formerly learned women, whence their name Eulmeh, who rehearsed poetry, and danced to amuse the inmates of a *haréem*. Their general appellation at the present day, Ghowázeh, is derived from Ghoos (warriors), a title of the Memlooks, at whose festive meetings they used to dance, and through whom they have lost the consideration they formerly enjoyed.

[4] Hor. Od. lib. iii. 6, 21.

[5] Athen. i. 19.

wisdom;' but extravagant gesture corrupted its original simplicity,[1] and 'no part of the art connected with music,' says Plutarch,[2] 'has in our time suffered so great a degradation as dancing.'

Fearing lest it should corrupt the manners of a people naturally lively and fond of gaiety, and deeming it neither a necessary part of education nor becoming a person of sober habits, the Egyptians forbade those of the higher classes to learn it as an accomplishment, or even as an amusement; and, by permitting professional persons to be introduced into their assemblies, to entertain the guests, they sanctioned all the diversion of which it was supposed capable, without compromising their dignity.

They dreaded the excitement resulting from such an occupation, the excess of which ruffled and discomposed the mind; and it would have been difficult, having once conceded permission to indulge in it, to prevent those excesses which it did not require the example of Asiatic nations to teach them to foresee. If those who were hired to perform, either in public or in private, transgressed the bounds of moderation, or descended to buffoonery, it might excite the contempt of those it failed to please, yet the beholders were innocent of the fault; and any word or action offending against the rules of decency might be checked by the veto of their superiors.

In private, in particular, they were subject to the orders and censure of the persons by whom they were employed; and, consequently, avoided any gesture or expression which they knew to be unwelcome, or likely to give offence to the spectators; and thus no improper innovations were attempted, from the caprice of a performer. They consulted the taste of the party, and adapted the style of dance and of gesture to those whose approbation they courted: it is not, therefore, surprising that excesses were confined to the inferior class of performers, at the houses of the lower orders, whose congenial taste welcomed extravagant buffoonery and gesticulation.

Grace in posture and movement was the chief object of those employed at the assemblies of the rich; and the ridiculous gestures of the buffoon were permitted there, so long as they did not transgress the rules of decency and moderation. Music was

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[1] Dancing was highly approved of by Socrates, as being conducive to health. (Plut. de Sanit.)

[2] Plut. Sympos. viii. 9, 18.

always indispensable, whether at the festive meetings of the rich or poor; and they danced to the sound of the harp, lyre, guitar, pipe,[1] tambourine, and other instruments, and, in the streets, even to the drum.

Many of their postures resembled those of the modern ballet; and the *pirouette* delighted an Egyptian party upwards of 3500 years ago.[2]

The dresses of the female dancers were light, and of the finest texture, showing, by their transparent quality, the forms and movement of the limbs: they generally consisted of a loose flowing robe, reaching to the ankles, occasionally fastened tight at the waist; and round the hips was a small narrow girdle, adorned with beads, or ornaments of various colours. Sometimes the dancing figures are represented without any indication of dress, and appear to have been perfectly naked; but it is difficult to say if this is intentional, or if the outline of the transparent robe[3] has been effaced; and it is sometimes so faintly traced as scarcely to be perceived, even when the paintings are well preserved: for we can scarcely suppose that a highly civilised people like the Egyptians were so depraved as to admit, or to allow their artists to record, a dance of naked women in the presence of men, or that the priesthood would permit such exhibitions.

Slaves were taught dancing as well as music; and in the houses of the rich, besides their other occupations, that of dancing to entertain the family, or a party of friends, was required of them; and that free Egyptians, who gained their livelihood by their performances, were also engaged at private parties, is evident from the paintings, where they are distinctly pointed out, by having the usual colour of their compatriots.

Some danced by pairs, holding each other's hands; others went through a succession of steps alone,[4] both men and women; and sometimes a man performed a solo to the sound of music or the clapping of hands.[5]

Feats of agility and strength were frequently exhibited on these occasions, with or without the sound of music. Some held each other by the hand, and whirled round at arm's length, in opposite directions;[6] some lifted each other off the ground in various difficult attitudes, and attempted every species of feat

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[1] Matt. xi. 17: 'We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced.'

[2] Woodcut No. 262.

[3] The Greeks also represented the contour of the figure, as if seen through the dress.

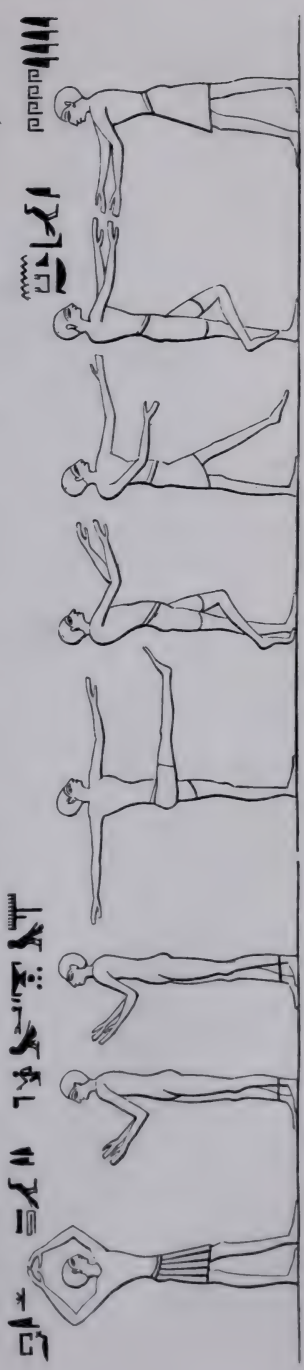
[4] Woodcut No. 263.

[5] Woodcut No. 264.

[6] Woodcut No. 265.

which could be performed by agility or strength; but as these enter more properly under the denomination of games, I shall not introduce them here, but shall notice them in another place, with the gymnastic exercises of the Egyptians.

[Several scenes of dancing are represented in the tombs of the earlier dynasties, where the actions of private life form the principal decoration of the walls. In the dance the hands are often elevated above the head, and the right foot slightly raised from the ground, as in Lepsius.[1] Fourteen women are represented dancing before a table of offering in a tomb at Memphis, and the inscription reads, *hes àn χen em àm*, 'the song of the ladies of the harem.' As many as fifteen are seen dancing at one time in another tomb.[2] In the tomb of Anmut of the 6th Dynasty there are three male dancers, called *ab en χetf*, 'the dancers before;' and in another scene four *χen en am*, 'ladies of the harem,' dance.[3] It is certain that they sometimes danced naked, as their successors the Almehs do, and then their waists have a girdle, the *kestos*, round them.[4] The inscriptions over some of the figures are obscure or unintelligible, but others are clear. Thus in Rosellini (Mon. Civ. cl.) is *per em neter*, 'the mani-



No. 262. The pirouette, and other Egyptian steps, danced 3500 years ago. *Beni-Hassa*

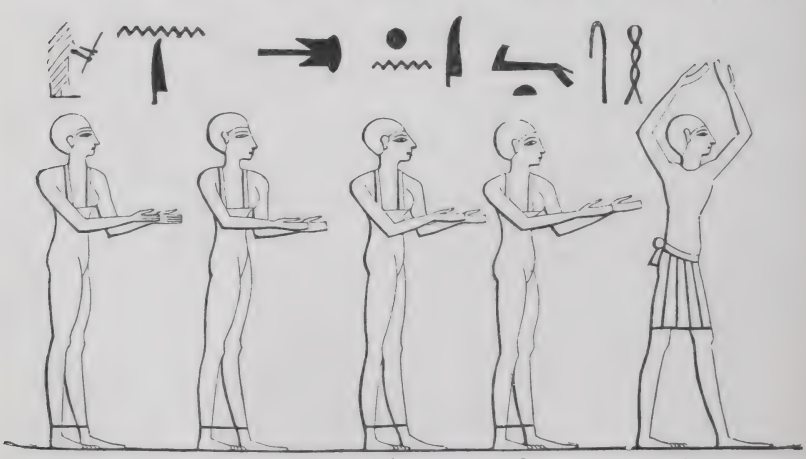
[1] Denkm. Abt. ii. Bl. 14.
[2] Ibid., Abt. ii. Bl. 35.
[3] Ibid., Abt. ii. Bl. 14.
[4] Rosellini, Mon. Civ. xcviii.

festation of a god,' in which four professional dancers form a group imitating the well-known one of the goddess *Pe.t.*, or 'the heaven,' stretched over the god Seb, or 'the earth.' Another group in the same plate represents a *sat kar sak*, 'striking

2 1

No. 263. Men dancing alone.[1] *Thebes.*

down under the sandals,' and is an imitation of an Egyptian monarch seizing a female by the hair, and brandishing one hand over her head. In the tomb of Ptahetep of the 5th Dynasty



5 4 3 2 1

No. 264. Man dancing a solo to the sound of the hand.[2] *Tomb near the Pyramids.*

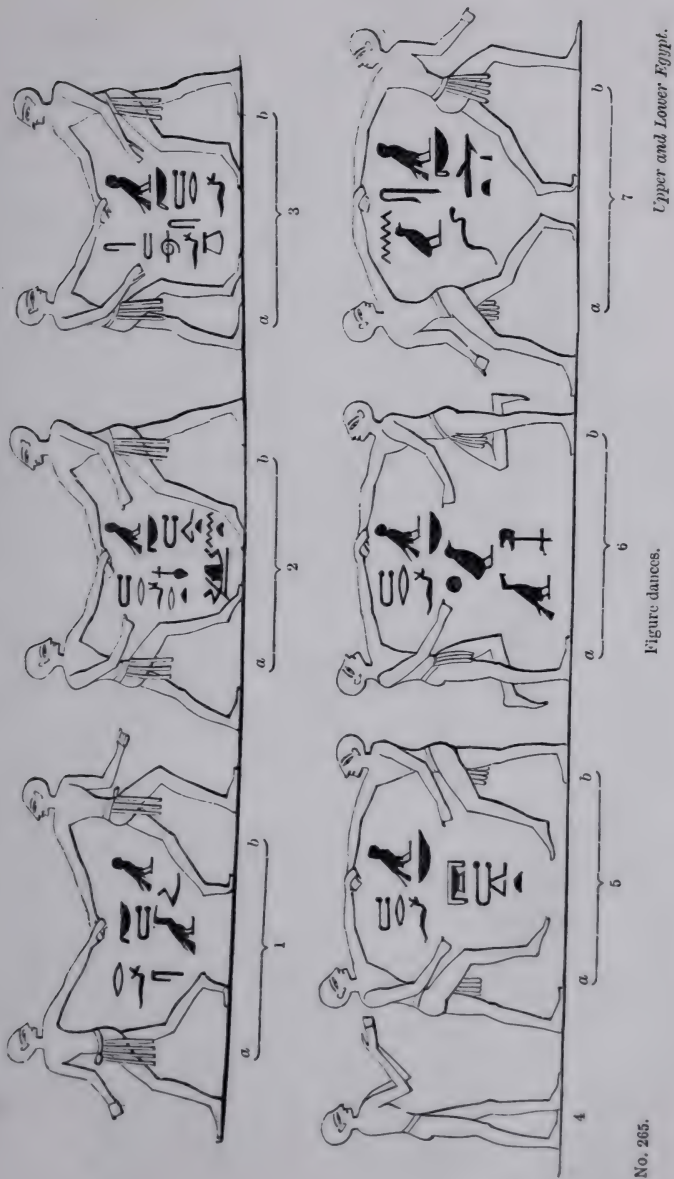
are a series of actions evidently dramatic and continuous, representing the adventures of youthful twins.[3]—S. B.]

The dancers of the lower orders appear generally to have had

[1] The word dancing is here expressed by *ab*, 'to dance,' indicative of dancing in general.—S. B.

[2] Engraved by Rosellini, Mon. Civ. xciv. The inscription above the heads of the figures reads, *hes an χen en A . . . .*, 'the singing by the ladies of the harem of the . . . .' The male figure is dancing to the song.—S. B.

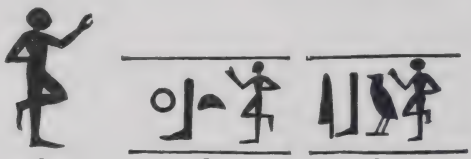
[3] Duemichen, 'Die Resultate,' fol., Berlin, 1869, pl. x.—S. B.



No. 265. Figure dances. *Upper and Lower Egypt.*

a tendency towards a species of pantomime; and we can readily conceive the rude peasantry to be more delighted with ludicrous and extravagant dexterity, than with those gestures which displayed elegance and grace. There is no instance of the *tripudiatio*, or dance of armed men, unless some of the figures at Beni-Hassan, represented jumping with arms in their hands, were intended as an allusion to this exercise of the soldier; but they more probably refer to a supposed accidental impulse, indicative of military enthusiasm.[1]

Besides the pirouette and the steps above mentioned, a favourite figure dance was universally adopted throughout the country; in which the two partners, who were usually men, advanced towards each other, or stood face to face upon one leg, and, having performed a series of movements, retired again in opposite directions, continuing to hold by one hand, and concluding by turning each other round; as represented in the preceding woodcut. And that the attitude of the two figures of the central couple,[2] represented above, was very common during their dances, is fully proved by its having been adopted in the hieroglyphics, as the emblematic mode of describing the dance.



1 2 3

No. 266. Hieroglyphic signifying the 'dance.'[3]

In another step they struck the ground with the heel,[4] standing on one foot, changing, perhaps, alternately from the right to the left;[5] which is not very unlike a dance I have seen at the present day.

To manage the hands skilfully and with grace was of paramount importance, not only with the Egyptians, but with

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[1] The sets of two men each in woodcut No. 265 represent a series of different figures, like *poses plastiques*, or else the names of the ballet or dance. They read thus, No. 1, *mek terf mas*, 'making the figure of the calf;' No. 2, *mek terf ti nefer en ua*, 'making the figure of the successful taking of a boat;' No. 3, *mek terf sta sef k*, 'making the figure of leading along a *sef k* or animal;' No. 4, *mek terf nub ti*, 'making the figure of taking gold;' No. 5, *mek terf uχχa*, 'making the figure of a colonnade;' No. 6, *mek ua snut*, 'making a pirouette.' From 4 to 6 are engraved in Lepsius, Denkm. Abt. ii., Bl. 5, 2.—S. B.

[2] Woodcut No. 265, *fig.* 6, *a* and *b*.

[3] The words *χebt* and *abu*.

[4] Hor. Od. lib. iii. 18.

[5] Woodcut No. 263.

other ancient people; and Plutarch mentions a person[1] who was commended for his superiority in this species of gesture. Nor would it be inconsistent to divide the art of dancing, with the Egyptians as with the Greeks, into three distinct parts; and its connection with poetry and songs was probably exactly similar.[2]

The restrictions which forbade the higher ranks to indulge in the dance, do not appear to have extended to the lower orders; and, when excesses were committed by them in wine or any other intoxicating beverage, they gave way to licence and wanton buffoonery, and frequently gratified a propensity for ribaldry, which is not unusual in Eastern countries. On these occasions they whirled each other round with rude dexterity; and some, with folded arms, stood upon their head, and performed the varied antics of expert tumblers.

Like the Greeks, the Jews did not consider it unworthy of a person of rank to dance, either on solemn or festive occasions; and this is sufficiently shown by the remarkable instances of Miriam, David, and the daughter of Herodias.[4]

That they also danced at the temples, in honour of the gods, is evident from the representations of several sacred processions, where individuals performed certain gestures to the sound of suitable music, and danced as they approached the precincts of the sacred courts. In what this differed from that of ordinary festivities, it is impossible to decide; and, indeed, the appearance of the figures, in more than one instance, precisely the same as the usual hieroglyphic signifying dancing, may be supposed to indicate a great similarity between the ordinary dance and that of the temple.

Such a custom may at first sight appear inconsistent with the gravity of religion: but our surprise ceases, when we recollect with what feelings David himself danced[5] before the ark; and the fact that the Jews considered it part of their religious duties to approach the Deity with the dance,[6] with tabret and with harp, suffices to remove any objection which might be offered to the probability of its introduction in the Egyptian ceremonies. And

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[1] Plut. Sympos. viii. 15. He, perhaps, only refers to the palæstra, and not to the dance, of which he is treating in this chapter; but he mentions the use of the hands in a subsequent part.

[2] Plut. *loc. cit.*

[3] At the fête of Bubastis even the women did so, without the excuse of being heated with wine, and that, too, on the occasion of a religious festival. (Herodot. ii. 60.)

[4] Matt. xiv. 6.

[5] 1 Chron. xv. 29; 2 Sam. vi. 14.

[6] Psalm cxlix. 3: 'Let them praise His name in the dance: let them sing praises unto Him with the timbrel and harp.' Conf. Exod. xv. 20.

if further proof were wanting, we have their mode of worshipping the golden calf,[1] immediately derived from the country they had left, which consisted principally of songs and dancing.

[There is reason to believe, as already mentioned, that pantomime representing a continuous action or argument of a story was attempted by the dance, but that such performances were of a private and not of a public nature, being executed either by the ladies and other persons attached to the harem or household of great persons, or else by hired performers. The ballet was not in use amongst the Egyptians, nor dancing on the tight or slack rope. Nor has any dramatical representation been found in the tombs, or mentioned in the different texts. There is, however, reason to suppose that certain animals were taught to perform tricks and dance, and in musical performances the singers sang either in solo or chorus to the harp and other instruments. The attitudes and sentiments intended to be expressed show a high degree of civilisation, and that the æsthetic arts had obtained a considerable rank in ancient Egypt. Athor, the Egyptian Aphroditê, was supposed to preside over dancing and music, and the god Bes was also represented as performing on various musical instruments and dancing. The song and dance united are some of the oldest amusements known, are found at all periods and all places, and are extant amongst the most savage as well as the most civilised of mankind.—S. B.]

[1] Exod. xxxii. 18, 19.

END OF VOL. I.

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